



# OUR

I know no safe depository of  
the ultimate powers of society  
but the people themselves;  
and if we think them not  
enlightened enough to exercise  
their control with a wholesome  
discretion, the remedy is not to  
take it from them, but to inform  
their discretion by education.

by THOMAS JEFFERSON in a letter to W. C. Jarvis in 1820

# WORLD

## THROUGH THE AGES

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# PREFACE

Television and penicillin, automobiles and airplanes, free speech and free schools, freedom of worship and freedom of enterprise — What individuals and groups across the ages helped us gain these benefits and countless others? What forces tried to hold back such progress? When, where, and how was such progress achieved? Where is such progress enjoyed today? Where not? Why not? In short, what have been the challenges to a freer and happier world throughout history? — These are some of the questions the authors of this book have tried to answer. They hope that you will find the book meaningful and interesting. They hope, too, that your teachers will find that it helps them to achieve the aims they have set for themselves in teaching world history.

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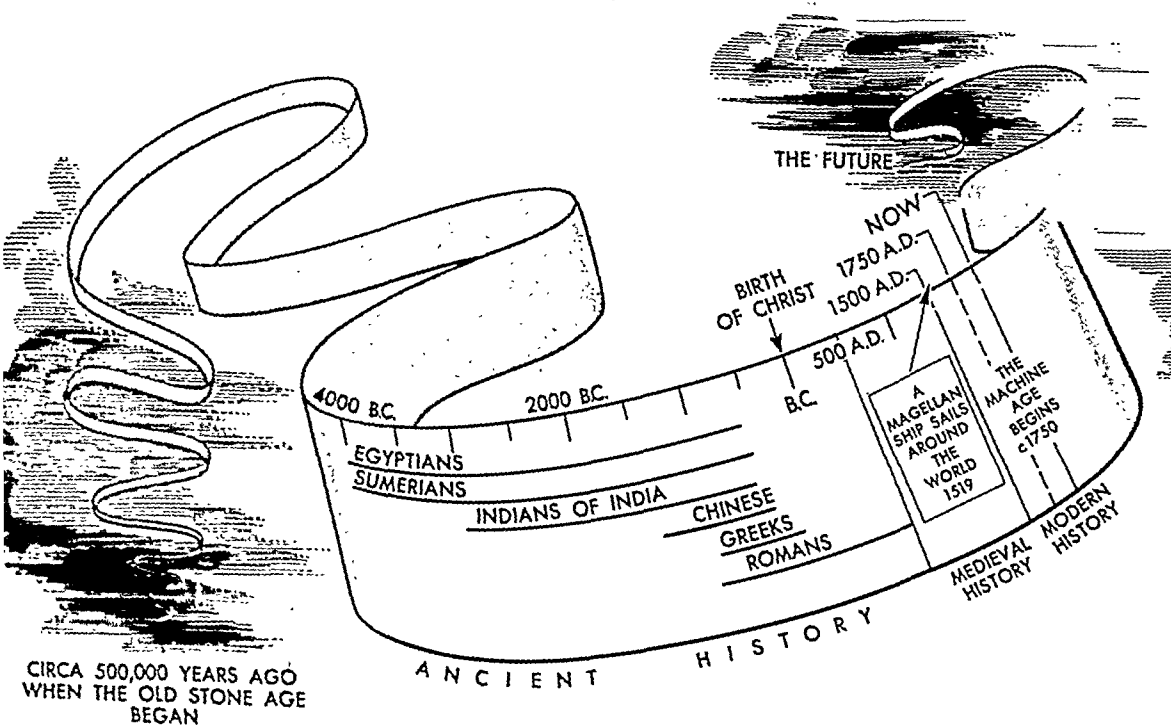


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The Span of Man's Life on Earth — Featuring Ancient Civilizations and a Few Highlights.



● UNIT ONE

# WORLD CIVILIZATION IS BORN



Some Symbols of the Cradles of Civilization:

(top) Ancient Egypt: Pyramid and Sphinx; Ancient Mesopotamia: Writing on Clay

(bottom) Ancient China: Confucius, Guide to Chinese Conduct; Ancient India: Buddha, Founder of a Religion Now Strong Outside India.



# CHAPTER 1....GETTING OUR BEARINGS BEFORE STUDYING WORLD CIVILIZATION

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**What Is World History? • Importance of the Study of World History • Methods in Studying History • Some Truths Recognized by Historians • Experts Consulted by Historians • Taking an Inventory of the Earth and Its Inhabitants • Up from Savagery • Primitives Today Throw Light on the Past and Present • Civilization Began about 6,000 Years Ago**

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Americans are proud of the way their country has influenced the world. The Constitution of the United States, American methods of manufacturing, and the American skyscraper have served as models in many countries. Foreign governments have been saved from bankruptcy by American loans. Victims of earthquakes, floods, epidemics, and war have been helped by American contributions. Millions of Americans have fought for world freedom on world battlefields. American popular music, movies, automobiles, styles, and books are welcomed around the world. On the sand lots of Japan, thousands of boys play at America's favorite pastime, baseball.

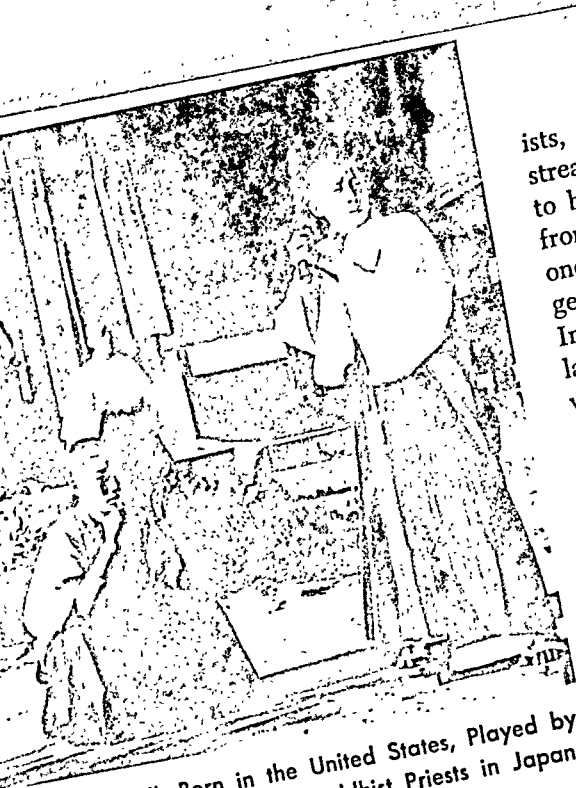
How, in turn, has the world influenced America? America is named after an Italian explorer, *Amerigo Vespucci*. Americans<sup>1</sup> speak English—a combination of words from Latin, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, French, Arabic,

and other tongues. Americans worship one God, as did the ancient Hebrews. Democracy, the basis of the American government, was first stressed by the ancient Greeks. And every American, with the possible exception of the American Indian, is either an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants.

America has produced creative artists in every field. But this does not prevent Americans from appreciating the novels of the Russian, Tolstoy, the music of the German, Wagner, or the painting of the Italian, Michelangelo. The discovery of penicillin in Britain has saved countless American lives. Disease knows no boundaries, nor does the atomic bomb. A depression anywhere in the world may force down the American standard of living. It is plain that no American lives in isolation.

Obviously, then, the world has influenced America, just as America has influenced the world. And if a person were to substitute England, China, Brazil, or the name of any other country for "America" in the preceding sentence, that sentence would still be true.

<sup>1</sup> The name "American" might be claimed by any inhabitant of North, Central, or South America. However, it is usually associated with citizens of the United States of America.



Baseball, Born in the United States, Played by Boys Studying to Be Buddhist Priests in Japan.

## What Is World History?

A savage carved some pictures of bears and bison on the walls of a cave. An ancient Egyptian doctor performed a brain operation. A European soldier returned from fighting in the Holy Land with silks, spices, and jewels for his wife. A French Revolution gave more freedom to millions. The Canadian government is studying ways of making wise use of Canada's rich natural resources. The United Nations is investigating an international dispute.

Some of these events occurred thousands of years ago, some hundreds of years ago, and some are occurring now. All of them, however, are part of the great story of mankind called *world history*. For everything that man has done, said, and thought, and even his dreams and plans for a happier world, make up world history.

## Importance of the Study of World History

Hollywood scenario writers, dress designers, interior decorators, and historical novel-

ists, among others, frequently dip into the stream of history. But a person does not have to be in one of these professions to benefit from a knowledge of world history. Any one who knows the fine points of baseball gets more pleasure out of watching a game. In fact, he can often anticipate plays. Similarly, the person who has a knowledge of world history has greater appreciation of the achievements of mankind. Through knowing the past, he has a better understanding of the present. He may even make shrewd guesses about coming events.

A good history student comes to conclusions only after he has made a careful study of all sides of a question. Therefore, the careful study of world history should help to wipe out prejudice and to increase tolerance. A history student reads about the many obstacles in the path of mankind and how many of these obstacles have been hurdled. He realizes how much the people of one country owe the peoples of other countries for the world's pool of knowledge. The idea of the brotherhood of man is driven home to him. If all peoples knew more world history they might co-operate better toward building a happier, more just, and beautiful world—a world in which men would unite in overcoming war, hunger, disease, and other evils.

## Methods in Studying History

A good historian or any good student of history must be something of a detective. He must carefully examine all the information in the case, separating facts from opinions. When he finds contradictory statements, he must check them and compare them with other evidence. Just as much as enough for a good detective merely collect facts, so it is not enough for a historian merely to memorize information. Each must know how to piece the information together.

Detectives and historians go about this in somewhat the same manner. They build a general picture before studying the details.

WORLD CIVILIZATION IS BO

They arrange their information in a pattern which features the important points. And each keeps a record of the sources of his information. Thus, the historian jots down the name of each author and the title of each book he has consulted, the pages read, and his own comments. He tries to remember enough important dates to keep the march of events straight in his mind. He realizes, too, how much a knowledge of the geography of an area helps to explain its history. For example, if New York had not had such a good harbor, its history would have been very different.

A detective usually has more confidence in a clue which he has noticed himself or which was noticed by someone present when the event occurred. Such clues are, as a rule, more reliable than secondhand clues. A good detective also tracks down rumors. But he realizes that rumors are not always based on fact.

Historical sources which are firsthand accounts obtained on the spot are called *primary sources*. The account by a soldier who fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill, for example, would be a primary source on the battle. As a rule, the most reliable histories are based upon primary sources. Sometimes, however, even a primary source may not be reliable. The witness or writer may have been prejudiced. Or he may not have been a careful observer. Two witnesses to an accident often give entirely different descriptions of what happened. Other primary sources include the buildings or monuments of a period, as well as human remains. A history which is based on primary sources is itself only a secondary source for other histories.

A good detective sometimes asks himself: "What would I have done to avoid arrest if I were the suspect?" A reliable historian studying the American Revolution might similarly ask himself: "What would my attitude be if I were an Englishman instead of an American?" In searching for the truth, a person should put himself in the other

fellow's place. However, the detective looks for some person or persons who deserve punishment. The historian writes a record of what happened. Usually there comes a time when the detective can say: "Case closed." The historian, however, never knows when his investigation will be reopened. Indeed, he would be the first to admit that there are few subjects in history that are closed to further study.

Some writers use history for evil purposes. They twist the facts so as to stir up hatred for peoples of other races, other religions, or other nationalities. In fact, it is sometimes difficult even for an honest writer of history not to be biased by his background. Furthermore, world history is so full of facts that every historian must make a selection of what seems most important. The true historian seeks the truth in the face of all obstacles.

## Some Truths Recognized by Historians

**Basic Needs of Mankind.** Across the ages and around the world, peoples have differed in many ways. Some have worn rings through their noses; others, rings on their fingers. Some are mainly meat-eaters; others, vegetarians. Yet all peoples at all times have had certain basic needs. Such needs include food, clothing, shelter, an occupation, religion, artistic expression, education, and some kind of government.

**Continuity of History.** In history no event stands alone. It is tied to what happened far back in the past and probably is connected with what is to come. To understand why Canada today has two national languages, a person must know the history of Europe in the eighteenth century. Because every event in history has some connection with events in other ages, history is said to have continuity.

That is why it seems strange to divide history into periods. Mainly for convenience,



Java Man

Neanderthal Man

Crô-Magnon Man

Our ancestors probably resembled these restorations of prehistoric men.

however, historians have divided the history of the western world into three periods: Ancient (c4000 B.C.<sup>2</sup>-c500 A.D.); Medieval (c500-c1500 A.D.); and Modern (c1500 A.D. to the present). Actually there are no sharp breaks between these periods. Yet each period has certain special characteristics. For example, the use of much machinery is an important characteristic of the modern period. This division of history into ancient, medieval, and modern periods cannot be applied to every part of the world, however. For example, it is not the custom to divide the history of China or of India into such periods.

**Interdependence of Mankind.** Just as no event stands alone in history, so no nation and no man stands alone. To produce an automobile in the United States, it is necessary to import products from fifty-six different countries. No man would be willing to work in a factory unless he were sure that other men were producing the food that he

requires. As mankind has climbed higher and higher up the ladder of civilization, men have become more dependent upon one another. Interdependence is thus another truth of history.

**Certainty of Change.** Perhaps nothing is more certain in history than change. Animals change. Man changes. The earth changes. Customs, opinions, and ideas change.

**Physical Changes in Animals and Men.** Horses which lived thousands of years ago were about the size of small dogs of the present. The mammoth, ancient ancestor of the smooth-skinned elephant of today, was covered with long, shaggy hair. Murderous animal warfare and failure to adapt themselves to changes in climate explain why mammoths and many other ancient animals are now extinct.

It is believed by many that the earth is about two billion years old. But evidence indicates that there were no manlike creatures on the earth until about 500,000 years ago. A few bones of such a manlike creature were discovered on the island of Java (in the East Indies) in 1891. Scientists believe that the Java man could walk upright. Some say that he was a super ape; others, that he was a subhuman man. Scientists know more about

<sup>2</sup> The letters "B.C." indicate "before Christ." The letters "A.D." (from the Latin meaning "in the year of our Lord") indicate "after the birth of Christ." This system of dating events according to the Christian calendar is used in most parts of the world today. The letter c (abbreviation for a Latin word meaning "about") before a date means "approximately."

the manlike creature called Neanderthal man. This type lived about 100,000 years ago. Many remains of Neanderthal man have been discovered in caves in various parts of Europe. In many ways, Neanderthal man resembled Java man. Both had a forehead and a chin which sloped backward and heavy brows which jutted out over the eyes. However, Neanderthal man had a brain capacity twice as large as that of Java man.<sup>3</sup> Some experts believe that Neanderthal man became extinct. Others believe that he is the ancestor of many human beings alive today. Another type, Crô-Magnon man, lived in Europe about 20,000 years ago. He was much like people today. That is why he is classified with us in a group called *Homo sapiens* ("wise man").

**Change in the Earth.** Earthquakes and volcanoes are changing the shape of the earth's crust. Rains coming down in torrents have long been gradually wearing away hills and even mountains. We scarcely notice such changes in our lifetime. But when we compare the earth today with the earth in the days of Java and Neanderthal men, we find great differences.

There was a time when a man could walk to Africa from either Spain or Italy. The dry Sahara was once rain-soaked and fertile. Long, long ago there were no Great Lakes between Canada and the United States. Perhaps no other act of nature did so much to change these conditions as the movement of glaciers. A *glacier* is a mass of ice which moves very slowly. With tremendous force, glaciers scoop out valleys and lake beds and shift soils and rocks from one area to another.

Hundreds of thousands of years ago, huge glaciers crept down from the extreme north, over the mountains, and into the valleys. These glaciers spread a thick sheet of ice over the northern areas of America, Europe,

<sup>3</sup> Dante, a great literary genius, had a very small brain. Some idiots have very large brains. Thus, according to some scientists, a big brain may not mean great intelligence.

and Asia. After a long, long time most of the ice melted, and a long, long period of warmth followed.

A period when ice covered much of the surface of the earth is called an *ice age*. The earth has had three or four ice ages, followed by warm intervals. And there may be more to come! The ice ages made changes not only in the earth's surface, but also in men, animals, and plants. For protection against the cold, animals developed hairy coats, and men began to wear the hides of animals. Many tropical plants which had formerly grown in northern areas disappeared.

**Change in Customs, Ideas, and Opinions.** The life span of the average person is so short that he does not notice such physical changes in animals, men, and the earth. Practically everyone in his lifetime, however, sees some customs change. Today some women become doctors, business executives, and even airplane pilots. Fifty years ago, the thought of women in these occupations would have shocked many persons. For until fairly recently most persons believed that woman's place was strictly in the home.



A few years before this picture was taken, it was the custom for Turkish women to wear veils and remain secluded. This illustrates change in history.



Ideas and opinions change, too. For example, our opinions of a president's administration may change with new sources of information. There was a time when almost everyone accepted the idea that a few are born to rule and that the many are born to obey. Today democracy—the rule of the many—is such a popular idea that even dictators claim to be democratic.

Change may be good, bad, or a little of each. For thousands of years most men feared and resisted change. Today many realize that change may mean progress instead of disaster. At least, they are willing to experiment to find out what is worth keeping without change and what can be improved.

## Experts Consulted by Historians

There are written records for only about the last six thousand years, the *historic period*. They cover only about one per cent of the time man is believed to have inhabited the earth. When a historian wants information on this historic period, he may study inscriptions on monuments, letters, laws, diaries, newspapers, books, or other written records. He may also get information by studying the work of architects, painters, and craftsmen of the historic period.

But how do historians know about such things as Java man and the ice ages? These all belong to the prehistoric period. The prehistoric period covers the thousands of years before the invention of writing. That is why this period is more correctly but less commonly called the *preliterate period*. Much history was recorded in the prehistoric period, although not in writing. Tools and weapons, tombs and temples, and animal and human bones are the records which make up this so-called *prehistory*.

Historians often call upon experts to help them interpret prehistoric remains. Among such experts are *archaeologists*. Archaeologists dig deep into the earth at places where they are likely to find relics which give them

information about the distant past. An archaeologist may come across hardened bones, shells, or plants which have been lying for thousands of years deep in the earth's crust. Such remains are called *fossils*. Other relics for which the archaeologist searches include tools, weapons, and the ruins of homes and villages.

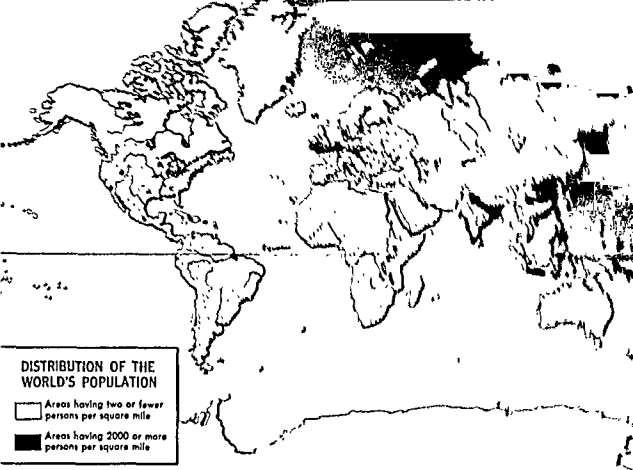
To find out how old a fossil is, an archaeologist might consult a *geologist*. A geologist is one who has studied the various layers of rocks and soil in the earth's crust. To him these layers are like pages in a history book. Even he has not learned to read every page in this puzzling book. He knows, however, the approximate age of each layer in the earth's crust. Thus, once he knows in what layer a fossil was found, he may estimate its age. Another expert, called an *anthropologist*, may use the skull and other bone fragments found in similar layers of earth and rock to put together a skeleton. Thus he may give the world an idea of what a man of that period looked like.

## Taking an Inventory of the Earth and the Peoples Who Inhabit It

To build on an idea of Abraham Lincoln's, this earth belongs to the peoples who inhabit it. Let us take an inventory of our possessions. After that, let us get acquainted with our co-owners.

**How Geography Has Influenced History.** Although nature has been generous in providing man with a variety of natural resources, it has not always been fair in distributing them. This uneven distribution makes trade necessary. The United States, the Soviet Union, Brazil, China, and India have a wide variety of natural resources. Most other nations are not so blessed. Sweden has iron but not coal; Japan has coal but not iron; Australia, the world's largest wool exporter, must import other products.

For centuries England, protected by the English Channel, felt no need for a large army. Belgium, twice invaded in a genera-



tion, feels its lack of natural boundaries. The rugged mountains cutting up Greece have made unity difficult there. The lack of ice-free ports throughout the year has affected both the trade and the foreign policy of Russia through the centuries. Protected by two great oceans, the United States was aided in developing rapidly as a world power. Japan and Great Britain, situated somewhat similarly in relation to their continents, both grew strong.

Ninety per cent of the people of the world live north of the equator, where the land area is largest and the climate most suitable. Europe is in an especially favorable location; its markets are more easily reached by ocean traders than those of any other continent. Asia, the largest of the continents, is also the most heavily populated. Large as Africa is, however, relatively few people live there. Its hot climate, thick people, and lack of good harbors help to explain why, as for

the western hemisphere, nature has been kinder to North America than to South America in location, topography, coast line, and climate. Little Australia, the body of the continent, has developed slowly because of its desert areas, regular coast line, and isolated position. Geography alone explains why the Arctic and Antarctic regions have not been developed.

In many respects rivers are influenced by the topography (physical features) of the area in which we live. River people live in particular areas, often born up and their generations are born to. Mountains come up in usually regular patterns, and the rivers and watersheds that are often cut off by these facts. Mountains are generally isolated and mountain topography is not so much a road and not even time passing as it is a road and not a road, many people. In the world, the higher mountains were formed a long time ago, and the rivers have been formed a long time ago, and the rivers have been formed a long time ago.

publics; the Himalayas separate India from China; the Pyrenees separate Spain from France; and the Alps separate Italy from the rest of Europe. Mountains have also handicapped explorers and expansionists. For example, the Rockies were an important obstacle to American pioneers pushing westward. But mountains have also served as a defense against hostile peoples. In many instances, furthermore, men have made their mountains highly productive. The tourist trade of the Swiss Alps is an example. And mining, lumbering, and grazing usually thrive in mountainous regions.

Four-fifths of the world's population lives in plains areas, where conditions for farming, grazing, building, and transportation are usually good. Among the plains areas of the world are our own great plains, the prairies of Canada, the steppes of Russia, the pampas of Argentina, and the plains of South Africa, southern Australia, and central Asia. Most of these plains are vast, fertile lands, less than two thousand feet above sea level. Most plains areas are covered with grass, but have few, if any, trees. Their annual rainfall ranges from ten to twenty inches, and some plains areas suffer extremes of heat and cold. The difficulty of defending plains areas explains in part the suspicion between Russia and western Europe, and also why Chinese emperors built a Great Wall (pages 58, 64).

Plateaus, valleys, and deserts have also played their role in world history. Plateaus are level—like plains—but much higher above sea level, and usually located near mountains. Among plateaus which have been developed both agriculturally and industrially are the Piedmont Plateau of the United States and the Swiss Plateau. Very high plateaus, such as those of Tibet and Bolivia, are too cold for many people to make a living on them. Valleys between mountains or along rivers, especially if they are wide valleys and not too deep, are valuable regions for both farms and factories. Of the inhabited continents, only Europe has no deserts. Few persons can make a living

and few animals can survive in desert areas such as those in North Africa, central Asia, central Australia, and the Middle East. The *Middle East* is made up of Egypt, plus western Asia from the Black Sea to the Red Sea and from the Caspian Sea to the Arabian Sea. It is also sometimes called the *Near East*.

As a rule, the prosperity and artistic development of a nation depend to a great extent upon the quantity, quality, and variety of its natural resources, provided they are developed. Usually, if a country is rich, its people have more money and more leisure to spend on the arts and sciences. Painters, writers, and musicians often get ideas for their art from the way people make a living in a particular area. Vocational education in Denmark, which is a dairying country, naturally centers around dairy-farming. Among both primitive and civilized groups, a rich harvest may be celebrated by an appropriate dance.

Colonies of large nations are usually bitter at having their natural resources taken from them. To build a united front against their rulers, they often insist upon keeping their own language, churches, schools, and customs. Revolutions frequently result. The uneven distribution of natural resources among the nations of the world often leads to rivalry and bloodshed. Many persons feel that no nation should be prevented from buying natural resources anywhere in the world. They say that through freedom to trade, one of the main causes of war might thus be eliminated.

**Geography Not an Absolute Dictator.** These are just a few examples of the many ways in which geography has influenced history. Yet two countries may have very similar geography and very different histories. For men make history, and their points of view and their ways of life may differ greatly. Some nations have misused their natural resources whereas others have made wise use of them. The country which has rich resources and yet remains poor may

not necessarily have been plundered by foreign rulers. It may have abused or neglected nature's gifts. It may have done little to prevent floods from washing away the topsoil of farm lands. It may have ruthlessly destroyed valuable timber. It may have mined wastefully or produced inefficiently.

Necessity and education have brought about a wiser use of natural resources in many areas. Soil is being saved and enriched by scientific methods. Science has taught men how to mine more efficiently and how to find more minerals in the earth. Science is constantly finding new sources of raw materials and of power. Plastics have been made from the soybean, textiles from coal, air, water, and milk, and rubber from oil. Atomic energy may bring to human beings comforts and conveniences as yet undreamed of. It may even lead to a cure for cancer. And the men who invented the airplane have proved beyond a doubt that geography is not an absolute dictator.

**How the Airplane Has Changed Our Ideas of Geography.** Maps and globes tell stories. If a person had no textbook, but a wide variety of maps, he could tell a good deal about a region and the problems of the people who inhabit it. A glance at a map tells one why there was such a great need for a Panama Canal. It tells why such areas as Gibraltar and Singapore are important. The trading problems of such landlocked nations as Bolivia and Czechoslovakia become clearer after one examines a map.

Maps may tell not only the location of an area, but also its size, topography, natural resources, agricultural and industrial products, population, transportation lanes, and military significance. Since the earth is round, the only accurate representation of it is a globe. Just as soon as a map maker tries to produce a flat map of the world, he finds that he must change the size and shape of certain areas.

For the past four centuries, the most popular map has been the Mercator projection. This type of map shows the North Pole at

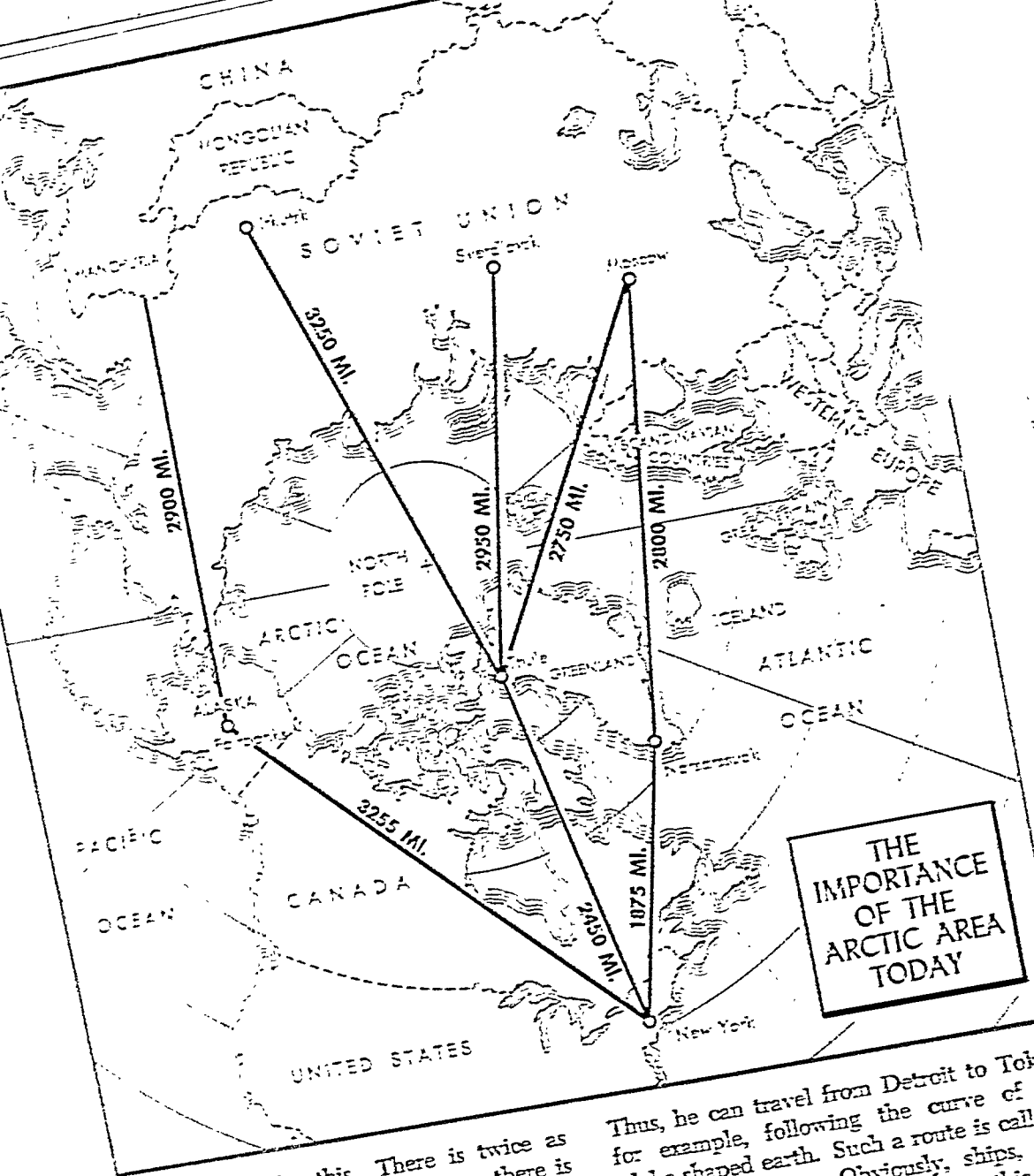
To what areas of the world would this cartoon especially apply? What has been done to check these evils?



Justin in The Minneapolis

the top and the South Pole at the bottom. Mariners were quite satisfied with these flat rectangular maps because few ships traveled as far north as Greenland or as far south as Antarctica (areas which appear distorted on Mercator maps). The direction and size of areas connected by widely traveled sea lanes were accurate. Such maps were valuable when countries vied with one another to possess big navies, before the advent of the airplane. Control of the seas and of strategic islands and straits meant world power then. Cities without harbors or river locations had little chance for growth. Europe, with its inland seas and other internal waterways, was the world's leading continent. Bitter wars were fought to control strategic waterways and harbors. Russia remained comparatively isolated from the stream of European history for many years because it lacked a warm-water port. The important powers were those situated on or near important sea lanes. Geographic terms such as *hemispheres* and *north*, *south*, *east*, and *west* were highly significant before the air age.

Now that we are living in the air age, however, flat maps which have the North Pole as their center are much in demand. There are



many reasons for this. There is twice as much land north of the equator as there is south of it. The northern portions of North America, Asia, and Europe all border on the Arctic Ocean. Whether he flies over a continent or an ocean means little to the airplane pilot. He follows the shortest route between two points. The route has been mapped out for him: through the two points has been drawn a circle which divides the surface of the earth into two equal parts.

Thus, he can travel from Detroit to Tokyo, for example, following the curve of a globe-shaped earth. Such a route is called a *great circle route*. Obviously, ships, though they try to, cannot follow this direct route accurately because land often get in their way. On a polar-curve map, the areas around the North Pole are shown accurately. However, the areas south on the outer edges of the map are badly distorted.

WORLD CIVILIZATION IS BORN

The pilot who uses a polar map with the North Pole as its center finds such directions as north and east and such terms as hemisphere meaningless. To planes, cities in the interior of continents are as accessible as seaports. Thus, we may expect to see the growth of inland cities. Easy access to inland centers is as significant to military leaders in wartime as it is to traders and travelers in peacetime. In the air age, mountainous areas, formerly fairly secure, are vulnerable to attack. Already products and ideas are spreading to former wastelands which are gradually becoming productive. In the future, relatively unimportant areas such as northern Canada, Alaska, Greenland, northern Norway, and Siberia, all strategically located on the polar map, may become important. To realize how much the world has shrunk, recall that Columbus's little fleet required seventy days to cross the Atlantic. An airplane requires much less than one day. Benefits of civilization can easily be flown to many undeveloped areas previously isolated because they had no access to the sea. The possibilities for greater world unity in our shrunken world are limitless.

**The Peoples Who Inhabit the Earth.** In spite of wars, famine, and disease, the population of the world today is over two billion, and it is constantly increasing. About half the world's population lives in Asia and about one-quarter in Europe. The rest are scattered over other areas. Scientists say that among all members of the human race there are more similarities than there are differences.

However, it has been the custom to classify mankind into three main groups based on certain inherited physical characteristics. These groups, called "races," are the Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid. Popular names for these races are the "white," the "black," and the "yellow." The latter names are often misleading, since many members of the white race have very dark skin and many members of the black race have very light skin. Often included in the "yellow" race are



Our earth's co-owners. How could they improve it?

the so-called "red" American Indians and the "brown" Malaysians. Some other physical characteristics used to distinguish races besides skin color are the texture of the hair and the shape of the head. Every race has made its contribution to world progress. This is not surprising. Scientists insist that no race is inferior to any other race in intelligence or general ability. They maintain that, where one race may appear to have made little progress, this seeming inferiority may be explained by poor environment and lack of education.

Long before the discovery of America, most Caucasoid people lived in Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia. The homeland of the Mongoloid race is Asia. Most members of the Negroid race have long lived in central and southern Africa and on certain islands in the Pacific. But for thousands of years the races of mankind have migrated all over the world. So much fusion has taken place that many scientists maintain that there is no such thing as a pure race.

In fact, the word race is often used incorrectly. Even educated persons sometimes use race when they mean religion, nationality, or language. For example, there is no Jewish race. There are Negroed Jews and

Mongoloid Jews as well as Caucasoid Jews. Nor is there any French *race*. Peoples of all races may be Frenchmen if France is their country. Furthermore, although a man's language may be Chinese, it does not follow that he is a member of the Mongoloid race. An English Caucasoid brought up by Chinese would be likely to speak Chinese rather than English.

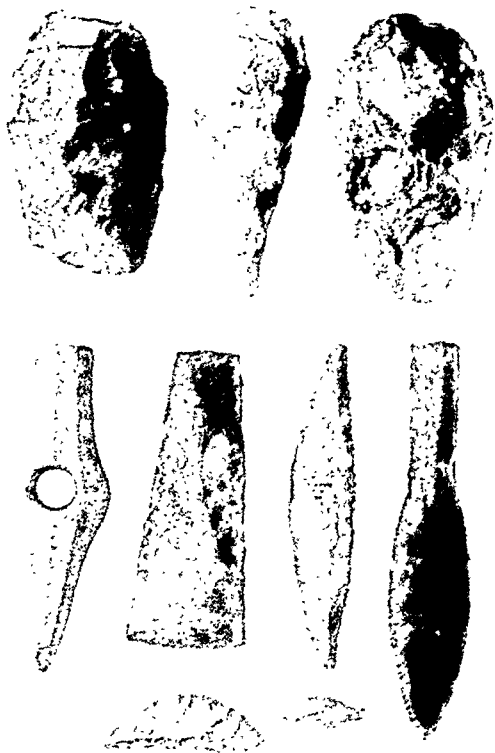
We peoples of the earth are like a single family. When we deal with the history of world civilization, we are dealing with our own problems.

## Up from Savagery

**The Old Stone Age: Insecure Man at Nature's Mercy.** Life must have been short, and not very sweet, for Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon men. Imagine having to fight wild animals with knives, spearheads, and hatchets roughly chipped from stone! Thousands of such rough stone weapons have been found in places where geologists and archaeologists say primitive man lived. That is why the period from about 500,000 to about 10,000 years ago is called the Old Stone Age. Men of the Old Stone Age had weapons and tools made of other materials, such as bone and the horns of animals. They probably also used clubs of wood and bows and arrows, which have long since rotted away.

How could any group of men live long lives if they never planted any crops or raised any cattle? Starvation was a constant threat in the Old Stone Age. People then depended on hunting and fishing and on gathering wild berries and nuts for their food. Nature did not always provide enough wild life for food.

The housing problem must have been a serious one, too. Men of the Old Stone Age had no permanent homes. Caves in desirable locations were scarce, and men and animals were probably constantly competing to live in them. Furthermore, hunters and fishermen had to keep moving to new grounds

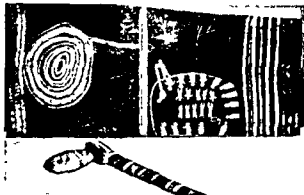


Compare these tools and weapons of the Old Stone Age (above) with those of the New Stone Age (below). How does the difference indicate progress?

where food might be more available.

An animal skin crudely sewed together was not much protection against icy blasts. What a comfort it must have been when man of the Old Stone Age discovered how to make fire! A fire in his cave might keep him warm, cook his food, and frighten off animals. Fire helped him to shape wooden weapons or to hollow out logs to make canoes. Is it any wonder that many men for thousands of years worshiped fire as a gift of the gods?

Some men of the Old Stone Age were fine artists. On the walls and roofs of many caves in southern Europe there have been discovered some remarkably lifelike paintings. Bison, bulls, and reindeer are all pictured in action. These pictures are delicately colored in shades of red and yellow. In this period pictures were also carved on bone and ivory.



(left) Cave Painting of a Bison and a Wild Boar. Give your impressions of the artistic ability of the Old Stone Age painter who painted this. (right) Compare this bark painting by a modern primitive with the cave painting by an ancient primitive.

**The New Stone Age: Security Grows as Men Co-operate.** About ten thousand years ago, primitives began making great progress. Before that time, they had been almost entirely at the mercy of nature. Then they learned to co-operate with nature to get more and better food, clothing, and shelter.<sup>4</sup> Their stone tools and weapons were ground to make them smooth and sharp. For convenience historians call the period from about 10,000 to about 6,000 years ago the New Stone Age.

During this period, the Ice Age was ending, and the climate was growing warmer. Thus, instead of being merely food gatherers, men of the New Stone Age could also be food producers. In earlier times, wild dogs had been tamed and made to serve their owners (a practice called *domestication*). In the New Stone Age, men began to domesticate cows, sheep, goats, horses, and swine. Herdsmen who cared for the flocks of domesticated animals were leading what is called a *pastoral life*. Other herdsmen wandered from place to place in search of good pastures; these we call *nomads*.

Men of the New Stone Age were not only hunters, fishermen, and herdsmen, but also farmers. The primitive who planted the first seed started something which changed the whole history of mankind. As farmers, men

could produce enough food to store some away for bad weather and lean years. But the beginnings of agriculture meant much more than merely an increased food supply. It was farmers of the New Stone Age who were the first to use both the plow and the wheel. Where would modern agriculture, transportation, and industry be without the wheel?

Furthermore, the beginnings of agriculture meant the beginnings of homemaking. Farmers need permanent homes near their fields. Remains found at the bottom of certain lakes in Europe, notably in Switzerland, tell us a great deal more about homemaking in the New Stone Age. From these remains it is clear that many persons then lived in villages of crude wooden huts built over lakes. The houses were erected on platforms perched on piles sunk into the lake bottoms.

How much more attractive the life of the lake dwellers must have been than that of the wandering cave men! The remains indicate that the lake dwellers made wooden furniture, pottery, and baskets and wove linen and woolen cloth. Seeds found prove that they must have had a diet of cereals, fruits, and vegetables, in addition to fish and meat. The lake dwellers built a connecting bridge to the shore which could be raised in time of danger. Since the lake dwellers, like other men of the New Stone Age, produced a surplus of food, population in-

<sup>4</sup>These conditions are true of certain primitive groups today as well





Model of a Swiss Lake Dwelling

creased. More people meant a need for more land and more goods. The demand for more goods meant an increase in trade. More trade meant that it paid for a few to specialize in certain occupations.

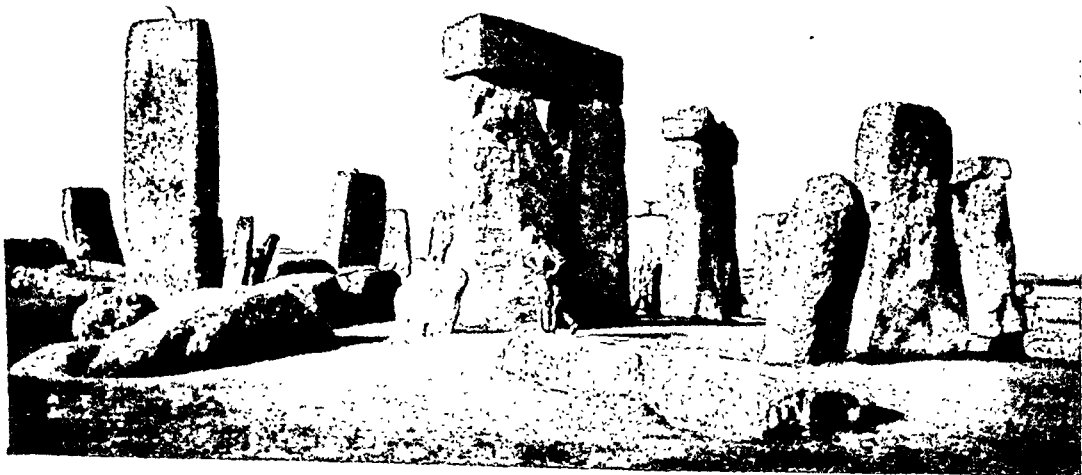
In time, as men argued over their possessions, wars broke out between villages quarreling over fertile lands. To build villages and to defend them, co-operation was necessary. Governments had to be organized and rules laid down for members of the community to obey. In every age men have been religious. Some say that even the men of the Old Stone Age must have believed in an afterlife, since they buried food and tools with their dead. This practice was con-

tinued long after the New Stone Age had ended. Still standing at Stonehenge, England, and in the province of Brittany, France, are the ruins of huge stone monuments. Some historians believe that these were New Stone Age tombs or temples.

## Primitives Today Throw Light on the Past and Present

Studies of present-day primitives made by anthropologists often throw light on how prehistoric primitives probably lived. They also give clues to the origins of our own customs and habits. Some people today are amused when they see pictures of primitives who had their heads squeezed to a pointed shape, their necks elongated, or their noses pierced. But these people forget that many of their own friends have their eyebrows plucked, their ears pierced, their faces lifted, or their noses reshaped.

There are some civilized persons who would tremble if a black cat walked across their path or if they walked under a ladder by mistake. Many people are suspicious of immigrants and foreigners. Similar superstitions and suspicions dominate the lives of most primitives. These attitudes are based



Many guesses have been made concerning these ruins left by New Stone Age men at Stonehenge, England. After investigating some, give your opinion.

not on reason, but on imagination and emotion. Primitives blame their misfortunes on magic and evil spirits. They have long lists of "don'ts" — called *taboos* — which they have inherited from their ancestors. These taboos often prove useful to tribal rulers who want to keep their subjects under control. Stories are told of primitives who have dropped dead of fright when they have violated a taboo!

Primitives usually worship many gods. Their gods often include their ancestors and objects of nature. Primitives frequently carry charms which they believe will ward off evil spirits or bring them good luck. The primitive who carries a lion's hair with him, for example, believes that he will thereby become a brave warrior!

## Civilization Began About 6,000 Years Ago

In the New Stone Age, a man who could make tools and weapons out of metal was regarded as a kind of magician. But anybody could chip an implement out of wood or grind one from stone. And most people did, long after metals were discovered. To a large extent, metals are the basis of civilization. In fact, the areas where metals were first used became the cradles of civilization.

Copper in a more or less pure state was the first metal to be commonly used. But copper is too soft to make good weapons or tools. Soon some person or persons discovered that a mixture of tin and copper makes a strong alloy, which we call *bronze*. Bronze proved so useful that it greatly changed man's ways of living. Mankind was on the threshold of the Bronze Age (c2000-c1000 B.C.). Because men either did not know how to extract iron from its ore or found it too difficult to do so, iron was not commonly used in Europe until about 1000 B.C.

The use of metal is only one characteristic of civilization. Let us locate the world's first civilized communities and find out what



A Modern Primitive of Australia Hunting with Spear, Stone Axe, and Boomerang. Why can we not draw positive conclusions about ancient primitives from a study of modern primitives?

else they had in common. It was in fertile river valleys in Africa and Asia that civilization dawned. The homes of these earliest civilizations were (1) the Nile River valley in Egypt and (2) the Tigris-Euphrates River valley in Mesopotamia (c4000 B.C.), (3) the Indus River valley in India, (a little later), and (later still) (4) the Yellow River valley in China (c1500 B.C.). In the New World, shortly before the birth of Christ, civilization was born in Central America, Mexico, and Peru. It was from the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates river valleys that civilization spread to Europe about 500 B.C. This European civilization, in turn, was intro-

duced into the Americas about 1500 A.D.

Each of the world's first civilized communities built upon the contributions made by primitive man. But these civilized communities practiced greater planning and co-operation. Their governments reclaimed deserts by irrigation, controlled floods, and stored water for dry spells. Co-operating farmers produced large supplies of food. This left others free to specialize in being craftsmen, artists, or merchants.

These specialists wanted to exchange goods. When men began to use arithmetic, a calendar, weights and measures, a system of money, and better means of transportation, exchanging goods became easier. To keep records and to pass the community's knowledge on to its children, language, writing, and education were improved. People more and more sought in religion an explanation of the universe. Many also sought in religion the comfort that worldly pleasure could not give them. As communities grew larger, the power of the government increased. Laws were needed to preserve order, protect property, and provide defense. Many rulers also

wanted to increase their own personal power.

As more goods were produced, trade with other communities increased. Traveling merchants exchanged ideas as well as products. Thus communities could profit from one another. In all these early communities greater production meant more comforts and conveniences. Population increased. Cities grew. A few became rich, while many remained poor. This often led to hatred between groups. In time, civil wars broke out. Wars spread between rival communities. All of these ancient civilizations rose to great heights and then, except for China, disappeared. Just as these ancient civilizations built upon the contributions of primitive man, so we have built upon theirs.

Civilized communities are not necessarily less brutal than primitive communities. In fact, some civilized communities have even practiced human sacrifice. Not all of mankind has developed at the same pace. In the world today, as there have been at all times during the past six thousand years, there are men living as men lived during the Old Stone Age and during the New Stone Age.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Terms to Define

primary sources • continuity of history • interdependence of mankind • Java Man • Neanderthal Man • Crô-Magnon Man • glacier • prehistoric period • archaeologist • fossils • geologist • anthropologist • plateau • Mercator projection • great circle route • polar-centered map • Old Stone Age • New Stone Age • pastoral life • nomadic life • taboos • domestication of animals • air age

historian in discovering the facts of the past

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Give three examples of how the United States has influenced the world and three examples of how the world has influenced the United States.
2. For what reasons should an American want to study world history?
3. What techniques does a good historian use to get at the truth?
4. Show that animals, man, the earth, customs, and opinions change.
5. Tell specifically how the archaeologist, the anthropologist, and the geologist each help the

6. In which period are more years included: B.C. or A.D.? How many centuries were there between 500 B.C. and 1900 A.D.?
7. Show (a) that nature has been generous in providing natural resources and (b) that natural resources are unevenly distributed.
8. Give concrete examples, including some of your own, to show that geography influences history.
9. Indicate how the natural resources of an area

ence its prosperity and artistic development. A mountainous border may be both helpful harmful to a country. Prove.

Geography is not an absolute dictator in determining history. Discuss.

How have some nations misused their natural resources, while others have made wise use of theirs?

Why must a mapmaker change the size and shape of certain areas in producing a flat map?

How has the airplane changed many of our concepts concerning geography?

What common errors are often made in the use of the word race?

Why was the span of life short in the Old Stone Age?

17. What makes (a) the discovery of fire and (b) the invention of the wheel among the greatest achievements of all time?

18. How do we know that some men of the Old Stone Age were (a) artistically and (b) religiously inclined?

19. In parallel columns list the achievements of the Old Stone Age and the New Stone Age.

20. Along with the higher standard of living of the New Stone Age came new problems. What problems?

21. In what ways does primitive man remind you of civilized man?

22. Give examples which show to what extent modern civilization is founded on metals.

23. What are the advantages and disadvantages of living in a plains area?

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

It is what we study in history and the way we study it that count. Explain.

Although primary sources are usually more reliable than secondary sources, sometimes the reverse is true. Explain.

To what extent are food, clothing, and shelter more basic than any other basic needs? What lessons can governments learn from this knowledge?

Why should we be concerned about the fact that peoples in other areas lack basic needs?

A person who recognizes the interdependence of mankind and the inevitability of change tends to be more broad-minded than one who does not. To what extent do you agree?

"Just as no event stands alone in history, so no nation and no man stands alone." Explain.

Certain prehistoric records might be more reliable than certain historic records. List reasons why.

8. If you wanted to inform an historian of five thousand years hence about our civilization, what materials other than writing would you preserve for him to study? Why?

9. Historians of all countries should meet frequently to discuss how world history should be written. List arguments for or against this statement.

10. About how many centuries were there in: (a) ancient times; (b) the Middle Ages? About how many centuries have there been in modern times? Why, then, do most world histories give more space to modern times?

11. If some catastrophe should make each of us entirely dependent upon himself, many of us might be more handicapped than Old Stone Age man. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons.

12. In what respects are superstitions and suspicious hindrances to civilization?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

Check back on a detective story you have read. Then report on ways in which the methods used by the detective were similar to and different from those used by an historian.

As a committee member, use interviews or library sources to show that in many areas today the basic needs of millions are unsatisfied.

3. After visiting a museum, make specific recommendations to the rest of the class on the most interesting exhibits on prehistoric times.

4. In committee, make a schedule suggesting for visitors to your town, museums and places of historical interest, giving locations, hours they are open, and the most interesting things to look for.

5. From *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* select five on the topic *history* which are meaningful or interesting. List in your notebook other collections of quotations available in your school library.
6. From your library card catalog, prepare a bibliography of any three books on (a) archaeology, (b) anthropology, or (c) geology. Report on the one which is written in the simplest language and is best illustrated.
7. Examine the list of Nobel prize winners in the *Information Please Almanac* or the *World Almanac*. List in your notebook examples to prove that world progress is not the monopoly of any one nation.
8. Consult the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for three up-to-date articles on any topic of current interest. Select the one you think best of the three and report on it.
9. Select any two books on a given topic from the bibliography at the end of this unit. Examine the table of contents and the index of each. What information have you gathered without reading the books?
10. Prepare a bulletin board exhibit on the most important news item of this week. Get your fellow pupils to assist you in collecting cartoons, charts, maps, pictures, and newspaper articles. Indicate the source of each and print an original caption for each.
11. Select a newspaper article which contains both facts and opinions. Underline the facts in red and the opinions in blue. Justify your classification.
12. Compare your method of preparing a history assignment with those of two classmates. List what you think are the best study habits of each.
13. Make an outline of any topic in this chapter. Write a three-sentence summary of the same topic. Which helps you to remember best? Why?
14. What is a "glossary"? Start keeping a glossary of important historical terms in the back of your notebook. Each month compare your glossary with those of one or more classmates.
15. Using a world atlas as a source of information, report on: (a) any three map projections; (b) the world's three longest rivers, three largest oceans, and three highest mountains.
16. As a research project, on an outline map of the world locate the mountain areas, plains areas, desert areas, plateau areas, and great river valleys.
17. Study a globe and also a Mercator map of the world. Then list the places which appear out of proportion on the latter.
18. Using a globe as your source of information, tell in what direction you would fly from your home town by a great circle route to reach: (a) Paris; (b) Shanghai; (c) Rio de Janeiro; (d) Cape-town; (e) Canberra.
19. As a member of a committee, read Ceram's *Gods, Graves, and Scholars*. Then contribute to a group book report entitled "Archaeology, an Exciting Adventure."

### Summing Up

1. In your notebook, answer the questions under each of the illustrations in this chapter.
2. Arrange five topics in this chapter in what you consider the order of their importance. Give reasons for your first three choices.
3. This chapter is especially intended to help you in your study of later chapters. List ways in which it may do so.

## CHAPTER 2 . . . . CRADLES OF CIVILIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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*Egypt's Geography a Clue to Its Greatness • Its History: Significant Lessons for Later Governments • Social Life: Privilege Predominates • Economic Life: Rigid Regulation • Cultural Life: Religion the Inspiration • Scientific Knowledge: Stimulated by Basic Needs • The Behistun Rock, Tablets of Clay, Laws in Stone Reveal Mesopotamian Secrets • Mesopotamia's Geography • Mesopotamian Civilizations Borrow From, Build Upon, and Destroy Their Predecessors • Hammurabi's Code Stresses Responsibilities As Well As Rights • Mesopotamia Basically a Business Civilization • Religion: Worldly Emphasis and Tremendous Influence • Ancient Hebrews Worship One God • Phoenician Sailors and Merchants Carry Civilization Throughout the Mediterranean World • Hittites Smelt Iron and Lydians Coin Money • Practical Persians Establish Principles for Governing an Empire*

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### Ancient Egypt Proves What Man Can Do

Thirty-three hundred years ago, an eighteen-year-old boy was laid to rest in ancient Egypt. This was no ordinary burial. It was the funeral of Tutenkhamon, Egypt's pharaoh (king). His mourners covered his face with a mask of pure gold. On his feet they tied golden sandals. Then they reverently placed his mummy (embalmed body) in a casket of solid gold. They protected this coffin by two outer coffins. Next, his pallbearers bore their precious burden to a tomb of many chambers.

Convinced that the soul of the dead person experiences the same pleasures after death that the person enjoyed in life, Tutenkhamon's Egyptian subjects had slaved for years to make the tomb attractive. The walls of one room were entirely of gold. On other

walls were painted and sculptured scenes from Egyptian life. Every possible need had been anticipated. The pharaoh's razor, his cosmetic kit, his walking stick, and many food containers were buried with him. So also were couches, stools with linen seats, a desk, gold-ornamented chariots, treasure-filled trunks, and statues of the royal family. Perhaps the most personal touch of all was a magnificent chair. The back of this chair, decorated in gold, silver, and precious stones, pictured the young king and his lovely wife.

How do we know this story? In 1922, a British expedition led by archaeologist Howard Carter discovered the secret entrance to Tutenkhamon's tomb. It had been hidden for centuries by piles of rubbish. Unlike other ancient Egyptian tombs, Tutenkhamon's had therefore been practically undisturbed by robbers and souvenir hunters.

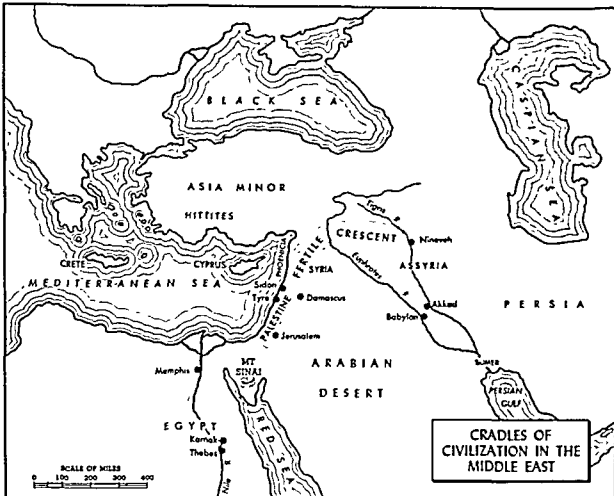
Egyptian civilization was over three thou-



From this picture of Tutankhamon's tomb one could almost write a book about Egyptian life. Why?

sand years old before Tutankhamon was born. And there are many sources of information about that civilization besides Tutankhamon's tomb, among them Egypt's pyramids. These were one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Together they stretch many miles southward from Gizeh, near Cairo. Surrounding them are the smaller tombs of the nobles. Archaeologists say that once these tombs contained magnificent vases made of precious metals and stones, delicately carved gold ornaments, and scrolls of written records. A few hundred miles south of the Great Pyramids, which are near the ancient cities of Thebes and Luxor, are massive temples. On their walls are sculptured many activities of the pharaohs. Colossal statues and other monuments are also primary sources on Egyptian history.

In addition to the carved inscriptions on their stone monuments, the Egyptians left letters, documents, and books. Their books were rolled-up sheets of *papyrus*—paper made from swamp reeds. Until about a century ago, however, the meaning of these written records was a mystery. This mystery was solved when a French scholar named Champollion deciphered the Rosetta Stone. There are three inscriptions on this ancient stone, all in different languages, all recording the same event. Champollion recognized one of the inscriptions as Greek. Another was written in *hieroglyphics*—Egyptian sacred writing—and the third, in the simple language of the Egyptian people. By comparing the Greek letters with the Egyptian letters, Champollion was able to unlock many of the secrets of Egyptian history.



**Egypt's Geography a Clue to Its Greatness.** The Nile River makes Egypt. Without it, all Egypt would be a desert. From June to October every year, the Nile overflows its banks. As it gradually subsides, it leaves behind rich topsoil, perfect for raising crops. The river rises near the equator in east-central Africa and flows north for four thousand miles. Before it flows into the Mediterranean Sea, it splits into branches. There, deposits from the Nile form a triangle of land known as the Delta. In this fertile Delta, one of the world's earliest civilizations was born. The Nile's fertility extends southward for about six hundred miles from the Delta. On either side of the river banks it extends an average of ten miles. Egypt was one of the crossroads of the ancient world. Circled by three continents — Europe, Asia, and Africa, it was conveniently located on the Mediterranean Sea. What an advantage this location was for merchants! What a

magnificent water highway was the Nile River! The limestone cliffs on its banks and the arid desert, as well as the Mediterranean Sea, gave Egypt natural protection from enemies. From nearby Mount Sinai across the Red Sea, Egyptians could obtain copper for handicrafts and weapons. In Egypt's own mountains other metals were found. The splendor of the ancient Egyptian cities with their great populations may be traced in part to these many geographical advantages.

**Egypt's History: Significant Lessons for Later Governments.** Early in Egyptian history, arguments arose over the use of water and the care of canals and dikes. Such arguments caused many Egyptians to realize the need for government. A more unified government would also help businessmen. By 4000 B.C., because of such problems, two Egyptian kingdoms, one in the north and one in the south, had been formed. By about 3400 B.C., these two kingdoms are said to



have been merged into one Egyptian kingdom. History has shown that elsewhere, as in Egypt, when man's needs and problems increase, they are usually best met by combining little communities into larger ones. Independent united Egypt, which was thus born about 3400 B.C., was to die in 525 B.C. With certain interruptions, such as civil wars, thirty different *dynasties* (successive rulers of the same family) ruled ancient Egypt.

*The Old Kingdom: Age of the Pyramids.* After the Northern and Southern Kingdoms of Egypt had been united, law, order, and prosperity were promoted. The standard of living of many Egyptians rose. Consequently, Egypt's population grew rapidly. But the Old Kingdom (c3400-c2500 B.C.) had serious weak spots. The greatest of these was the absolute power of the pharaohs. From the capital at Memphis, near modern Cairo, the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom controlled almost every activity of their subjects. Egypt under the Old Kingdom grew rich. But most of the wealth went into the pockets of the pharaohs and nobles. Intelligent businessmen today invest their money to produce more goods and more wealth. Not so in ancient Egypt! Fortunes were spent on the construction of pyramids and other tombs. And when a man died, his wealth was usually buried with him.

In a sense, the pharaohs signed the death warrant of the Old Kingdom by giving away large estates to their favorite nobles. After they became rich and powerful, these nobles paid less and less attention to the pharaohs. Instead of a united kingdom, Egypt became a land of many governments. Each noble began to think of himself as a pharaoh. Each estate tried to produce all it needed itself. In other words, each tried to become self-sufficient. Trade with other estates was cut off. Business suffered, and civil wars broke out.

*The Feudal Period: Age of the Nobles.* For nearly four centuries after the decline of the Old Kingdom, to the beginning of the Feudal Period, Egypt was disunited. Finally,

about 2100 B.C., one noble came to terms with the others and made himself pharaoh. He united Egypt once more and established a new capital at Thebes. But the nobles remained powerful. Under the Old Kingdom, the average man had received little consideration from the pharaohs. But during the Feudal Period, many nobles boasted of their kindness to widows and the poor.

Until 1800 B.C., during the Feudal Period, science and literature progressed. Trade prospered. For the first time in history, a census was taken. Such a record was needed for collecting taxes and for drafting soldiers. Although the Egyptian Feudal Period thus opened in a blaze of glory, it closed in shame. About 1800 B.C., barbarians called *Hyksos* poured into Egypt from western Asia. They tortured, murdered, and looted. For two hundred years Egypt was enslaved by the hated Hyksos.

What explains the Hyksos' conquest? As time went on, civil wars among nobles caused disunity. Many nobles had never fully recognized the authority of the pharaoh. The pharaoh's army was weakened as officers mutinied. Such conditions gave the Hyksos their opportunity. To the fairly peaceful Egyptians, the fighting methods of the Hyksos were bewildering. From speeding chariots drawn by charging horses, fierce Hyksos soldiers brandished their metal weapons. Never before had most Egyptians even seen a horse! But the cruel rule of the conquerors united the Egyptians. In 1580 B.C., by using methods and weapons like those of the Hyksos, the Egyptians drove their foreign rulers from Egypt. With this new warlike spirit, the Age of the Empire began.

*The Age of the Empire.* Success against the Hyksos had puffed up the pharaohs with power. In the years which followed, they drove south to conquer what is today part of Ethiopia and northeast to take over such areas as Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria. Thus the Egyptian Empire (1580-525 B.C.), which some consider the first empire in history, was born. An empire is a powerful state whose

government exercises control over subject peoples.

Under the empire, the treasury bulged with riches obtained from plunder, tribute, and trade. However, when a country's wealth is acquired through plunder, its prosperity is not as sound as when wealth is earned through the production of goods. The standing armies of the empire used up and destroyed goods, but they did not produce any. Prices rose because goods were scarce. A few persons became very rich. As in earlier periods, priests and nobles began to compete with the pharaoh for control. Uprisings occurred. Furthermore, a powerful enemy from what is now Turkey, called the Hittites, waged border raids against the Egyptians. They used iron weapons. From 1100 B.C. on, Egypt became the victim of one conquest after another. In 525 B.C., it was conquered by the powerful Persian Empire. Thus the Egyptian Empire, like many later empires, carried within it the seeds of its own destruction. Since 525 B.C., as we shall see, the Egyptians have been the subject peoples of many empires. Since 1936, however, Egypt has been independent.

#### **Social Life: Privilege Predominates.**

*The Egyptian Social Ladder.* The ancient Egyptians belonged to different social classes depending upon their birth, the work they did, and the wealth they possessed. On the top rung of the social ladder stood the pharaoh and the royal family. Pharaohs were often honored as gods. All the land of Egypt was considered their personal property. So close to the top rung of the social ladder were the priests and nobles that sometimes they competed with the pharaoh for control. Swarming about the pharaoh, too, were other favored groups: the governors of the provinces, tax collectors, and court officials. To these favorites (often royal relatives) the pharaoh granted not only large estates, but the honor of being buried in a large tomb! Elaborate burials were considered guarantees of immortality. Tradesmen, scribes



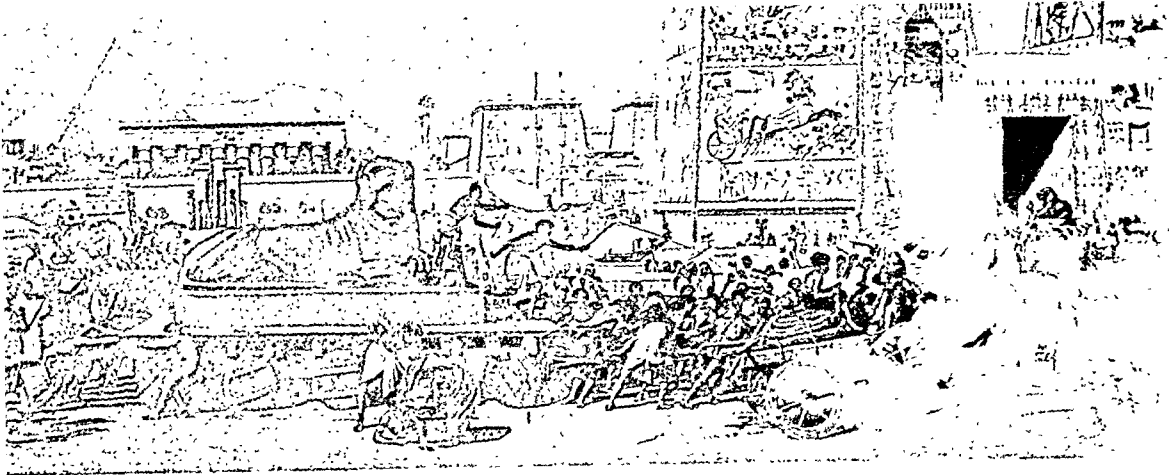
These ivory pieces found in an Egyptian tomb were used in a game called "Hound and Jackals."

(writers and clerks), engineers, artists, and doctors occupied the middle rungs of the social ladder. Many of these were government employees. Sometimes members of this middle class climbed to the top rungs. Standing on the lowest rungs were the craftsmen. Holding the social ladder in place, but never able to mount it, were the peasants and slaves. Slaves included prisoners of war, debtors, and criminals. Hard work, unquestioning obedience, long military service, and low standards of living were their lot.

*Women Highly Regarded.* It was not against the law for an Egyptian to have more than one wife. But few Egyptians did. Usually a man married a close relative. In the household the wife and mother had most to say. The children inherited their names and property through her. Even the pharaoh's throne was inherited from his mother. Egyptian mothers taught their children to be obedient, to be respectful, and to curb their greediness. Until fairly recent times, ancient Egypt was one of the few countries where women held a position of dignity and respect.

*Food, Clothing, and Shelter.* Coarse bread, vegetables, and fish, and very little of each, made up the usual meal of the average ancient Egyptian. On the banquet menus of noble households, however, might appear grapes, dates, beef, poultry, eggs, and cakes.

Sandals and a single cotton or linen garment were enough to clothe the average Egyptian in his hot climate. Upper-class



A Slice of Life in Ancient Egypt, As Seen by Poynter, a Nineteenth-Century Painter.

women wore jeweled belts, necklaces, and bracelets. Their makeup included eyebrow pencil, lip and cheek rouge, green eyelid shadow, and orange coloring for the nails. Their elaborate hairdresses were held in place by ivory hairpins. The fine linen clothing of noblemen was embroidered and bejeweled. Their grooming included frequent baths, shaves, haircuts, manicures, and even pedicures.

The average Egyptian lived in a tiny, one-room, mud-brick hut. In the cities were many slums, facing narrow streets. Egyptian concern for the afterlife did not prevent the wealthy from building luxurious homes for life on earth. Their spacious dwellings were constructed of brick, stone, or wood. Courtyards, gardens, pools, sun porches, and fruit orchards gave these villas the glamor of a Hollywood stage set. Carved and inlaid tables and chairs and rich rugs and tapestries gave the homes an air of splendor. The owner of such a household ate from plates of gold, silver, or copper, and sipped his wine from alabaster cups or gem-studded vessels.

**Economic Life: Rigid Regulation.** Egypt was the most complete economic dictatorship in the ancient world. In the Old Kingdom, for example, peasants could be sold like cows by the government. They were forbidden to leave the land they tilled. Their

surplus crops might be seized by the pharaoh's officials. Forced labor on canals, dikes, or pyramids was common. For such work the people were fed and clothed by the government. Even skilled workers were forbidden to leave the tasks assigned them. Most business and agriculture were operated for the benefit of the government. The pharaoh's storehouses and stockyards were chock-full of wines, wheat, textiles, and cattle. These were the taxes paid by the people. Tax dodgers and thieves were sometimes punished by torture or even by death.

*Brain and Brawn Harness the Nile.* The fertile soil of Egypt is said to be "the gift of the Nile." It would have been a pretty worthless gift, however, without the skill of Egyptian engineers and the sweat of Egyptian slaves and peasants. The engineers planned dikes, canals,<sup>1</sup> and reservoirs and reclaimed desert land. The hard-working Egyptian farmer used a crude plow (harnessed to human beings or oxen), a wooden hoe, and a wooden or metal sickle. Egypt is called "the granary of the ancient world." This is because three times a year it yielded a wide variety of crops, including grain, vegetables, fruits, flax, and cotton. Cows, pigs, sheep, doves, and geese were domesticated.

<sup>1</sup> The most famous ancient Egyptian canal was the one which connected the Red Sea and the Nile Delta, not far from the modern Suez Canal.



The Judgment, Where the Heart of an Egyptian Princess Is Weighed in the Balance Against the Figure of the Goddess of Truth. Above, she is shown addressing the hawk god and before a shrine. What facts about the ancient Egyptians are revealed by this papyrus painting?

**Clever Craftsmen Produce Luxury Items** Rich harvests set many Egyptians free from farming. Such people could become skilled craftsmen. Metalworkers, carpenters, potters, glassblowers, papermakers, and weavers—all these gave their time to furnishing fine homes and tombs for the aristocracy. Most craftsmen labored in the workshops of the pharaoh, in temples, or on the estates of the nobles. Delicate Egyptian linen, dyed many colors, was desired in many lands. Exquisite jewelry, dainty statuettes, and tiles encrusted with gaily colored glassware were Egyptian specialties. Each article of furniture was an original creation. Many of them featured leather upholstery and gold and ivory decorations.

**Foreign Trade Fostered by Pharaohs** Barter (the exchange of goods for goods) was the usual method of exchange. In the late Empire Age, however, trade increased so much that it became difficult to practice barter. Then merchants began to pay their debts with lumps of gold, each lump having the

value of a cow. For the pharaohs' huge trading expeditions Egyptians built the world's earliest seagoing ships. Outgoing Egyptian cargoes usually consisted of linen, jewelry, wheat, and glassware. Egyptian imports included elaborate tapestries from Syria, horses and cedar from Babylonia, copper and decorated vases from Cyprus, and gold and ivory from the countries south of Egypt. Egyptian merchants were required to turn over a large share of these imported goods to the government.

### Cultural Life: Religion the Inspiration.

**Egyptian Religion Revolved Around the Afterlife** Priests were powerful in ancient Egypt. In alliance with nobles, they were sometimes able to break the power of pharaohs. This was so because life revolved around religion. And Egyptian religion revolved around concern for the afterlife. It was felt that entrance to the next world was open only to those who could prove that they



Some of the 134 Columns in the Temple of Karnak Built by Pharaoh Rameses II. What makes these columns so impressive?

had lived a good life on earth. Osiris, god of justice and immortality, acted as judge in the Kingdom of Death. He decided whether the dead person was entitled to immortality. That is why Egyptians had buried with them magic charms, certificates of good conduct signed by their priests, and copies of their sacred book, *The Book of the Dead*. This book listed many sins of which the dead person was not supposed to have been guilty. Among the things the dead person had to swear to Osiris were:

"I did not murder.  
I did not steal.  
I did not lie."

This is known as the *negative confession*. The body of the dead person was embalmed to preserve it for immortality. The mummy was then wrapped in linen and placed in its coffin.

Some gods, such as Osiris, were worshiped throughout Egypt. These included Ra, the sun-god, and Isis, the goddess of fertility. Each tribe, village, and city had its own local god as well. Certain animals, birds, and insects were considered sacred, for it was thought that the gods revealed themselves to human beings in animal forms.

Although most Egyptians worshiped many gods, Pharaoh Ikhnaton (1375-1358 B.C.) worshiped one. In other words, they believed in polytheism; he, in monotheism.

His god, Aten, was a god of love, not fear. To win converts to monotheism, Ikhnaton closed the old temples and discharged the polytheistic priests. Ikhnaton believed that all men and all creatures everywhere had been created by Aten. Egyptians were not ready for such new ideas, however. After Ikhnaton's death, the former priests returned to power. They compelled his youthful successor and son-in-law, Tutenkhamon, to restore polytheism. Later the Hebrews and the Christians were to fulfill Ikhnaton's dream of worshipping one God.

*The Egyptians Show How Writing Develops.*

"Bloody hands with palms uplifted  
Were a symbol of destruction . . ."

—From Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*.

For two persons who don't understand each other's language, the most natural way to communicate is to draw a picture. This is how picture writing probably started. The above quotation gives an example of picture writing. The Egyptian hieroglyphics were picture writing, too. In time, each of the Egyptian pictures came to stand for not only a particular thing, but also for a particular sound. Thus the same picture could be used for many different words which contained the same sounds. After a while, the Egyptians realized that all words contain only a certain number of sounds. They reduced these sounds to twenty-four, which we would call the letters of their alphabet. The Egyptian alphabet, in use about 3000 B.C., is believed to be the oldest in history. Some say our own alphabet can be traced to it.

*Education a Respected Monopoly.* Most Egyptians were illiterate. Few could afford to send their children to school. Then, as now, however, some parents would scrimp and save to give their boys an education. Apparently girls received little education. The one open road to advancement was to become a scribe. Scribes might some day become priests or other high government officials. In time, education became a monopoly

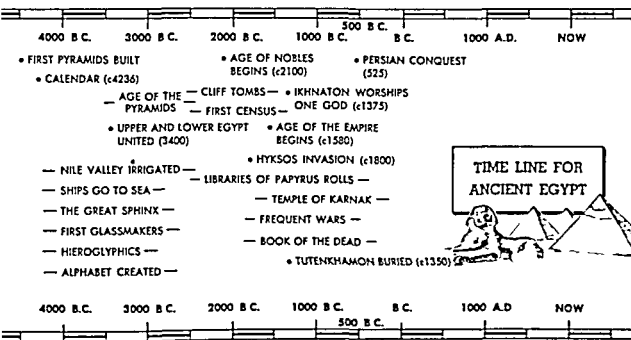
of scribes and priests, who refused to share the mysteries of their learning. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion were the four "R's" taught by the priest-teachers of the elementary school. Woe to the pupil who drew pictures in his copybook or who daydreamed! Egyptian schoolmasters did not spare the rod. Elementary-school graduates might take up a trade or go to the university to study astronomy, mathematics, and medicine under their priest-professors.

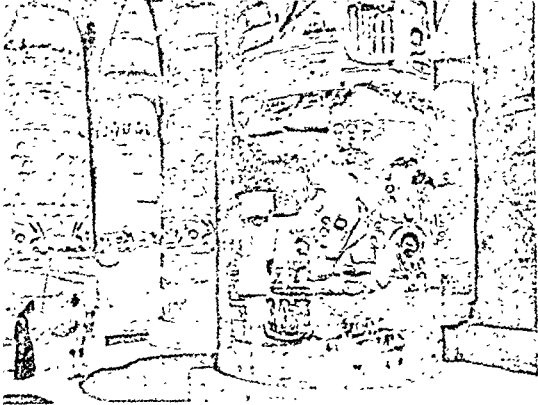
**Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: Big and Lasting.** At Gizeh stands the Great Pyramid. It has stood there for five thousand years. It covers thirteen acres and stands nearly five hundred feet high. It contains over two million blocks, most of which weigh about two tons. One hundred thousand lash-driven men poured out their sweat and blood for twenty years to complete this resting place which King Khufu considered fit for his royal remains. In fact, huge size and long life were what Egyptian architects and sculptors wanted most in the tombs, temples, and statues which they constructed so skillfully. Thus were the gods and pharaohs most honored.

In the huge rock-cut tombs constructed during the Feudal Period, there are vestibules, great pillared halls, and sacred chambers, similar to those in the pyramids. In the Temple of Karnak near Thebes, constructed during the Empire Age, there are two rows of gigantic sculptured columns in the center of the hall. These columns are taller than the columns at the sides. This arrangement for better lighting was copied by builders of later temples and churches elsewhere.

Near the Great Pyramid stands another famous monument, the Great Sphinx. This gigantic statue has the head of one of the ancient pharaohs and the body of a lion (to represent power). The Sphinx has seemed an awe-inspiring riddle to visitors for thousands of years. Often in our conversation we refer to silent, mysterious persons as "Sphinx-like." Outside the many temples at Thebes stand avenues of sphinxes, towering statues of the pharaohs, and obelisks. An obelisk is a tall, square shaft of stone slightly tapered and ending in a pyramid.

On the walls of temples and tombs artists cut into the stone to carve their figures in relief; then they painted them in vivid col-





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covered with wedge-shaped characters which looked like writing were found. But Mesopotamia's mystery could only be solved when a key to this writing was worked out.

**The Behistun Rock, Tablets of Clay, and Laws in Stone Reveal Mesopotamia's Secrets.** Lucky for the scholars seeking such a key that an ancient Persian king, Darius, was vain! High up on a mountain near Behistun in Persia, he had had a record of his victories carved into the rock. Like those of Egypt's Rosetta Stone, the inscriptions were written in different languages. About 1850, a courageous Englishman, Henry Rawlinson, climbed the dangerous cliff and copied the inscriptions. Understanding the ancient Persian writing of one inscription enabled Rawlinson to decipher the Babylonian in another. Now much of the history of ancient Mesopotamia could be read from the thousands of clay tablets which have been unearthed. In 1901, in a mound at Susa, Persia, was found a slab of black stone on which was inscribed the legal code of the Babylonians. This, too, was a valuable source of information.

**The Role of Geography in Making Mesopotamia a Cradle of Civilization.** There is a fertile band of land which extends in a semicircle westward from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. This stretch of land resembles a horseshoe. Many historians call this territorial horseshoe the *Fertile Crescent*. To it were attracted wandering Semitic tribes<sup>2</sup> of the dry Arabian Desert and non-Semitic peoples from the mountainous north. The part of the horseshoe which first attracted settlers was the eastern side near the Persian Gulf. Later, the western side along the Mediterranean seacoast drew many immigrants.

Mesopotamia (a Greek word for "Land between the Rivers") is the river valley be-



Make a list of all the information that this model of an ancient city in Mesopotamia tells you about life there.

tween the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. It forms the eastern portion of our horseshoe. Mesopotamia has been known by a variety of names in history, including "Sumer," "Babylonia," and "Chaldea." Like the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers overflow their banks and deposit rich soil, creating a fertile valley. Like the Nile, too, in ancient times the twin rivers were water highways. By way of the Euphrates, in particular, merchants could travel easily from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf. Thus they had access to other ancient civilizations in Egypt and India.

Mesopotamia was not so strongly protected by natural boundaries as was Egypt. Invaders and immigrants were numerous. Some of the invaders were ruthless and destructive. Nevertheless, many of the old settlers married the newcomers. Ideas were exchanged. Perhaps this explains why Mesopotamian civilization was perpetually changing. Just as our country has been enriched by immigrants from many lands, so was Mesopotamia. Egypt, having fewer immigrants, was less influenced by new ideas.

**Mesopotamian Civilizations Borrow from, Build upon, and Destroy Their Predecessors.** The life spans of the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and of Egypt cover very nearly the same period (c 4000 B.C. to the sixth century B.C.). In other words, the two civilizations were *contemporary*. The

<sup>2</sup> The Semitic peoples are so called because, according to the Bible, they are descended from Shem, the son of Noah. They speak a language of common origin. Among Semitic peoples today are the Hebrews (Jews) and Arabs.



ors. Some of the Egyptian statues, whether they were carved in wood or stone, molded in hard pottery, or cast in bronze, seem very real.

**Scientific Knowledge: Stimulated by Basic Needs.** Their way of life led Egyptians to many practical scientific discoveries. To improve agriculture by predicting weather and seasons, they studied the sun, stars, and moon. Thus they learned much about astronomy. To control the Nile floods and to measure land, they had to learn something about surveying and geometry. To construct the gigantic pyramids and temples, Egyptians learned to add and subtract, to use fractions and decimals, and to work out formulas in geometry. To embalm the dead, priests had to know something about medicine.

Papyrus rolls and Egyptian mummies tell us that Egyptian doctors knew anatomy, practiced surgery, recognized disease symptoms, and prescribed drugs. Some doctors specialized in treating different parts of the body. Many Egyptians had weak eyes and freckles because of the bright sun. Many had bad teeth. So there were oculists, beauty doctors, and dentists. However, like most ancient peoples, the Egyptians were superstitious. They carried magic charms to ward off evil. They believed that an evil spirit in the brain caused headaches. Brain operations were performed to release these spirits.

Most primitive peoples estimated time roughly by changes in the moon. So did the Egyptians at first. The lunar month (the period between two full moons) is never more than thirty days. The lunar calendar accounted for approximately a 354-day year. The Egyptians discovered, however, that the average interval between Nile floods is 365 days. Using this knowledge, they developed a more accurate calendar. They divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each and added five days at the end. With minor changes, including an additional day every leap year, we have adopted the Egyptian calendar.

**Looking Back at Ancient Egypt.** The

period of Egyptian glory was a long one. It might have lasted even longer. But Egypt's manpower and wealth had been exhausted by the building of pyramids and temples in which much of Egypt's wealth remained buried. Many selfish pharaohs, nobles, and priests had taken advantage of the people. Quarrels had disrupted unity, and rival empires had invaded Egypt. After 1100 B.C., Egyptians spent so much time looking backward to the old ways of doing things that their country made little progress. Rigid rules, imitation, and superstition tended to dominate Egyptian religion, arts, and sciences. Nevertheless, we of the twentieth century can never thank ancient Egypt enough for building so much of the foundation of later world progress.

## The Ancient Mesopotamians Prove That Progress Was Not an Egyptian Monopoly

For the past few thousand years, the plains of Mesopotamia (today Iraq) have been dotted with hills of rubbish overgrown with vegetation. Travelers there often picked up tiny ornamental seals and fragments of pottery or of brick tablets with strange markings. They would take them home as souvenirs and perhaps forget all about them. Who would have guessed that beneath the Mesopotamian mounds were hidden the ruins of magnificent cities, spacious palaces, and colorful temples? How were the travelers to know that many of their souvenirs told a story as old as the pyramids of Egypt?

Up to about a hundred years ago, the history of ancient Mesopotamia was pretty much a mystery. Bible stories and certain ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Roman histories gave some scattered information about the area. But little else was known until some English archaeologists started digging into the rubbish heaps. The archaeologists found there not only the ruins of palaces and temples, but also remains of warehouses, sewers, and canals. Thousands of bronze and clay tablets

Fragment of a Wall Relief from an Assyrian Palace Showing a Conquered Subject Bringing Two Horses as Tribute to King Sargon II.



after a two-year siege by the Medes from Persia and the Chaldeans from Babylonia, Nineveh fell and the Assyrian Empire ceased to be.

The Assyrians served as a model for some later empires. They built military roads and tied their empire together with a postal system. One of their kings, Assurbanipal, collected a library of 22,000 clay books. Assyrian unification of many different peoples, although based upon force, was to open men's eyes to the possibilities of uniting the peoples of the world in peace.

When Nineveh fell, Babylon became once more the hub of the ancient world. The victorious Chaldeans (612-539 B.C.) built a second Babylonian Empire which was powerful and luxurious. These desert Semites conquered the entire horseshoe of Western Asia. But their empire did not last long. When the great Chaldean ruler Nebuchadnezzar died in 561 B.C., the heyday of the Semitic peoples in Mesopotamia was almost finished. Like the later Egyptians, the later Babylonians spent much time looking backward to the glories of the good old days. Like the Assyrians, they were cruel to their subject peoples. And, in 539 B.C., Babylonia was forced to surrender to the Persians, as did Egypt fourteen years later. Mesopotamia, like

Egypt, was to be controlled in the centuries to follow by many different empires. Today Iraq (once Mesopotamia) is independent. The great powers of the world are greatly interested in Iraq because of its rich oil wells. The "Land between the Rivers" has not lost its magnetism.

**Hammurabi's Code Stresses Responsibilities as Well as Rights.** Babylonian King Hammurabi (c2067-2025 B.C.) was one of the few kings of the ancient world who showed sympathy for the widow, the orphan, and the poor. Peasants and workers looked to him for protection against grasping moneylenders, racketeering officials, cruel nobles, and brutal military officers. His famous code of laws, which was written on stone for all to see, is the oldest code of laws in existence.

Hammurabi's Code guaranteed the rights of property owners. However, it stated that they had responsibilities as well as rights. The code stated that if a poorly constructed house caved in and killed the owner, the builder would also be killed. And anyone who knocked out the teeth of another would have his teeth knocked out. However, if his victim were a slave, he would only have to pay a fine. Obviously, along with its good features, the code had certain faults. It was extremely harsh. Death was the penalty for

Egyptians themselves ruled their country for most of these 3500 years. During the same period, Mesopotamia was governed by five successive empires.

The Sumerians (c4000-c2100 B.C.) from the mountainous north were the earliest people to settle in Mesopotamia. These non-Semitic people merged with the Semitic tribes of the Arabian Desert, and a well-developed civilization resulted. The pioneer Sumerians discovered that by helping one another they might turn the Tigris-Euphrates valley into a second Garden of Eden.<sup>3</sup> In order to drain swamps, construct dams, and dig ditches and canals for irrigation, they had to co-operate under the direction of a government. The land of Sumer was made up of rival city-states ruled by priest-kings. City-states are towns or cities that include a few miles of surrounding countryside and that govern themselves.

About 2600 B.C., Sargon I swept down with his skilled archers and conquered the Sumerians. Sargon was a Semite from a nearby city-state, Akkad. Out of his two city-states Sargon made one nation, *Sumer and Akkad*. The less civilized Akkadians adopted the counting system, calendar, system of weights and measures, and business practices of the more civilized Sumerians. Sargon I boasted that he was emperor of the world! He and his successors spread the learning of their country to the shores of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Thus they were carriers of civilization as well as conquerors. But about 2100 B.C., the conquerors were themselves conquered. Under the new Semitic conquerors, the city of Babylon became the magnificent capital of Babylonia, the home of a great ancient civilization (c2100-c1700 B.C.). Babylonian civilization built upon the foundations laid by the Sumerians. The most important Babylonian ruler, Hammurabi, unified his kingdom by suppressing warfare among the various city-states and by establishing the same laws throughout the land.

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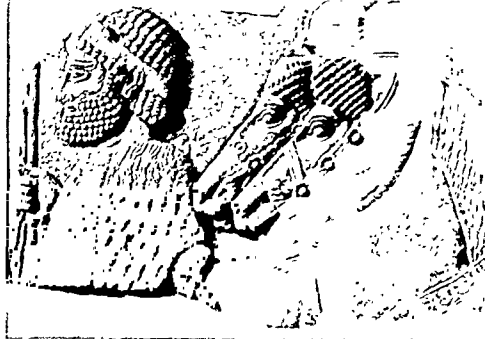
Babylonia enjoyed three centuries of unity. However, about 1700 B.C., at about the same time that the Hyksos were invading Egypt, invaders called Kassites poured into Babylonia on their charging horses and stayed. The less civilized Kassites soon absorbed some of the learning of the more civilized Babylonians.

North of Babylon on the Tigris River lived the Assyrians. At first for defense, the Assyrians (c1100-612 B.C.) built one of the mightiest military machines in the ancient world. Later, they became fiercely aggressive. In the name of Assur, their sun-god, they believed that they had to wage a holy war against all who believed in other gods. Their large standing army used not only cavalry and war chariots, but iron spears and swords. They handled the bow and arrow with deadly accuracy. They smashed the walls of besieged cities with battering-rams or scaled them with ladders. War captives were sometimes skinned alive, deliberately crippled, or thrown into fiery furnaces. The populations of conquered cities were sometimes enslaved, often massacred. Sometimes, to prevent them from revolting, they were shifted to other areas. Assyrian armies of occupation squeezed taxes and tribute from subject peoples and looted their homes and warehouses. The Assyrians expressed their admiration for brute force in their clay or black marble bas-reliefs.<sup>4</sup> Sculptors modeled ferocious bulls and lions and husky, unsmiling men. One Assyrian king, Sargon II, annexed some Persian provinces. His son, Sennacherib, who was murdered by his own sons, conquered Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

But once-powerful Nineveh, Assyria's capital, is today just another mound of rubbish. History shows us that no country can engage in constant warfare without weakening; no country can rule others despotically without stirring up revolutions. Farmers on military duty cannot till the soil. Hired soldiers are not as loyal as native soldiers. In 612 B.C.,

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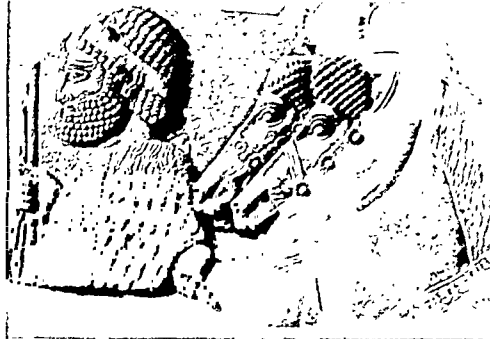
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Hammurabi's Code guaranteed the rights of property owners. However, it stated that they had responsibilities as well as rights. The code stated that if a poorly constructed house caved in and killed the owner, the builder would also be killed. And anyone who knocked out the teeth of another would have his teeth knocked out. However, if his victim were a slave, he would only have to pay a fine. Obviously, along with its good features, the code had certain faults. It was extremely harsh. Death was the penalty for

Egyptians themselves ruled their country for most of these 3500 years. During the same period, Mesopotamia was governed by five successive empires.

The Sumerians (c4000-c2100 B.C.) from the mountainous north were the earliest people to settle in Mesopotamia. These non-Semitic people merged with the Semitic tribes of the Arabian Desert, and a well-developed civilization resulted. The pioneer Sumerians discovered that by helping one another they might turn the Tigris-Euphrates valley into a second Garden of Eden.<sup>3</sup> In order to drain swamps, construct dams, and dig ditches and canals for irrigation, they had to co-operate under the direction of a government. The land of Sumer was made up of rival city-states ruled by priest-kings. City-states are towns or cities that include a few miles of surrounding countryside and that govern themselves.

About 2600 B.C., Sargon I swept down with his skilled archers and conquered the Sumerians. Sargon was a Semite from a nearby city-state, Akkad. Out of his two city-states Sargon made one nation, *Sumer and Akkad*. The less civilized Akkadians adopted the counting system, calendar, system of weights and measures, and business practices of the more civilized Sumerians. Sargon I boasted that he was emperor of the world! He and his successors spread the learning of their country to the shores of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Thus they were carriers of civilization as well as conquerors. But about 2100 B.C., the conquerors were themselves conquered. Under the new Semitic conquerors, the city of Babylon became the magnificent capital of Babylonia, the home of a great ancient civilization (c2100-c1700 B.C.). Babylonian civilization built upon the foundations laid by the Sumerians. The most important Babylonian ruler, Hammurabi, unified his kingdom by suppressing warfare among the various city-states and by establishing the same laws throughout the land.

<sup>3</sup> Some believe that this area was the Garden of Eden referred to in the Bible.

Babylonia enjoyed three centuries of unity. However, about 1700 B.C., at about the same time that the Hyksos were invading Egypt, invaders called Kassites poured into Babylonia on their charging horses and stayed. The less civilized Kassites soon absorbed some of the learning of the more civilized Babylonians.

North of Babylon on the Tigris River lived the Assyrians. At first for defense, the Assyrians (c1100-612 B.C.) built one of the mightiest military machines in the ancient world. Later, they became fiercely aggressive. In the name of Assur, their sun-god, they believed that they had to wage a holy war against all who believed in other gods. Their large standing army used not only cavalry and war chariots, but iron spears and swords. They handled the bow and arrow with deadly accuracy. They smashed the walls of besieged cities with battering-rams or scaled them with ladders. War captives were sometimes skinned alive, deliberately crippled, or thrown into fiery furnaces. The populations of conquered cities were sometimes enslaved, often massacred. Sometimes, to prevent them from revolting, they were shifted to other areas. Assyrian armies of occupation squeezed taxes and tribute from subject peoples and looted their homes and warehouses. The Assyrians expressed their admiration for brute force in their clay or black marble bas-reliefs.<sup>4</sup> Sculptors modeled ferocious bulls and lions and husky, unsmiling men. One Assyrian king, Sargon II, annexed some Persian provinces. His son, Sennacherib, who was murdered by his own sons, conquered Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

But once-powerful Nineveh, Assyria's capital, is today just another mound of rubbish. History shows us that no country can engage in constant warfare without weakening; no country can rule others despotically without stirring up revolutions. Farmers on military duty cannot till the soil. Hired soldiers are not as loyal as native soldiers. In 612 B.C.,

<sup>4</sup> Bas-reliefs are sculpture in which the figures are slightly raised from the background.

Fragment of a Wall Relief from an Assyrian Palace Showing a Conquered Subject Bringing Two Horses as Tribute to King Sargon II.



after a two-year siege by the Medes from Persia and the Chaldeans from Babylonia, Nineveh fell and the Assyrian Empire ceased to be.

The Assyrians served as a model for some later empires. They built military roads and tied their empire together with a postal system. One of their kings, Assurbanipal, collected a library of 22,000 clay books. Assyrian unification of many different peoples, although based upon force, was to open men's eyes to the possibilities of uniting the peoples of the world in peace.

When Nineveh fell, Babylon became once more the hub of the ancient world. The victorious Chaldeans (612-539 B.C.) built a second Babylonian Empire which was powerful and luxurious. These desert Semites conquered the entire horseshoe of Western Asia. But their empire did not last long. When the great Chaldean ruler Nebuchadnezzar died in 561 B.C., the heyday of the Semitic peoples in Mesopotamia was almost finished. Like the later Egyptians, the later Babylonians spent much time looking backward to the glories of the good old days. Like the Assyrians, they were cruel to their subject peoples. And, in 539 B.C., Babylonia was forced to surrender to the Persians, as did Egypt fourteen years later. Mesopotamia, like

Egypt, was to be controlled in the centuries to follow by many different empires. Today Iraq (once Mesopotamia) is independent. The great powers of the world are greatly interested in Iraq because of its rich oil wells. The "Land between the Rivers" has not lost its magnetism.

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many offenses which we would punish merely by fine or imprisonment. The creditor was favored over the debtor. Even within each social class, there were sometimes sharp distinctions. For example, some slaves could marry free men or women and own property. Others could not. Although the code preached "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," this penalty applied only to poor people.

Hammurabi's Code stated: "If a woman . . . have gadded about and have belittled her husband, they shall throw that woman into the water." Yet Babylonians, like Egyptians, treated women fairly well. A husband was bound to give lifetime support to a wife with an incurable disease. An unhappy wife could leave her husband and have her dowry refunded. Women were eligible to such high positions as scribes and managers of big estates. (Apparently the position of women in warlike Assyria was not so high.) Also the Babylonian state protected the property of orphans. But, said the law: "If a son strike his father, they shall cut off his fingers."

Being a doctor in Babylonia could be unhealthy. For Hammurabi's Code said: "If . . . a physician operate on a man . . . and cause the man's death, they shall cut off his (the physician's) fingers." Doctor's fees were fixed by law. Although they had some practical medical knowledge, Babylonian doctors made wide use of charms and magic.

**Mesopotamia Basically a Business Civilization.** Kings, wealthy merchants, nobles, and the gods (represented by the priests) owned most of Mesopotamia's land. The first signs of banking appeared here. Loans were made and interest charged. The temples were the financial markets, for the priests were the bankers. The temple of the local god also served as a storehouse, a market, and a workshop. The temple god, represented by the priest-king, was the employer. His employees included bakers, brewers, cloth-makers, farmers, and herdsmen. Their tools were temple-owned. Business transactions, even those of free craftsmen, had to be

recorded by the officials of the priest-king.

Most farmers rented the land and paid their rent with part of their crops. In a bad season a farmer might have to pay his debt by selling his children or his wife. Slaves were sometimes used to till the soil. Mesopotamian farmers turned their soil with iron plows and sowed seeds through a funnel to avoid waste. Wheeled carts, drawn by oxen, transported their wheat, barley, rice, dates, and dairy products to city markets. Under the Assyrians, the cotton plant was imported from India. Even scientific breeding of cattle was practiced.

To Mesopotamia came cedar from Syria, teakwood and gems from India, gold from Egypt, and spices from Arabia. Mesopotamians exported farm products, cattle and sheep, metalwork, cloth and leather products, and seals. These seals were small pieces of stone with distinctive designs carved on them. Every businessman used his personal seal to stamp his identification on documents. Most Mesopotamian trade was conducted by barter. In time, a small silver piece — a *shekel* — was used for measuring the value of goods.

The businesses run by both priests and private merchants had to have accurate records. So the businesslike Mesopotamians invented systems of counting and measurement. When we buy eggs by the dozen, or when we measure twelve inches to the foot, we are following the Mesopotamian system of counting by twelves — the *duodecimal* system. We also copy them when we reckon time by sixty seconds in a minute, sixty minutes in an hour, and two dozen hours in a day. This use of sixty as a unit (five times twelve) is known as the *sexagesimal* system. The Mesopotamians also worked out multiplication tables and geometrical formulas. Their units of weight resembled our ounce and pound.

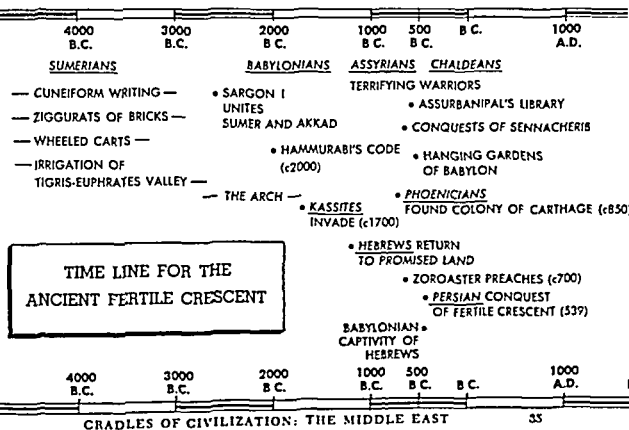
And how were basic needs served in this business civilization? Some Mesopotamians ate bread, dates, dairy products, and meat. The food allowance of laborers and slaves, however, was usually a small portion of barley. Most persons wore a single linen or

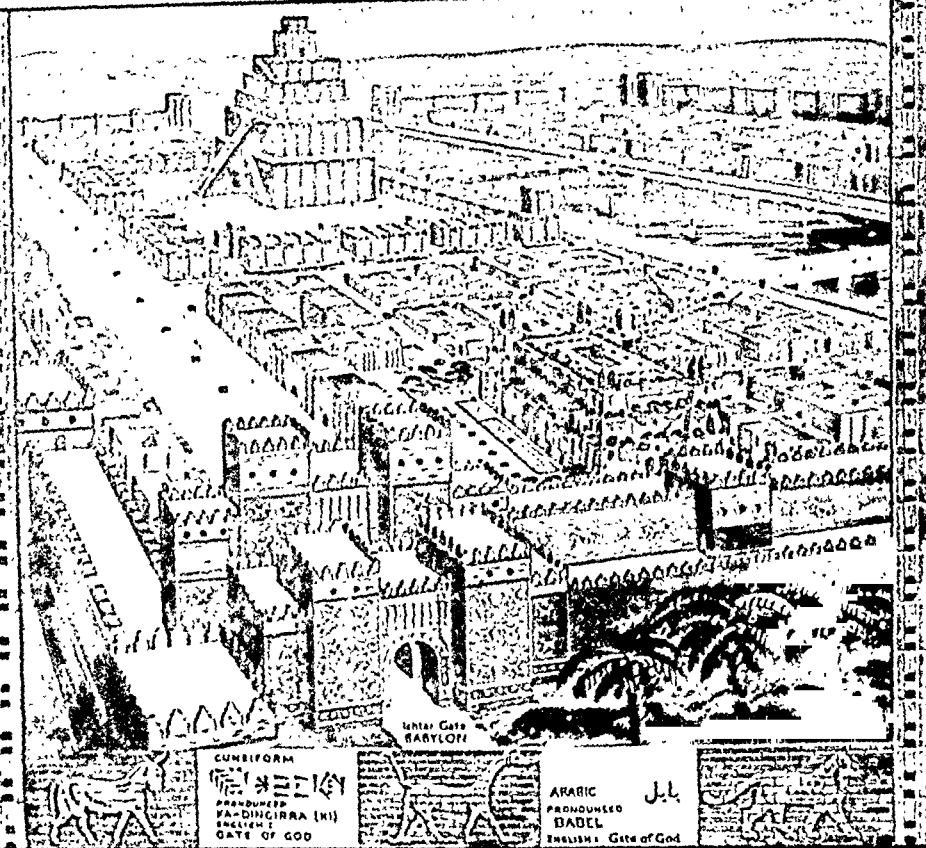
woolen garment reaching to the ankles. Assyrian sculpture shows that this tunic was fringed at the bottom and bound at the waist by a broad belt. Narrow strips of cloth wound about the legs served as stockings, and sandals as shoes. The well-to-do wore massive jewelry and elaborate hairdresses. They perfumed their bodies and carried walking sticks adorned on top with engraved seals. Lacking stone, many Mesopotamians built rectangular brick houses made from sun-dried clay mixed with straw. Rugs, tapestries, gold ornaments, fine silver vases, and small ivory figures made some homes attractive. The Mesopotamians probably even had some plumbing. Over the centuries, the brick houses crumbled, leaving those mounds in which travelers used to find their souvenirs.

**Religion: Worldly Emphasis and Tremendous Influence.** To the Mesopotamian the hereafter was not the paradise it was to the Egyptian. Instead, it was "the abode of darkness and famine, where their nourishment is clay . . . ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings there. . . ." Mesopotamians did not embalm their dead. Perhaps this was because

the next world looked so unattractive to them. Instead, they concentrated on the practical problems of life in this world. Even their priests, as we have seen, played an important role in business. Droughts, disease, and death, Mesopotamians thought, were caused by evil spirits. They tried in many ways to win the favor of their local and national gods to protect them from these evil spirits. They repeated magic phrases, wore charms, offered sacrifices, and built temples. Since they believed that the future could be predicted, they paid priests to interpret certain signs and omens.

Mesopotamian priests were constantly searching for signs of the will of the gods in the stars. Thus they developed the false science of *astrology*. Later in history, astrologers were often referred to as *Chaldeans*. Even today, there are persons who believe that the position of the stars and planets at the hour of their birth foretells their future. We use such expressions as "Thank your stars" and "You are my lucky star." These expressions and astrologers' predictions can be traced to the Chaldeans. Through their





Indicate from a study of this picture why the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar was "the talk of the ancient world."

study of the heavens, Chaldean astrologers learned to distinguish between stars and planets and to identify five planets. They were able to predict eclipses of the sun and moon.

Like the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians figured out a lunar calendar (see page 30). Later, by adding an extra month to the lunar calendar, they made it almost like our year. Like us, they had a twelve-month year, a seven-day week, and a twenty-four-hour day. They divided the month into four weeks and the day into hours and minutes. To measure time, they invented the sundial and the water clock. The water clock worked like an hourglass, except that water was used instead of sand. Thus, the science of astronomy is inherited from both the Egyptians and Mesopotamians.

"He who shall excel in tablet writing shall shine like the sun." So reads an ancient Mesopotamian proverb. Excavations reveal that a school and a library were attached to the temple of each city. Pupils copied wise say-

ings, learned how to keep business records, and drew maps. Astrology, religion, reading, physical education, and medicine were also taught.

Pupils today often complain of the weight of their textbooks. Pity the poor Mesopotamian schoolboy who had to carry a load of bricks (the clay tablets)! Using a stylus, a pointed instrument made of marsh reed or metal, the writer cut his characters into a sheet of damp clay. As he pressed deeper, the mark became broad and wedge-shaped, like a triangular cut of pie. This wedge-shaped writing was later called *cuneiform*, from *cuneus*, the Latin word for *wedge*. Baking the moist tablets made them so durable that thousands of them have lasted to our time. The Mesopotamians and Egyptians seem to have invented writing at about the same time (c3000 B.C.). Like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the Mesopotamian cuneiform began as picture writing and developed into sound writing (see page 28). A Mesopota-

mian schoolboy had to be fairly industrious to master the three or four hundred syllables of this sound writing.

The legends that the Mesopotamian schoolboy learned resemble Bible stories. One Mesopotamian epic (long, narrative poem) begins with the story of the creation of the world and of its first man. This corresponds with the story of Adam in the Bible. A later chapter in this so-called Gilgamesh epic is similar to the story of Noah and his ark. The Mesopotamians also left sacred hymns and historical records, as well as law codes.

There was a close alliance between religion and architecture, too. Each town was surrounded by a brick wall for protection. Towering above all other buildings was the ziggurat (temple to the chief god). The ziggurat consisted of a series of platforms, each one being smaller than the one beneath it, and each of the bricks glazed a different color. The Tower of Babel of biblical fame, built at Babylon about 600 B.C., may have been a ziggurat. The priest-architects made much use of the arch, an invention of the Sumerians. The arch is an important architectural device because it supports great weight and looks attractive. The Assyrians made even triple arches at the entrances to their palaces.

The city of Babylon, planned by King Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century B.C., was the talk of the ancient world. A stranger entering its richly colored Ishtar<sup>8</sup> gate must have been thrilled to walk up the wide avenue paved with colored tiles. The avenue had blue walls sculptured with yellow lions. Nebuchadnezzar's imperial palace lay ahead. Against a background of reds, whites, blues, and yellows, the palace roof gardens must have looked refreshing to the stranger. These were the famous Hanging Gardens of Babylon, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Nebuchadnezzar must have loved his Persian bride, Amytis, very much: to make her feel at home in the flat Euphrates valley,

<sup>8</sup> The goddess Ishtar was recognized by all the Mesopotamian peoples as Mother Earth, the symbol of fertility.

he had built these gardens on roof terraces to resemble the gardens on the hills of Persia.

**Looking Back at Ancient Mesopotamia.** Immigrants to the United States are encouraged to become naturalized American citizens. In ancient Mesopotamia, on the other hand, newcomers were treated as outsiders by whatever group happened to be in power—in fact, they were often enslaved. Desert and mountain tribes were constantly trying to get into fertile Mesopotamia, causing continuous and costly warfare. Real unity was impossible so long as conquerors bred hatred by plundering and demanding tribute. Luxury, vice, drunkenness, and militarism sapped the energies of the Mesopotamian empires. The various ruling peoples learned much from one another; if they had also learned to co-operate more fully, their combined civilizations might have lasted much later than 539 B.C. Yet their civilization, like that of ancient Egypt, never really died. Others were to build upon the foundations which they had laid.

## Other Middle-Eastern Peoples Add to the Pool of Ancient Knowledge

Ancient Palestine (Canaan) lay at the tip of the western side of the territorial horse-shoe (or Fertile Crescent) whose eastern side is the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The western side, a fertile band of territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Desert, also attracted many peoples. It was the route used by caravans between Egypt and Mesopotamia. Lying between two great empires, this strip became a major battleground of the ancient world. To the north of Palestine, along the coast, was Phoenicia. Inland was Syria. Although these lands were not rich in natural resources, they possessed good harbors, some minerals, and abundant lumber.

**Ancient Hebrew History Summed Up.** The ancient Hebrews were one of many Semitic tribes who tended sheep and goats in the Arabian Desert. About 1400 B.C., they began to settle in Palestine, where the fertile Jordan

River valley was known as "the land of milk and honey." Soon afterward, famine struck the land. Most of the hungry Hebrews moved on to Egypt. For many years they prospered there. One of them, Joseph, even became the right-hand man of an Egyptian pharaoh. But not all Egyptian pharaohs were so tolerant toward non-Egyptians. One pharaoh forced the Hebrews into slavery. Their hard lot made many of them yearn for escape or death. Escape they did. After forty years of wandering, they returned to the "Promised Land" of Canaan about 1200 B.C. The conquest of Canaan was far from easy. There was competition from Hittites and Philistines and resistance from the Canaanites. In time, the Hebrews intermarried with the original settlers, the Canaanites, and adopted much of their more advanced culture.

Originally the Hebrew people consisted of twelve tribes loosely united. Enemy threats, however, made them recognize the need for greater unity. In the eleventh century B.C., Saul became the first ruler of a united Hebrew nation. But in the tenth century B.C., the Hebrew kingdom split in two. The ten northern tribes established a separate kingdom called Israel. The southern tribes formed the kingdom of Judah. The rich kingdom of Israel began to forsake the old religious beliefs of the Hebrews. Its people ceased to worship one God, Yahweh (Jehovah). This shocked the deeply religious people of the southern kingdom of Judah. In 722 B.C. Sargon II, the warlike Assyrian, destroyed the kingdom of Israel and enslaved its people. In 586 B.C., the kingdom of Judah met an unhappy fate, also: Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem and carried the Hebrews of Judah to Babylon as slaves. In sweat and tears they bemoaned this *Babylonian captivity*. When the Persians captured Babylon, their king, Cyrus, freed the Hebrews and allowed them to go home to Jerusalem. Since then, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, Palestine has been ruled by several empires. The Hebrews have been scattered all over the world, and persecution has been their lot. Yet many have

held staunchly to their faith. For centuries they looked toward establishing in Palestine an independent Hebrew nation. In 1948, their dream came true (see Chapter 28).

*Some Biblical Biographies.* About 1350 B.C., the Egyptian government ordered that all Hebrew male infants be drowned. The Bible tells how the Pharaoh's daughter rescued one, Moses, adopted him, and raised him in luxury. Yet Moses never forgot that he was a Jew rather than an Egyptian. Because he resisted Egyptian cruelty to the Jews, he was forced to flee Egypt and live in exile in the desert. While there he determined to rescue his people from slavery in Egypt and to lead them into the Promised Land.

During the forty years that the escaped Jews spent under Moses's leadership in the wilderness of Sinai, many quarrels arose. The Hebrews felt that God had forsaken them. While they were squabbling, Moses left them and went to pray on Mount Sinai. The Bible relates how on his return he brought with him the Ten Commandments engraved on stone. Inspired, the Hebrews continued under Moses's leadership to the border of Palestine. There, within sight of the Promised Land, Moses bade his people farewell and died.

Famous, too, is the story of the simple shepherd boy, David, and his struggle with Goliath, the giant Philistine. David slew Goliath after stunning him with stones shot from a sling. David's skill in winning Hebrew independence from the Philistines paved the way for a long and prosperous reign. Jerusalem became his capital. His popularity was increased by the many beautiful psalms (religious songs) which he composed.

King David's son, Solomon (c930 B.C.), promoted his country's trade and beautified the city of Jerusalem. He made friends of neighboring states by marrying the daughters of their rulers. His reputation for wisdom was so great that the queen of Sheba traveled hundreds of miles in a gift-laden caravan to visit him in his magnificent palace. Tremendous



A Motion-Picture Impression of the Struggle between David and Goliath. For what reasons has this incident interested readers for centuries?

dous sums were spent in the building of Solomon's temple to Jehovah at Jerusalem. His peaceful and prosperous reign lasted forty years. It is considered by Jews to be one of the glorious periods in their history. In spite of Solomon's reputation for wisdom, dissatisfaction set in toward the end of his reign. His people protested against forced labor, compulsory military service, court extravagance, the meddling of his foreign wives in government affairs, and the increasing worship of idols. It was after Solomon's death that the ten northern tribes withdrew from the kingdom.

**Hebrew Contributions to Civilization.** The most important gifts of the ancient Hebrews to the world were belief in one God and a great collection of sacred writings which rank among the world's literary masterpieces, the Old Testament of the Bible. The Hebrews preached many democratic ideas, including a belief in the brotherhood of man. They also stressed world peace. According to the Hebrew faith (Judaism), there was only one God,

and He was just and righteous. Other ancient peoples had many gods whom they feared. To win the favor of their gods, these polytheistic peoples offered sacrifices, worshiped idols, and practiced magic. In contrast, the belief of the Hebrews was expressed by the prophet Micah thus:

"And what doth the Lord (Jehovah) require of thee,  
But to do justly,  
And to love mercy,  
And to walk humbly with thy God."

Practically everything that we know about the ancient Hebrews comes from the Old Testament of the Bible. The Bible also relates the stories of the creation and of the great flood. It is filled with beautiful poetry, wise sayings, stirring dramatic incidents, and statements on law and worship. Here, too, are the inspirational writings of those great Hebrew religious teachers, the prophets. The leading prophets from Amos to Jeremiah warned the rich against taking advantage of the poor. They preached the simple life, free from extravagance and luxury. The Old Testament, combined with the New Testament, as we shall see, makes up the Bible of Christians.

Mosaic law is expressed in the Ten Commandments and in the Talmud, a digest of Jewish laws and opinion. It has influenced morals in the western world throughout the ages. Sins against God and man were written down. So also were health rules regarding sanitation and diet. Here are some noble quotations from the Talmud:

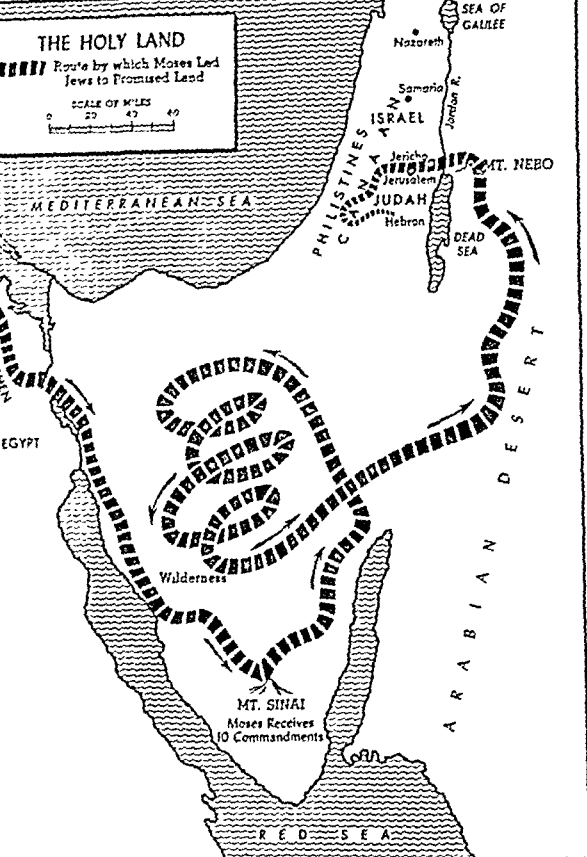
"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

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"They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." In these words, the prophet Isaiah laid down the great hope of all peoples, the preservation of peace.

Just as the ancient Hebrews made contributions to other peoples, so they probably



learned from their neighbors. Jewish ideas on monotheism bear some similarity to those of Pharaoh Ikhnaton of Egypt. Some of the books of the Old Testament resemble earlier Egyptian literature. There are also many similarities between the Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi. Hebrew writers used the alphabet of the Phoenicians and the Arameans<sup>6</sup> and papyrus scrolls like the Egyptians.

**Phoenician Sailors and Merchants Carry Civilization Throughout the Mediterranean World.** Life in ancient Phoenicia must have been exciting. Caravans laden with rare articles from far-off lands were constantly arriving. Anxious Phoenician eyes kept searching the horizon for ships returning from long journeys into dangerous waters. The market places of such Phoenician cities

<sup>6</sup> The Arameans lived in the area known as Syria today. Their capital, Damascus, was a great trading center and their language became an international one.

as Tyre and Sidon were beehives of activity. Yet ancient Phoenicia (part of modern Syria) was a mere strip of land hemmed in by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and by the Lebanon Mountains on the east. Lacking sufficient fertile land, the Phoenicians could not make a living out of farming and cattle raising. That is why some became merchants, some seamen, and some skilled craftsmen. Some even became slave traders or pirates. To increase their sources of wealth, the Phoenicians planted hundreds of trading posts throughout the Mediterranean world. In time, their trading posts became such colonies as Marseilles in modern France, Cadiz in modern Spain, and Tunis (ancient Carthage) in North Africa. By 1100 B.C., Phoenicia was mistress of the Mediterranean.

The Phoenicians made good use of whatever resources they had. They tilled their precious soil with care. Using Egyptian models, they built superior ships out of the cedar trees of the Lebanon Mountains. Their ships were the first to have more than one deck and more than one tier of oarsmen. So skilled were their carpenters that Solomon hired them to help build his temple at Jerusalem. From shellfish they derived a purple dye, Tyrian purple, which was much in demand for royal robes. Phoenician merchants made the most of their location on the well traveled route between Egypt and Mesopotamia. They exchanged the goods of many different peoples, thus becoming middlemen.

At this time, most ships hugged the coast line. They seldom took long trips. But the daring Phoenicians sailed as far as the Baltic Sea and along part of the west coast of Africa. They were the first to sail by night, using the north star for guidance. Their ships would leave the home ports carrying dyed, woven, and embroidered cloths, glassware, carpets, and fine metalwares. On the home voyage they would bring such items as tin from England and furs from the Baltic Sea area. From central Africa their caravans would bring gold and ivory; from Egypt

linen and glassware; and from Arabia, perfumes and spices.

The entire ancient world profited from the Phoenician eagerness to make money. Through the voyages of the Phoenicians, backward Europe learned much from the more advanced Middle East. The Phoenicians picked up the good ideas of many ancient peoples, often improved upon them, and redistributed them to others. For this reason they are known as carriers of civilization. Later, Greece and Rome were to widen the avenues of trade opened up by Phoenician pioneers.

To the practical Phoenicians, Babylonian cuneiform writing and Egyptian hieroglyphics were time wasters. Therefore, the Phoenicians perfected a phonetic alphabet of twenty-two letters. Each letter represented a consonant sound. Once these letters had been learned, they could be used over and over again. To the Phoenician consonants, the Greeks were later to add vowels. With a few minor changes made by the Romans, this alphabet is the one used by most of the world today.

**Hittites Smelt Iron and Lydians Coin Money.** Stretching out like an arm waiting to shake hands with Europe is the peninsula of Asia Minor. Its coast lines are washed by the Black Sea in the north and by the Mediterranean Sea in the south. The ancient Hittites established their capital there, near what is now Ankara, Turkey. The land of the Hittites was separated from Europe only by narrow waterways, such as the Dardanelles. For thousands of years this area connecting Europe and Asia has been the route of warriors, traders, and people in search of new homes. It was through this armlike passageway that much of the civilization of the Middle East was carried to barbarian Europe. By about 1500 B.C., using iron weapons, the Hittites had become the military rivals of the Egyptians for control of western Asia.

The Hittites are most remembered because it was they who closed the Bronze Age and

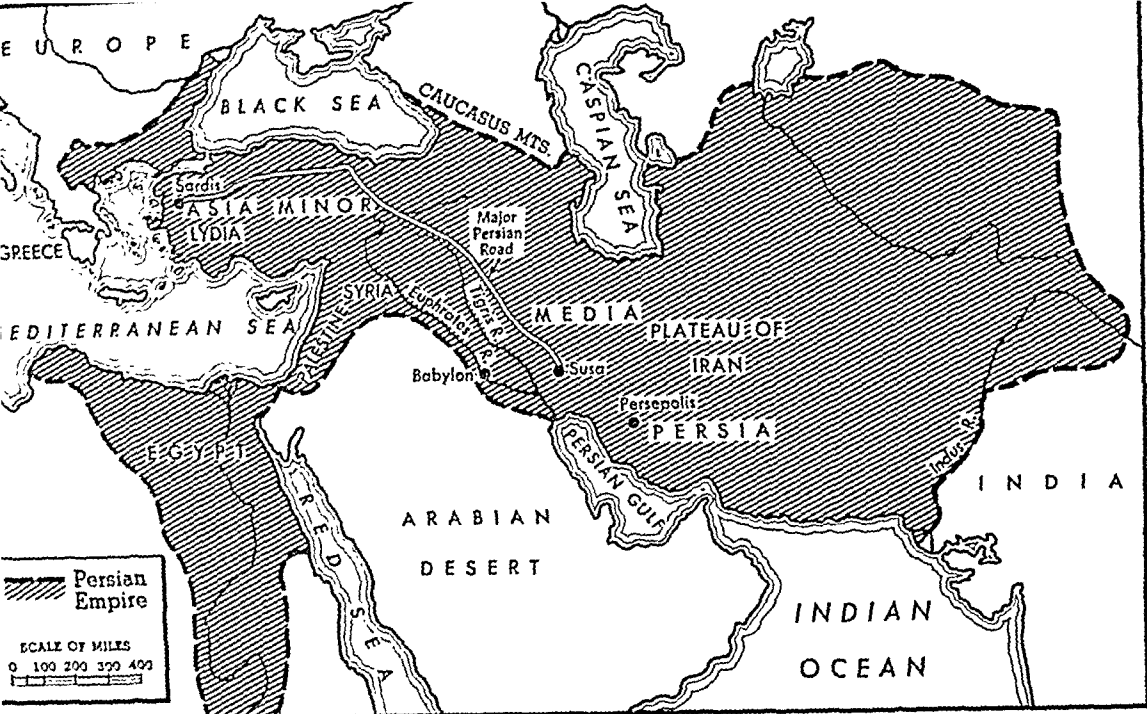


Hittite Bas-Relief. Compare this with other examples of ancient sculpture in this book.

raised the curtain on the Iron Age. They had learned to smelt iron from the mines of Asia Minor and to mold it into utensils and weapons. They tried to keep a monopoly on this skill. But the Assyrians learned their secret, manufactured iron weapons, and, as we have seen, became the terror of western Asia. Constant warfare weakened the Hittites. Thus barbarian invaders from Europe were able to conquer them about 1200 B.C.

The Lydian kingdom arose in western Asia Minor as the Hittite Empire declined. From its gold and silver mines and from its trade in goods and slaves, Lydia became so wealthy as to be the envy of the ancient world. Even today, wealthy men are often described as being "as rich as Croesus." Croesus was a Lydian king famous for his riches. The Lydians were the first to use coins as a medium of exchange. The Greeks borrowed the idea and handed it down to us. In 546 B.C., King Croesus became the captive of King Cyrus of Persia.





**Practical Persians Establish Principles for Governing an Empire.** Cyrus had determined to burn his captive, Croesus, alive. How would this once rich, proud, and powerful monarch behave in his hour of death? Cyrus, filled with curiosity, watched as his soldiers prepared the fire. For a long time, as the fire blazed under him, Croesus was silent. Finally he confessed that his own life had proved to him that wealth and power do not make men happy. Cyrus, softened by this confession, ordered that the fires be put out. But it was too late. The flames had spread too far. Croesus lifted his head to the heavens and prayed. Then, as if in answer to his prayers, the rains came.

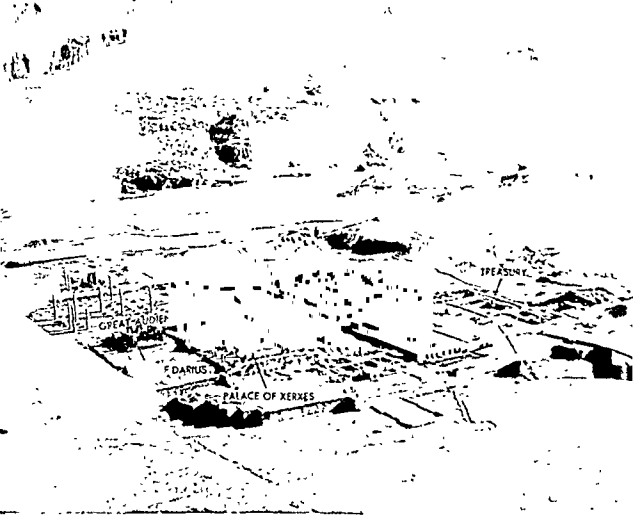
After freeing Croesus from his bonds, Cyrus asked him why he had gone to war against Persia. Croesus's only comment was that war is senseless, "since in peace the sons bury their fathers, but in war the fathers bury their sons." Cyrus was so impressed by this that he made Croesus one of his advisers. This act of Cyrus gives us an idea of the tolerant policy used by Persian emperors in dealing with subject peoples. Unfortunately, however, none of them learned a lesson from

the intelligent opinions of Croesus on wealth, power, and war.

The Persians came from the Plateau of Iran. This fairly high stretch of land extends from the Indus River in India westward to Babylonia. The Plateau of Iran has coast lines on the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Caspian Sea. The Persians were called Indo-European (Aryan) because of the language that they spoke.

*Some Persian Portraits.* As a rule, conquerors are not loved by the conquered. Cyrus (c600-529 B.C.) was an exception. His own people called him "Father." To the Hebrews he was a liberator. It was he who freed them from their Babylonian captors and permitted them to return to their beloved Jerusalem. He had unified his kingdom and conquered Asia Minor and the Second Babylonian Empire (Chaldea). But, unlike the cruel Assyrian emperors, he neither destroyed the conquered towns nor killed the conquered peoples.

One of the greatest weaknesses of one-man rule is the fact that no one can predict how capable the successor to the throne will be. When intoxicated, Cambyzes, son



Findings of archaeologists excavating Persia's ancient capital, Persepolis, were published in 1953.

of Cyrus, practiced bloodcurdling cruelties. He had his brother murdered, and when his wife protested, he kicked her to death. He was the Persian who had conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Unlike Cyrus, he antagonized his conquered subjects. He ridiculed both the Egyptian religion and the Egyptian priests. Taking advantage of this discontent, a magician impersonated Cambyses's murdered brother and seized the throne. The magician was soon ousted and Darius made king.

Darius (c558-485 B.C.) annexed northwestern India and European territory on the Black Sea. He was the great organizing genius who tied together all the peoples whom the Persians had conquered. What a problem to govern an empire which included Medes and Persians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Jews, Phoenicians, Arameans, Lydians, Egyp-

tians, and Indians! Darius was such a good administrator that conquering empires ever since have imitated many of his methods. He built military roads and established a postal system and a fairly uniform system of coinage to bind his empire together.

Darius's empire was divided into provinces. From his palace at Susa, the emperor sent out inspectors to check up on the provincial governors. These inspectors were known as "the eyes and ears of the king." It was the job of the governors to prevent revolts, to collect tribute, and to see to it that soldiers and military equipment were supplied on demand. Such soldiers were taught uniform Persian military tactics. These included the use of archery and of cavalry charges. Persian rulers in general won the loyalty and co-operation of many subject

peoples by respecting their languages, customs, and religions. Thus many different cultures were preserved. At the same time, the barriers which isolated the peoples began to break down.

Yet some grumbled, for Darius played favorites. Large grants of farm lands went to privileged aristocrats. Only their sons were given educational opportunities. The conquered Greek colonies in Asia Minor grew bitter. Darius forced them to give him compulsory services and heavy tribute. Yet on the great Behistun monument which was carved in his honor, he is quoted as saying: "... I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant, neither I nor any of my line. I have ruled according to righteousness." Darius attempted to extend his empire over the Greeks. As we shall see, he and his successors were turned back. Alexander the Great of Macedonia was finally to bring the two-hundred-year-old rule of the Persians to an end in 331 B.C.

*Persian Religion Stresses the Struggle Between Good and Evil.* Who hasn't at one time or another felt that good and evil forces are constantly struggling to win control of our world? This is what the prophet of the Persians believed. His name was Zoroaster and he probably lived about 700 B.C. He taught that it was a mistake to worship the sun, the moon, the earth, and fire, as many ancient peoples did. According to the teachings of Zoroaster, a constant battle is raging between the one supreme God, Ahura-Mazda (lord of light, truth, and goodness), and his

eternal enemy, Ahriman (the spirit of darkness, falsehood, and evil). All believers were urged by Zoroaster to get into the fight on the side of Ahura-Mazda. Those who lived upright lives, told the truth, and worked hard were supporting Ahura-Mazda. They were promised their reward in heaven. Those who supported Ahriman would be punished by perpetual torment in hell. Zoroaster predicted that good would conquer and that the Judgment Day would be followed by everlasting peace. These teachings appear in the Zend-Avesta, the Persian sacred book.

Today there are only about 100,000 followers of Zoroaster. Most of these live in India. Yet both Christians and Jews may have been influenced by the Persians in the ideas of good and evil in conflict, of a Satan, of a Judgment Day, and of Heaven and Hell.

*Preserving and Adapting the Cultures of Others.* Persia's conquered peoples furnished a reservoir of learning into which the Persians were constantly dipping. The architecture of the Persian palaces at Susa and Persepolis imitated the terrace plan used in Babylonia. From the Egyptians, the Persians copied their high columned halls and their calendar. Like the Assyrians, the Persians decorated their gates with winged animals. The Persians used stone more than brick. They used glazed brick, as the Babylonians had, however, for decoration. The Persian writing on rocks and monuments resembles Babylonian cuneiform. No wonder a famous Greek, Herodotus, said that of all mankind the readiest to adopt foreign customs were the Persians!

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Tutenkhamon • Howard Carter • papyrus • Rosetta Stone • dynasties • Hyksos • pharaoh • delta • Osiris • the Book of the Dead • Isis • Ikhnaton • monotheism • barter • solar calendar • hieroglyphics • the Great Pyramid • the Great Sphinx • obelisk • Behistun Rock • Henry Rawlinson • the Fertile Crescent • Sumerians • city-state • bas-reliefs • Hammurabi's Code • Kassites • As-

syrians • astrology • cuneiform • Gilgamesh Epic • ziggurat • Hanging Gardens of Babylon • Phoenicians • Syria • Palestine • Jehovah • Babylonian captivity • Moses • Judaism • Ten Commandments • David • Solomon • the Old Testament • Talmud • Hittites • Lydians • Cyrus • Darius • Zoroaster • Zend-Avesta • Asia Minor

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What did Tutankhamon's tomb reveal about Egyptian life?
2. List ways in which Egypt's geography has influenced its history.
3. In parallel columns list the good and bad features of: (a) the Old Kingdom, (b) the Feudal Period, and (c) the Age of the Empire.
4. Discuss the contribution of each of the social classes to ancient Egypt.
5. What (a) does and (b) does not appeal to you about the food, clothing, and shelter of ancient Egypt?
6. Considering his tools, the average Egyptian farmer did a remarkable job. Discuss fully.
7. Prove that both Egypt and its neighbors benefited from trading with each other.
8. In what ways was Egypt an economic dictatorship?
9. Discuss the highlights of Egyptian (a) religious beliefs and (b) education.
10. Trace the steps in the development of the Egyptian alphabet.
11. Give evidence that Egyptian art was inspired by religion and Egyptian science by basic needs.
12. Give reasons for the decline of ancient Egypt.
13. Prove that there were both specialization and superstition in Egyptian medicine.
14. How does Mesopotamian geography help to explain Mesopotamian history?
15. Why was Mesopotamia more influenced by new blood and new ideas than Egypt was?
16. Compare our sources of knowledge of ancient Mesopotamia with our sources of knowledge of ancient Egypt.
17. What was civilized about the Sumerians?
18. In Column I, list the five successive peoples who ruled ancient Mesopotamia. Opposite each,

in Column II, give the dates of their rule. In Column III, give two characteristics or achievements of each.

19. Compare farm life in Mesopotamia with farm life in modern America as to (a) methods, (b) products, and (c) land ownership.
20. Prove that Mesopotamia had (a) a variety of occupations, (b) a banking system, and (c) trade with other areas.
21. Compare the food, clothing, and shelter of Mesopotamians with those of Egyptians.
22. Show that Mesopotamia was truly "a business civilization."
23. Compare the ancient Babylonian attitude toward women and children with the modern American attitude toward them.
24. List the distinctive characteristics of Mesopotamian (a) religion, (b) education, and (c) sculpture.
25. Whose architecture do you prefer, Egypt's or Mesopotamia's? Why?
26. How would you like to have been a doctor in ancient Mesopotamia? Discuss.
27. Sum up the section captioned "Ancient Hebrew History Summed Up" in one paragraph.
28. Which of the biblical biographies interests you most? Discuss fully.
29. Compare the type of contributions made by the ancient Hebrews to world progress with the type made by the ancient Egyptians.
30. What evidence is there that the Phoenicians were resourceful, industrious, and daring?
31. Discuss why the world is in debt to (a) the Hittites and (b) the Lydians.
32. Show that the Persians used both their heads and their hearts in governing their empire.
33. Select some noble ideals from Zoroaster's teachings.

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. In a sense, Howard Carter was a kind of Christopher Columbus. Explain.
2. In what sense are the products of ancient Egyptian craftsmen a measure of Egyptian civilization?
3. What would you say was the greatest con-

tribution of the ancient Egyptians? Give reasons.

4. What reforms might the ancient Egyptians have introduced to make their civilization last even longer?
5. What lessons can nations learn from studying the Egyptian Empire?

6. Discuss: The farmer was really the foundation for Egypt's greatness.
7. If the Nile River had dried up, how would Egypt's history have been affected?
8. Discuss: Ikhnoton was born before his time.
9. Geographically, which was better off, Egypt or Mesopotamia?
10. Mesopotamian civilization is fine proof that peoples borrow from one another. Show concretely.
11. In what respects was the Persian Empire a better model for future empires than the Assyrian Empire?
12. Show that in some ways Hammurabi's Code was fairly modern.
13. To what extent was the Mesopotamian religion more worldly than the Egyptian?
14. Explain: "Necessity is the mother of invention." How does this quotation apply to Mesopotamian discoveries in mathematics and astronomy?

15. Politically the ancient Hebrews were weak, but spiritually they were strong. Prove.

16. To what extent is the world today trying to achieve the ideals expressed in the quotations from the Talmud and from the prophet Isaiah?

17. In a sense, the handicaps of their homeland helped the Phoenicians to develop a variety of occupations. Explain.

18. In what ways were the Phoenicians teachers of world civilization?

19. If Asia Minor had been a great body of water, instead of land, how might the history of Europe have been affected?

20. If you had been an adviser to Darius, what suggestions would you have made about running the Persian Empire?

21. Culturally the conquering Persians were conquered by their conquered peoples. Explain and illustrate.

22. List the lessons in the anecdote about Cyrus and Croesus.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Compose a headline in picture-writing announcing the arrival of the Hyksos in Egypt.
2. In committee prepare a travelogue on Egypt. Include major points of historical interest, with exciting descriptions of each.
3. Write an imaginary newspaper report on Tutankhamon's funeral.
4. Using Breasted's *Ancient Times* as a source of additional information, show how (a) an interior decorator, (b) a clothing designer, (c) a beautician, (d) a jewelry manufacturer, or (e) an architect might borrow ideas from the ancient Egyptians to create new styles today. Get a pupil majoring in art to illustrate your ideas with sketches.
5. Find out the meaning of "a balanced diet." To what extent did the Egyptians have one?
6. On an outline map of the Mediterranean area, indicate by means of arrows the products of the countries from which Egypt imported goods.
7. Visit the Egyptian section of a museum with some of your classmates. Compare your favorite exhibits with theirs.
8. On an outline map of the Middle East, locate

the sites of each of the ancient civilizations and the most important cities in each.

9. Write an imaginary letter to the rulers of ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia pointing out how both areas might benefit by a political merger.

10. Contribute to a committee-compiled, illustrated travel folder such as King Nebuchadnezzar might have designed to attract tourists to Babylon.

11. Prepare a two-minute protest speech which a courageous conquered subject might have made to his Assyrian masters.

12. Look up a source book or an encyclopedia article on Hammurabi's Code. Make a list of the laws which sound interesting to you. Tell why.

13. Read the excerpt from the *Epic of Gilgamesh* in *Adventures in World Literature* by Inglis and Stewart. Select specific lines or ideas which sound familiar to you. Tell why.

14. Study the map of the Middle East. Then point out why this area has been of strategic importance for thousands of years.

15. Read David's *Twenty-Third Psalm* in the Bible. Explain why this psalm is considered by

- many one of the great classics of world literature.
16. "As wise as Solomon" is a popular saying. Find out from Lewis Browne's *Stranger Than Fiction* why Solomon was considered wise.
17. Write a letter such as a Phoenician boy might have written home describing his experiences on his first Mediterranean voyage.
18. Prepare a speech that a Phoenician might have made in answer to charges made against

- his people by their foreign business competitors.
19. Read the book of Ezra in the Bible. Report on what it tells you about the Persians.
20. Imagine yourself an inspector for King Darius checking up on provincial governors. Write a report on (a) complaints against Persian rule and (b) some of the achievements of the various subject peoples which you think the Persians should copy.

### Summing Up

1. Contribute your own sketches or illustrations obtained from libraries or museums to a class bulletin board on the ancient Middle East.
2. Select the three illustrations in this chapter which you think tell most about the ancient Middle East. Explain why.
3. Point out three important ways in which the political history of ancient Egypt differed from that of ancient Mesopotamia.
4. If you were writing a biographical history of the ancient Middle East, which personalities would you include? Why, in each case?

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# CHAPTER 3 . . . CRADLES OF CIVILIZATION IN THE FAR EAST AND FAR WEST

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**Geography of India: A Study in Contrasts • India's History Surveyed • Hinduism and the Caste System • Buddhism Challenges Hinduism • India's Arts, Sciences, Language, and Literature • Daily Living in Ancient India • Ancient China Creates a Civilization Which Never Died • China's Geography and Ancient History • Lao-tse Preaches a Passive Search for Happiness • Confucius Preaches an Active Search for Happiness • Mo Ti and Mencius Stress the Brotherhood of Man • The Family: the Fabric of Chinese Life • Women Considered Inferior • China's Religions, Writing, Language, Science, Art, and Literature • Mayas Make Progress in Arts and Sciences • Aztecs Combine Cannibalism and Culture • Incas Set Up a Kind of Socialism**

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## **Ancient India Proves that Progress Was Not a Monopoly of the Middle East**

**Geography of India: A Study in Contrasts.** India<sup>1</sup> is a land of amazing contrasts. It is part of the continent of Asia, yet so cut off that it seems like a separate continent. Great natural boundaries protect it, yet it has been the victim of many invasions. It is shaped like a huge triangle whose base is the Himalaya Mountains in the north. The tip of the triangle in the south dips into the Indian Ocean. India's long, fairly regular coast line faces on the east the Bay of Bengal and on the west, the Arabian Sea. Water travel to India is easy, but water travel within India is difficult. Neither the Indus

River nor the Ganges nor the branches of either are navigable throughout. The world's highest mountains, the snow-capped Himalayas, tower above India's torrid plains. In India, too, are some of the world's thickest jungles and most barren deserts.

India's climate varies from steady, fiery heat to icy cold. For about eight months of the year, Indians suffer from an excessively dry spell. Then the rains come in torrents during the rest of the year, for India is a monsoon land. The monsoons are seasonal winds which bring heavy rains from the southwest in summer. During the winter, these winds reverse their direction, bringing a dry season.

**A Survey of the History of India.**

**An Ancient River-Valley Civilization. Our**

<sup>1</sup> "India" in this discussion refers to the entire peninsula south of the Himalaya Mountains



knowledge of the history of ancient India is full of gaps. However, archaeologists excavating along the Indus River valley in recent years have uncovered numerous remains. These tell something about life in India about five thousand years ago. They reveal brick houses and drainage systems in well-planned cities. Articles found show that the ancient Indians had a civilization similar to those of ancient Egyptians and Sumerians. Like them, the ancient Indians also cultivated crops, domesticated animals, and rode in wheeled carts. Furthermore, the Indus valley people knew how to write, weave, and make objects of pottery and various metals.

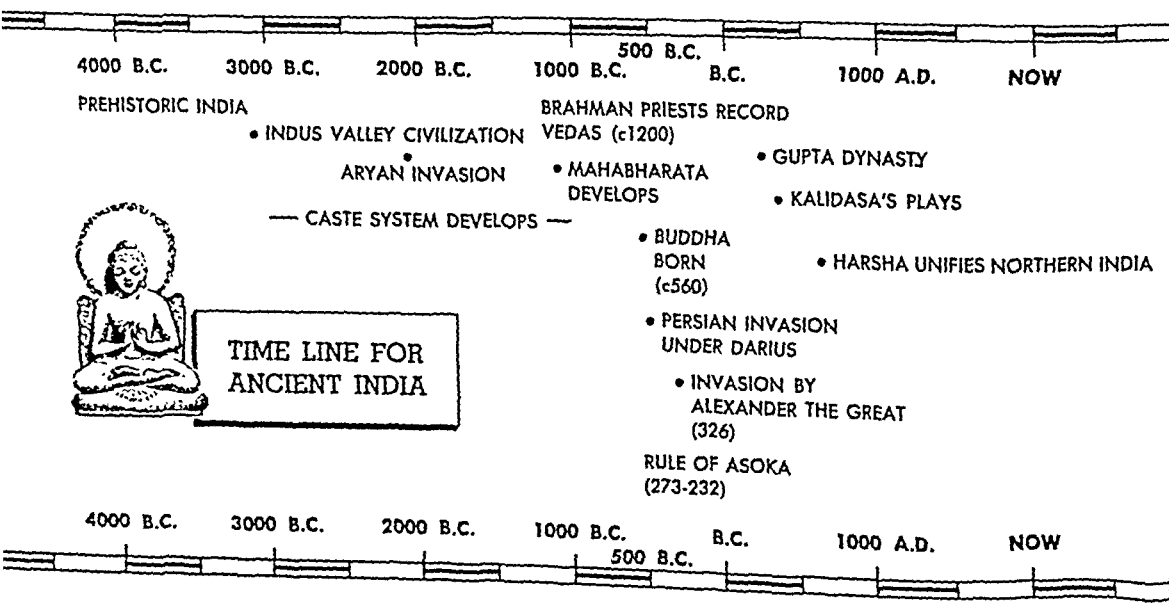
About 2000 B.C., white-skinned invaders from Persia, called Aryans,<sup>2</sup> poured through the western pass in the Himalaya Mountains into India. These conquering Aryans, later called Hindus, enslaved the earlier, less civilized inhabitants, the dark-skinned Dravidians. In the sixth century B.C., as we have seen, Darius annexed northwestern India to

the Persian Empire. In this same century, as we shall see, a great religion, Buddhism, was founded in India. In 326 B.C., Alexander the Great (page 95) led his soldiers to the Indus River. Thus India was brought into contact with the Mediterranean world. India's fine muslin and silken shawls, ivory carvings, and delicate, gem-studded jewelry were sought not only in China, but in Babylonia and Greece.

After Alexander left India, one Indian prince, Chandragupta, conquered northern India and set up the Maurya Empire. This absolute ruler did not want any competition for power over the people from the priests. We have seen how a conflict between church and state had caused disunity in Egypt. Chandragupta decided to throw his support to the new religion, Buddhism. The Buddhists, like Chandragupta, were opposed to the priests of India's older religion, Brahmanism.

*Asoka Promotes the Brotherhood of Man.* The name of Asoka, who reigned from 273 to 232 B.C., is not well known in our western world. Yet this grandson of Chandragupta was one of the noblest rulers of all time. Asoka began his reign as a mighty warrior,

<sup>2</sup> The Aryans were the eastern descendants of a parent Indo-European people. Most Europeans are the western descendants of these Indo-Europeans. (See also page 55.)



conquering all but the southern tip of India. He wound up his rule as a strong supporter of peace, spreading the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Although victorious in battle, he was sickened by the savagery of war. He became a devout Buddhist and made Buddhism the state religion. He treated slaves and subject peoples kindly and gave charity to the poor. He promoted the education of women and the building of hospitals for human beings and animals. Asoka advised his people to live up to their religion by obeying their parents, by being charitable, and by refusing to slaughter animals. Missionaries were sent to foreign countries to spread Buddhism. These missionaries brought about an exchange of ideas on religion, art, and handicrafts with people living as far west as Greece.

When Asoka died, barbarians invaded the empire. However, a revival of the glories of Asoka's reign took place under the Gupta dynasty in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. This was a period of great prosperity in which the rulers provided clinics for the sick poor and pensions for artists and scientists. The arts, literature, astronomy, and mathematics flourished in this golden age, but not for long. By the sixth century, the empire was again destroyed. However, in the seventh century, a king called Harsha brought unity to most of northern India. After Harsha died, much of India was divided under the rule of many warring rajahs. (A rajah is an Indian prince.)

**Hinduism (Brahmanism) and the Caste System.** The ancient Hindus worshiped as gods fire, the heavens, the clouds, the stars, and the sun. To win the favor of their gods, Hindus would offer them gifts and sacrifice cattle and horses. The faithful Hindu would bargain with his gods. "Give to me, and I will give to you." About the time that Hebrew King David was composing the psalms, the Hindus began to write down their hymns, legends, and laws in sacred books. Later Hindu priests dictated rules and prayers for every phase of Hindu life. For example, a good Hindu may not run when it rains. Even-

tually the priests introduced new gods, the chief of which they called *Brahma*. Hindus came to believe that the soul does not die with the body, but that instead it passes to the body of another human being, an animal, a plant, or a stone. This is known as the *transmigration of souls*. The soul of a good man might enter the body of a saint. In his next life a greedy man might become a hog. Killing an animal might be the same as murder, for a human soul might be dwelling in the animal's body. This explains why many animals are held sacred by Hindus. Cows are held especially sacred.

A basic feature of the Hindu religion has been the caste system. A caste system is one which fixes a person's place in life from the day he is born. He inherits his occupation from his father and passes it down to his descendants. In India the caste system is based upon skin color and birth. The light-skinned, who were in a minority, felt that thus they might preserve their supremacy. No matter how intelligent, how gifted, or how well educated a person may be under such a system, he can never rise above the caste into which he was born. Obviously such an undemocratic system holds back progress.

For thousands of years India has been split into more than two thousand castes. Persons brought up to believe in the brotherhood of man find it difficult to understand a system which forbids a member of one caste to associate with a member of another caste. If a Hindu of a higher caste finds himself by chance in a room with a member of a lower caste, he considers himself contaminated. Woe to him who marries outside his caste, who dines with a member of a lower caste, or who works for a member of a lower caste! He then becomes an outcast.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning there seem to have been four main castes. In the order of rank, they

<sup>2</sup> In 1947, the government of India made the worst features of the caste system illegal. The government realized how much the caste system destroys national unity. However, it is difficult to stamp out such a long-standing practice.



called *suttee*. Yet the *Laws of Manu* also say: "Where women are honored, there the gods are pleased."

**Buddhism Challenges Hinduism.** Millions of persons in ancient India were unhappy. Some were starving. Some were suffering from horrible diseases. Others were outcasts. And the ancient Hindu religion, Brahmanism, held out little hope for a better life in the next world. Who could feel happy at the possibility of being reborn a rat, a pig, or a stone? Many thoughtful members of the upper castes were unhappy, too. Persons in every caste began to question their Hindu faith and to search for new meaning in life. Some thought that they could get closer to the gods by living a hermit's life. One such hermit was to become world-famous. His name was Gautama.

Gautama (c560-c477 B.C.) was the son of a wealthy rajah. Married to a beautiful princess, he lived a life of luxury. Yet Gautama could not find happiness. He could not drive from his mind the memories of the feeble old men, the diseased and crippled bodies, the unburied corpses which he saw about him. His servant merely shrugged his shoulders and murmured: "Such is the way of life." But this answer did not satisfy sensitive and sympathetic Gautama. He began to wonder what life really means. No longer did fine clothes, lavish banquets, and hunting parties give him pleasure. "Why must all men suffer and die?" he kept asking himself.

Unable to find mental peace in the Brahman religion, he decided to leave home and search for a solution to his problem. He exchanged his princely apparel for a beggar's rags. Like many other troubled souls of his day, he lived the life of a hermit. He tortured his body. He fasted, eating only a few grains of rice a day. He spent long hours in prayer, meditation, and discussion with other hermits and with Brahman priests. But mere pain and self-denial did not give him peace. To him these years were "like time spent striving to tie the air into knots."

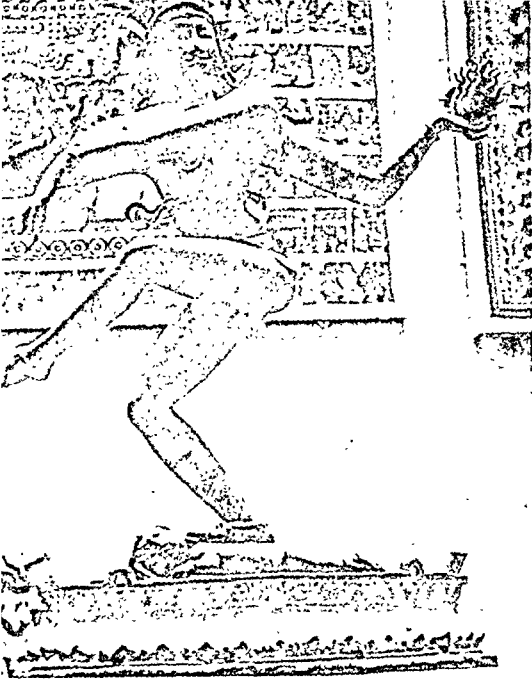
Then, in the moment of his darkest despair,

everything seemed to become clear to him. Life held no fears for him now. Eagerly he set forth to teach to all mankind what to him seemed the truth. As his disciples spread his teachings, men began to hail Gautama as "Buddha," the Wise or the "Enlightened One." India thus became the cradle of Buddhism.

**Buddhist Beliefs: A Way of Life and Death.** The gospel of Buddhism is based upon the "Four Truths." First, Buddha preached, life from the cradle to the grave is filled with misery, pain, and discontent. Second, these sorrows are caused, he said, by mankind's driving ambition to satisfy desires and to acquire worldly possessions. In short, greed and selfishness are the roots of most evil. Buddha taught that one does not escape the grief of the world merely by dying. Like the Hindus, he believed that the sorrows of a dead person are continued in his new life. Therefore, Buddha taught that it was better to avoid being reborn and that those who lived truly noble lives might escape rebirth. Instead, they would attain *Nirvana*, a state of nothingness or nonexistence. This was his "Third Truth." To the Buddhist, *Nirvana* came to mean peace and salvation. Complete freedom from ambition, from passion, from hatred, from ignorance, and from jealousy is necessary to reach *Nirvana*. Buddhists believe, furthermore, that all who live up to these noble ideals can enjoy *Nirvana*, even in this world.

According to Buddha's "Fourth Truth," *Nirvana* is won not by inflicting pain on one's body, but by training one's mind and by exercising strict self-control. It is believed that the mind is trained by certain guiding principles which Buddha called an "Eightfold Path." Followers were advised to practice right speech and right actions. They were instructed not to hate, steal, kill, lie, gossip, or look for faults in others. How much these teachings remind one of the Ten Commandments!

**Buddhism Declines in India but Spreads Abroad.** There are relatively few Buddhists



The Hindu God Siva Sculptured in Bronze in the Eleventh Century A. D.

in India today. Yet one-quarter of the world's population are followers either of Buddha or of faiths somewhat like Buddhism. Until the eighth century A.D., Buddhism had made many converts in India. This situation alarmed the Brahman priests, because Brahmanism had preached that only Brahman priests could enter Nirvana. Buddha's more democratic faith insisted that anybody could enter Nirvana. Only right thinking and good deeds were the keys to Nirvana.

The Brahman priests had a kind of monopoly on the meaning of the secrets of Brahmanism. This meant that all other castes had to look to the Brahmins for religious instruction. Buddha attacked the caste system and the Brahman belief that a special class of priests and special prayers were necessary. He preached love of one's fellow men, equality of mankind, tolerance, and charity. No wonder that most converts to Buddhism came from the lowest classes! No wonder also that powerful Brahman priests fought hard to drive Buddhism out of India! To a great extent they succeeded. However,

their own religion, Hinduism, came to be influenced by many Buddhist ideas.

In the beginning, then, Buddhism was not so much an organized religion as it was a way of living. As time passed, however, in many places it became more formal. Buddhists adopted temples, saints, ceremonies, and pilgrimages. If democratic-minded Buddha could come to life, he would be very much surprised to find himself considered a god and his squatting stone image being worshiped as an idol. He would probably be dismayed to see how Brahmins and their caste system were taking over Buddhism. Only a small group of Buddhists remained true to Buddha's ideas on simple and unselfish living.

Although Buddhism died a slow death in India, it remains the religion of Ceylon, Siam, and Burma and has affected the native religions of China and Japan. In Tibet the Buddhists borrowed some ideas from Christians. Today, as in the days of Asoka, true Buddhism is a force for peace and charity.

**India's Arts Dominated by Religion.** To understand Indian art, one must understand India's religions. To us, a statue with many arms seems queer. To the Hindu, however, the many arms represent the many powers of a god. Thus, the statues of Hindu artists express the spirit rather than the way a figure really looks. Ancient Indian writing tells of fine painting and carvings in wood and ivory. Today only a few paintings survive and these are found in caves belonging to the temples. They illustrate episodes in Buddha's life. Buddhist temples are elaborate, having high towers, columned porches, and highly ornamented gates. Some are cave-temples carved out of rock, extending as far as three miles. Walls, roofs, and columns seem overloaded with an abundance of floral designs, geometric patterns, and animal and human figures. In these temples are many statues of Buddha in calm meditation.

Much of the sculpture and architecture of Siam, China, and Japan was born in India. One magnificent example of Indian architec-

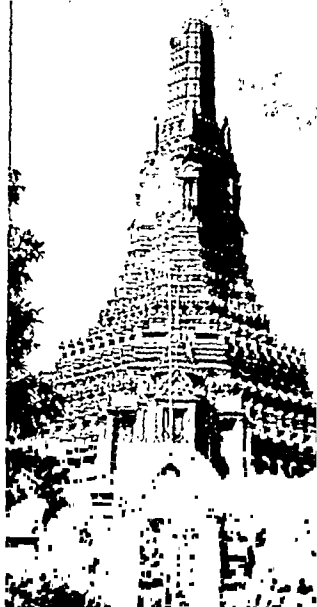
ture is the Angkor Wat, a gigantic temple of many terraces in Indo-China.

**India's Contribution to Science Made Mainly in Ancient Times.** We call the numbers we use most commonly *Arabic numerals*. It would be more accurate to call them *Indian numerals*. The Arabs merely carried these numerals from India to Europe. Indian mathematicians are usually credited with the discovery of the zero, too. Like most other ancient astronomers, Hindu astronomers developed a lunar calendar. In medicine, ancient Hindu physicians identified diabetes and used a wide variety of delicate surgical instruments. They were the first to practice plastic surgery. In later times, India's rate of scientific progress slowed down.

**Language and Literature: Clues to India's History.** Over a hundred different languages and dialects are spoken in India. Hindustani is the most common one. Most of them are offshoots of the now dead language Sanskrit. Sanskrit was spoken by the Aryan invaders who swarmed into ancient India. There are many similarities among Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, and certain modern tongues such as German and English (page 200). This fact indicates that all these Indo-European languages must have had an ancestor language in common.

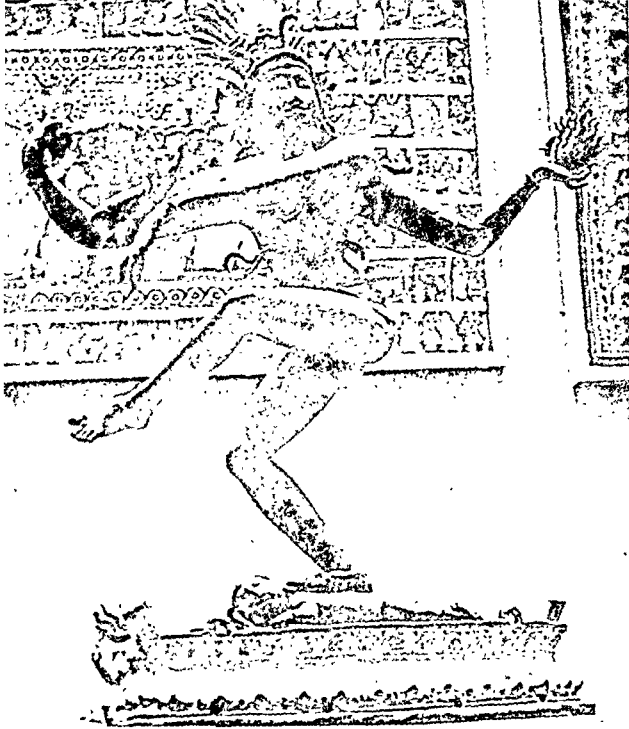
Much about ancient India is revealed in its literature. The *Rig Veda* is the oldest of the *vedas* (hymns and magic sayings). From the days of the ancient Indus Valley civilization, the *vedas* were handed down through songs, recitations, and interpretative dances. Later, about 1200 B.C., they were put into writing by the priests.

About 1000 B.C., when the Aryan invaders had merged with the natives of India, great epic poems began to develop. One, the *Mahabharata*, began as an account of how one tribe was cheated by another at gambling and then exiled. It developed into a long tale which included laws, legends, romances, and accounts of battles. For centuries singers competed with one another to add new stanzas to this stirring epic. In time it became



The Wat Arun, Bangkok, Siam. This striking architecture is not easily forgotten. Why?

the longest of all poems. For centuries, too, Brahman priests kept placing new interpretations upon the *Mahabharata* to convince the people that the caste system was sacred law. Hollywood might welcome a moving picture script based upon the other long Indian epic, the *Ramayana*. Its theme is the romantic story of an Indian prince who rescued his wife from an evil spirit which had kidnapped her. One Indian playwright, Kalidasa (fifth century A.D. or earlier), is sometimes called "the Hindu Shakespeare." In his



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Much of the sculpture in Siam, China, and Japan. One magnificent example

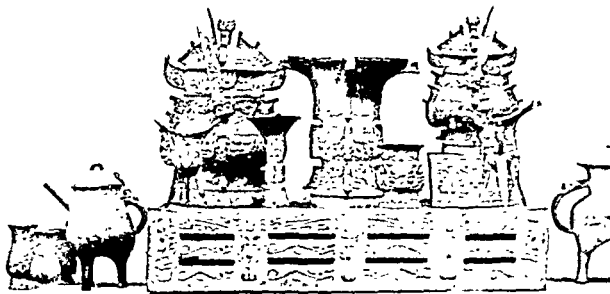
ance of westerners, their speech, and their customs may seem strange to many Chinese.

Educated westerners appreciate the remarkable contributions of the Chinese, who for centuries have developed painting, literature, fine handicrafts, and a well-knit family life. They have stressed good manners and consideration for the feelings of others. Three thousand years ago, when Europeans were barbarians, some Chinese lived in fine homes, rode in chariots, wore silken clothes, and played musical instruments. It was China which introduced the world to such fruits as the peach, the apricot, and the orange. Civilizations elsewhere have risen and fallen, but that of the Chinese has had a long, unbroken history right down to modern times.

**The Geography of China a Study in Bigness.** The map of China tells a story of bigness. At one time, Greater China included Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet, as well as the China of today. The heart of China consists of three river valleys. These are the Yellow (Hwang-Ho), the Yangtze, and the Si. In these valleys most of the Chinese people lived, as they still do. The irregular coast line of China is almost as long

as the United States is wide. The Yellow and Yangtze rivers measure about three thousand miles each. Bigness is one explanation why China was for a long time cut off from the rest of the world. China faces on the east the world's largest ocean, the Pacific. In the ancient world few dared to venture out into this great body of water. Elsewhere China is hemmed in by big mountains, such as the Himalayas, by high plateaus, such as that of Tibet; and by vast deserts, such as the Gobi of Mongolia.

Even China's natural disasters are big. When famine strikes, many lives are lost. Farmers cannot depend upon the Yellow River, for it frequently changes its course. Sometimes, when it overflows the river banks, it deposits rich topsoil, gladdening the hearts of farmers. At other times, the overflow is so great that it floods fields and destroys homes. No wonder the river is called *China's Sorrow!* Typhoons (violent hurricanes) are a serious threat to Chinese fishermen. China lies in the temperate region. Yet its people suffer much greater extremes of heat and cold than do the populations of most temperate areas.



Bronze Altar Set of the Shang Dynasty. What does this tell you about the Chinese of this period?





Typical Village in the Punjab, India. Indian living conditions have changed but little.

cloth, called a *loin cloth*, wrapped around their thighs and hips. Hindu women still wear long and colorful scarves, *saris*, which are wound around the waist, across the left shoulder, and over the head. The quantity and quality of jewelry worn often indicate the caste of the wearer. In ancient India there were famous universities, but most formal education was reserved for high-caste male Hindus.

**India's Long-Standing Problems.** In spite of its geographical unity, India has never been able to achieve a really united country. The caste system has split its Hindu population into numerous groups. The material standard of living has been pitifully low. What incentive is there for a person to improve himself or his business if he can never rise above his station in life anyway? Neither economic nor social progress in this life has meant too much to the average Hindu. In fact, Hindus have for centuries believed that the more pleasures and comforts they deny themselves in this world, the better are their chances of enjoying a noble life in the next world. Perhaps that is why they have accepted poverty and hunger, disease and death, with less concern than the average westerner. However, as we shall see, more and more of the people of India are beginning to feel that they may preserve their spiritual ideals and at the same time raise their material standard of living.

## Ancient China Creates a Civilization Which Never Died

To many persons in the western world the Chinese seem strange. Their yellow skin, their almond-shaped eyes, and their high cheekbones make them appear different. Their speech and writing seem a mystery. For a long time it seemed odd, too, that the Chinese persisted in making things by hand as their ancestors had. Westerners almost resented what seemed to be Chinese contempt for machines and factories. Yet an understanding westerner realizes that the appear-

masterpiece a cloud acts as a kind of cupid.

Brahman priests tried to meet the competition of Buddhism by developing their *Laws of Manu*. Strict laws were written down for the faithful to prevent their questioning Brahmanism. According to the code, the lowest caste was created merely to serve the highest caste. The code stresses such ideals as faithfulness, kindness, charity, and respect for the aged. The myth of Manu resembles the Gilgamesh epic of Babylonia and the Bible story of Noah and his ark. Good conduct is also emphasized by Indian writers in a collection of animal stories similar to *Aesop's Fables*.

**Daily Living in Ancient India.** For many centuries most Indians have lived in bamboo or mud huts in small farm villages. Their spare diet has consisted mainly of rice, wheat, millet, and vegetables. Now, as in ancient times, they either go barefoot or wear sandals. Hindu men still wind long cloths, called turbans, around their heads to shield them from the blistering sun. Often the only other article of clothing men wear is another long

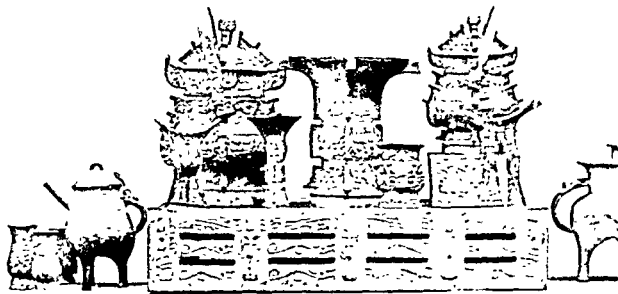
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Bronze Altar Set of the Shang Dynasty. What does this tell you about the Chinese of this period?

**An Insight into Chinese History.** For centuries the two classes of Chinese farmers—peasants and landlords—have made up the bulk of China's population. Considered superior to farmers have been the scholars. And considered inferior to both scholars and farmers (in the order named) have been craftsmen, merchants, and soldiers. Autocratic rule, disunity, and civil wars are an old story in Chinese history. For over three thousand years, China's autocratic rulers have tried to push back invaders, suppress rebellious war lords, increase China's territory by foreign wars, and build a united China. Frequently a new ruling family would introduce reforms, punish corruption, and promote prosperity, only to become corrupted itself and have to face depression and revolution. We shall see that successive invaders often adopted Chinese customs instead of imposing their customs upon the Chinese. Thus, like some milk, China's civilization became homogenized. There are certain customs, religious ideas, and handicrafts which almost anyone can recognize as "made in China." These have developed during China's long history, which, like that of Egypt, is divided into dynasties.

**The Roots of Chinese Civilization.** Relics, such as stone and metal tools, bronze jewelry, and pieces of pottery, tell us that China, like the Middle East and India, passed through many stages of civilization. During the Shang dynasty (c1700 B.C.), the Chinese apparently had a fairly unified government, had a system of writing, and worshiped their ancestors. At this time, the Egyptian Ikhnaton and the Hebrew Moses were preaching monotheism.

**The Chou Dynasty, China's Golden Age.** The rulers of the Chou dynasty (c1122-255 B.C.), who governed China for nearly nine hundred years, faced many obstacles. Hostile tribes inhabited the areas we know as Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet. Again and again, fierce barbarians, such as the Mongols, and others called Tatars and Huns, tore into China on horseback and rav-

aged the land. Princes in the border provinces were supposed to defend the kingdom against these invaders. Instead, many of them refused to co-operate with the emperors. Some of the Chou rulers succeeded in fighting off the invaders and in expanding their territory. By convincing the people that they were priest-kings, called *sons of heaven*, they promoted greater unity. Chou rule was a Golden Age in Chinese history, mainly because this period laid firm foundations for China's age-old culture. This was the time of China's two greatest religious thinkers, Confucius and Lao-tse (pages 59-61). No longer was education exclusively for priests and aristocrats. At this time, furthermore, the Chinese manufactured silk and produced fine bronze vases. Toward the end of the Chou dynasty, weak rulers and powerful rival war lords brought disunity to China. At about the same time, disunity was spreading in Asoka's empire in India because of barbarian invasions.

**China Expands and Exchanges Goods and Ideas with Others.**

**The Ch'in Dynasty Gives China Its Name.** One of the rival war lords, Shih Huang-ti, whose name means *First Emperor*, subdued the other war lords and made himself ruler. He founded the Ch'in dynasty (c246-c206 B.C.). To weaken the power of the nobles, he appointed personal favorites to rule over the various provinces and to collect taxes. To obtain even greater unity, he built bridges, roads, canals, and cities. He tried to make both the language and the laws uniform throughout his realm.

The Great Wall of China, which still stands, was begun by Shih Huang-ti. Thousands of his forced laborers perished constructing it. Shih Huang-ti wanted to prevent the Tatar invasions from the north and also to keep his subjects so busy building it that they would not revolt. Thereafter, the Huns, Tatars, and Mongols began to push westward toward Europe. Shih Huang-ti ordered that the books of Confucius and all books dealing with

China's previous history be destroyed, and many were. He said that these books were holding back China's progress. Some say he wanted all Chinese history to begin with his reign. Scholars who criticized his policies were exiled, burned alive, or beheaded. After the reign of this tyrannical ruler who had united China, his sons paid with their lives for his cruelty.

*The Han Dynasty Encourages Trade and Culture.* The Han dynasty (c206 B.C.-214 A.D.) next won control of China. Their rule was a four-hundred-year period of power and prosperity. Whereas Shih Huang-ti had suppressed learning, the Hans used it to weld a united China. Advisers to Han emperors and their provincial governors had careful training in the rules of good conduct and patriotism laid down by Confucius. In the centuries which followed, such rules were to play an important role in Chinese government. Under Han rulers many government officials, called mandarins, received their po-



Shih Huang-ti orders the burning of the books of the Chou dynasty — an artist's impression.

sitions as a result of competitive examinations rather than because of noble birth. This was probably the first merit system for civil service employees. It has lasted down to recent times in China. As in all societies, however, influence sometimes helped a person to become a government official.

An overland caravan trade route was opened between China and Europe during the Han dynasty. From northern China across central Asia to the north of Persia, camels transported silk and other Chinese products. This camel path, which was also a military road, was the famous *silk route*. Merchants of India, Persia, and the Middle East asked a high price in Greece and Rome for the Chinese silks which they dyed and embroidered. Camel caravans took back to China ivory, jade, precious stones, and horses. Through this trade Western historians gained information on the Han dynasty.

It was at this time, too, that missionaries from India spread Buddhism in China. As is usual in periods of prosperity, the arts and sciences made progress. For example, the Chinese during the Han dynasty invented modern paper, the Chinese writing brush, and ink. Han suppression of the barbarian Huns helped to make this progress possible. The Hans annexed Korea and extended the Great Wall. Their generals collected tribute from conquered peoples as far west as the borders of Persia.

But, as has happened so often in Chinese history, jealous war lords began to stir up trouble. For four hundred years, civil wars and renewed barbarian invasions destroyed Chinese unity. Finally one war lord proved strong enough to establish a new dynasty, the Tang dynasty, in 618 (page 162).

#### Some Chinese Character Studies.

*Lao-tse Preaches a Passive Search for Happiness.* In their ideas on the meaning of life, Buddha of India and Lao-tse of China were brothers. Each had been shocked at the world's misery and cruelty. Lao-tse (c600 B.C.) saw men everywhere vainly striv-

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ing to find happiness in wealth, gambling, drinking, and horse-racing. The only true happiness, taught Lao-tse, may be reached when one relaxes until he is in complete inactivity. Then he is supposed to have reached harmony with *Tao*, "the Way of Nature." Followers of Lao-tse's doctrine are called *Taoists*. They condemn ambition and vanity. They believe that people should be so passive as not to fight back even when attacked! Said Lao-tse: "To them that are good, I am good, and to them that are not good, I am also good; thus all get to be good."

Lao-tse thought of himself as a philosopher, not as the founder of a religion. He considered formal ceremonies and prayers unimportant. Taoism won many followers among the illiterate, poverty-stricken millions of China. For Lao-tse had written that neither learning nor wealth matters much. But Taoism after Lao-tse's death was very different from the Taoism which he had preached. It became a formal religion with priests, temples, and even idols. Taoist priests competed with Buddhists for converts. And Lao-tse, who neglected to mention any god in his writing, is now considered one of the chief Taoist gods.

*Confucius Preaches an Active Search for Happiness.* When Lao-tse was a wrinkled old man, he was visited by a young and enthusiastic teacher named Confucius (born c550 B.C.). They had a long talk, but they could not agree on what was the right road to happiness. Confucius believed that something could and should be done about the cruelty and corruption of the government, about the evils of warfare, and about the bad behavior of people in general. But he could not convince passive Lao-tse that a better world would result from an active reform program.

Confucius had collected the ancient writings of the Chinese people. He taught them so interestingly that even famous adults studied under him. He taught that good government could wipe out wars, hunger, and disease. He seemed convinced that emperors in the distant past had been models of good

conduct for the people to follow. "What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others." This guide to good conduct was the Confucian Golden Rule. If followed, it was expected to make China peaceful and prosperous.

Confucius laid down special rules of behavior for husbands and wives, for fathers and sons, for older brothers and younger brothers, for princes and their advisers, and for friends. He advised everyone: "To see the right and not to do it, that is cowardice." Unlike Lao-tse, he did not recommend returning good for evil, but urged: "Repay injury with justice, and repay kindness with kindness." An interesting Confucian suggestion was: "Treat your superiors without flattery and your inferiors without contempt." Confucius did not claim to get all his ideas from God. He based them, instead, on the old Chinese ideals of respect for education, obedience to parents, and worship of ancestors. There was no room for hatred or anger in his heart. There was only room for love and truth.

When past fifty years old, Confucius was appointed governor of a city. Some writers say that in this job, by regulating every phase of life, he wiped out crime, reduced poverty, and built a model city. There were fixed rules for diet and fixed rules for burials. Even the thickness of coffins was fixed by law! Everything was so well regulated that rival governors grew jealous. To the luxury-loving ruler who had appointed Confucius, these rivals sent lavish gifts, beautiful dancing girls, and thoroughbred horses. Conscientious Confucius could not compete with such attractions. He lost his job. For thirteen long years Confucius, hungry and weary, wandered from province to province. He was even spat upon as a troublesome busybody. His search to find a ruler who would appoint him as adviser was vain.

As has happened so often in history, a great man, not appreciated in life, became glorified after death. Today there are in China thousands of Confucian temples. To millions of

Chinese the moral code of Confucius is sacred. His writings and those of his disciples are the great classics of Chinese literature.

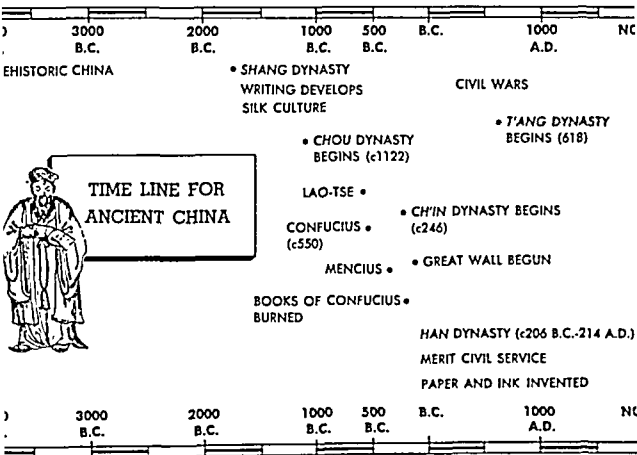
Yet Confucius did not plan to establish a formal religion. Like Buddha and Lao-tse, Confucius paid little attention to prayer, gods, or church ceremonies. When asked about the afterlife, Confucius answered: "So long as thou dost not know life, how canst thou know death?" Unlike Buddha and Lao-tse, Confucius insisted: "It is folly to withdraw from the world. . . . With whom should I make fellowship save with suffering mankind?" In general, Confucius regarded change as evil. By stressing ancestor worship, detailed rules for formal behavior, and the preservation of things of the past, Confucius helped hold back Chinese material progress.

*Mo Ti and Mencius Stress the Brotherhood of Man* "The will of God is love, love for all and without distinction." Thus preached Mo Ti (c490 B.C.), another great Chinese

philosopher. He recommended the production of necessities for all rather than of luxuries for the few. He, like Mencius (c372-c289 B.C.), condemned all wars. Mencius owed his great learning to the brilliant teaching of his mother. Many of his ideas are like those in our own Declaration of Independence. For example, he stressed the equality of all men. He believed that people have the right to rebel against cruel and unjust rulers. To him the main goal of any government was the education, happiness, and welfare of its people.

*The Family: the Fabric of Chinese Life.* He who does not understand Chinese family life cannot understand China. Having a large family is a sign of importance in China. It means many workers to till the soil. It means great honor for parents while they are alive. It means many descendants to worship them after they die.

In China there has seldom been need to





hire baby-sitters. This is so because one household may include great-grandparents, grandparents, and many cousins, aunts, and uncles. In fact, over the centuries some families have been so large that they have each made up an entire village. It is a Chinese custom that when a son marries, he raises his family in the home of his parents. However, it is usually only the wealthy who have large family households. Disease and famine keep poor families small.

The Chinese family has long been like a little government in itself. The honored ruler is usually the oldest father in the household. He has a kind of council made up of the elder male members of the family. Family members pool their incomes. The sick, the handicapped, and the unemployed are supported out of this treasury. However, a member who does something to shame his family forfeits these benefits. The honored head and the family council feel it their duty to keep up the family's reputation. For centuries Chinese governments punished close relatives as well as the person guilty of bad conduct, because all shared the dishonor. From the days of the Chou dynasty Chinese families have taught their children to avoid at all costs impoliteness, drunkenness, and quarreling. When entertaining, the Chinese family always tries hard to make the guest feel more important than the hosts.

The plain diet of most Chinese families has long been mainly rice or millet and tea. But even in ancient times, the varied diet of the rich included fish, chicken, pork, and vegetables. Through the ages Chinese homes have changed little. They are often barns as well. A bag of millet, a rake, a hoe, or even a domestic animal may share the bedroom of a member of a poor family. Most houses are built of bricks, reeds, hardened earth, or bamboo. Roofs are of twigs, mud, or tile. Windows and doors are few, and the floors are the earth. Even in ancient times wealthy Chinese, however, built themselves fine palaces surrounded by magnificent gardens and picturesque pools.

The average Chinese has for centuries worn coarse garments, made first of hemp and later of cotton. For warmth the jacket may be heavily padded. Mandarins and their wives wore colorful and richly embroidered long, flowing robes. The button on a mandarin's hat indicated his rank. The design embroidered on his robe told to what branch of the civil service he belonged.

**Women Considered Inferior.** For centuries in China a son was considered a valuable asset. Daughters were considered liabilities, and their parents were required to turn over sums of money to their husbands. Furthermore, a girl was considered only a temporary member of the family household, for, when she married, she moved into the family household of her husband. For purposes of carrying on the family line or of ancestor worship, therefore, she was lost to her own family. The main purpose of her education was to make the life of her husband more comfortable. She was trained to be an efficient, obedient, and agreeable housekeeper. As everywhere, however, many intelligent women strongly influenced their husbands. Education, business, and the professions were gradually to be opened to Chinese women in the twentieth century.

**Many Chinese Have Long Worshiped in More Than One Faith.** Religion in China has often been a combination of ancestor worship, belief in spirits, and Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. It is considered a sin not to honor one's parents in death as in life. In Chinese homes are tablets honoring the family's ancestors. Ceremonies at these shrines report to the ancestors births, marriages, or deaths in the family.

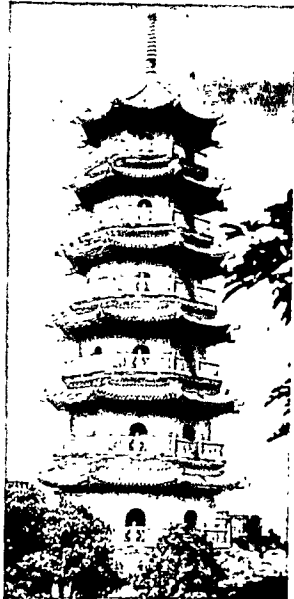
From the ancient past, the Chinese have inherited a belief that the earth is inhabited by millions of good and evil spirits. Fear of devils and ghosts and a belief in luck have also influenced the religious beliefs of millions of Chinese peasants. They pay much attention to finding a lucky spot on which to build a house or a shop, or, most important of all, to use as a burial plot. Even nature

worship is still practiced in China. Educated Chinese are usually Confucianists. Most of the common people are Taoists or Buddhists (page 53). Some Chinese worship in all three faiths, which they call the *Three Truths*. In recent centuries, a few million Chinese have been converted to Christianity.

**Chinese Writing and Language Make Learning Difficult.** China has never had an alphabet. Instead, a different sign is used for each word. For instance, a sign picturing a roof and a domestic animal means "home." This explains why there are thousands of signs in written Chinese. It is not surprising that the masses of Chinese people can neither read nor write. Even the most learned have difficulty becoming familiar with more than ten thousand Chinese words. Most Chinese know well, however, the vocabulary needed in their trades. No Chinese word has more than one syllable. Consequently, many of them sound alike. Differences in meaning are indicated by the position of the words in the sentence. In using a word of many meanings, a speaker shows what he really means by his emphasis or gestures. There are many different dialects. Sometimes the people of one area find it difficult to understand the people of another area.

The most honored class in China for centuries has been the scholar class. Scholars could become mandarins. In theory, even a poor boy could become a scholar. Actually, since there were no free public schools, most mandarins came from the wealthier classes. Sometimes ambitious families denied themselves every comfort in order to send their brightest son to school. Sometimes a bright boy won a government scholarship. Pupils were trained not only to become government officials, but also to become models of good conduct.

In old China the course of study in the schools required a mastery of the works of Confucius and other Chinese classics. Regular examinations tested memory and literary ability. This was not very practical training for future government officials. So tiring were



A Chinese Pagoda in Hong Kong. Why is this religious temple a thing of beauty?

the difficult competitive tests that pupils sometimes fainted while taking them. A few even died of exhaustion.

**Chinese Scientific Progress First Fast, Later Slow.** The greatest Chinese scientific progress came early in China's history. Many centuries ago, the Chinese used in fireworks an explosive which was adaptable for gunpowder. They also used a kind of compass. By 900 A.D., five centuries before the Europeans did so, they were printing books. They printed their books on the world's first real paper. And they used paper for wallpaper.

paper money, playing cards, and calling cards as well. They were the first, too, to recognize the value of fingerprinting for identification.

The Chinese claim to have introduced the silk industry and to have invented the silk loom nearly five thousand years ago. They claim further to have astronomical records just as old which mention eclipses and comets. The Chinese failure to build upon their remarkable scientific foundations may be explained in part by Chinese emphasis on luck and demons.

**Chinese Art in a Class by Itself.** Chinese porcelain, sculpture, wood carving, jade jewelry, and ivory carving are distinctive and beautiful. Their architecture is interesting. But their painting, which developed its distinctive style during the Han dynasty, is magnificent. Chinese artists prefer to paint landscapes rather than portraits. They work in ink and color on silk. Their pictures never look like photographs, for the Chinese painter is a philosophical artist. His strokes merely hint at what he feels about what he is painting.

Chinese pagodas, walls, temples, and camel-back bridges are exciting to the eyes of western visitors. The pagoda is a sacred tower resembling a tall, narrow pyramid. It has six or eight sides, and each of its stories is topped by the distinctive Chinese roof. The roofs of important Chinese buildings often have two or three decks, and their tiles are strikingly colored. The corners curl heavenward. Chinese architects let their imagination run riot. They ornament structures with queer-looking birds and dragons, all dazzling in color.

Many Chinese cities and villages are completely surrounded by walls. In fact, walls are a favorite architectural device. China's Great Wall is fifteen hundred miles long and averages twenty-two feet high. It is wide enough in many places for two-way carriage traffic. At regular intervals along the wall there are tower fortresses.

**The Wisdom of China in Chinese Literature.** For thousands of years Chinese

writers have been turning out encyclopedias, histories, poetry, and practically every other form of literature. The national anthem adopted by the Chinese Republic in 1912 was a patriotic song said to have been written more than four thousand years ago. Almost sacred to the Chinese are the nine books of the Classics, including those written before Confucius and those written by Confucius and Mencius. Here are some proverbs from the Chinese classics:

"A man thinks he knows, but a woman knows better."

"Deal with the faults of others as gently as with your own."

"Only imbeciles want credit for the achievements of their ancestors."

"Between the four seas (everywhere) all men are brothers."

In old China writing poems was a game played at social gatherings. Like the Chinese painter, the Chinese poet merely suggests ideas. He leaves it to the reader to interpret his work. The theme of many Chinese poems is friendship. Chinese literature in general sings the praises of the scholar rather than of the soldier. Just as China was to have a political revolution in the twentieth century, so it was to undergo a literary revolution. The themes of many writers then became the problems of the present rather than the traditions of the past. Authors began writing about China's poverty, illiteracy, and need for political unity.

**China's Eternal Quality.** After World War II, the Chinese Communists, aided by Russian advice and military equipment, took over China. This event alarmed many. Others pointed out that in its long history China has seen many invaders and many different groups gaining control. In spite of this, as we have seen, Chinese civilization has remained essentially the same. For China has influenced its invaders far more than its invaders have influenced China. It is predicted that the Communists will have difficulty in weakening the strong bonds that the Chinese has for his family and his little plot of land.



(left) Mayan Weavers Using Skills Handed Down for Centuries. (right) Aztec Pyramid.

## The Mayan, Aztec, and Inca Barbarians of Ancient America Become Civilized

In rain-soaked tropical Yucatan in southern Mexico are the ruins of great cities—the ancient homes of the Mayan Indians. In Yucatan, as in Guatemala and Honduras, stand what once were awe-inspiring Mayan pyramids and temples. Farther north is Mexico City, the ancient capital of another Indian civilization—that of the Aztecs. Farther south, in the Andes Mountains of Peru, a third ancient American people, the Incas, built great fortifications and palaces from which they defended their powerful empire.

There were many less civilized Indian peoples. Among these were the Pueblo Indians of southwestern United States. Nevertheless, just as the Middle East and the Far East developed ancient civilizations, so did the Americas. We do not know how ancient these civilizations were nor where their

founders came from. Some believe that they migrated to North America, perhaps ten thousand years ago, by crossing to Alaska over what is now the Bering Strait.

**Similarities in the Civilizations of the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas.** The ancient Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas were alike in many ways. They lived in communities—even large cities. Instead of depending upon hunting and fishing for a living, they planted crops and irrigated their fields. Their main crop was maize (Indian corn). They introduced the world not only to corn, but to tomatoes, strawberries, pumpkins, peanuts, and pineapples. Their tools and weapons were mainly of polished stone. Each of these civilizations had a government headed by an hereditary tribal chief. Each group had jewelers who worked in gold and silver, pottery makers, and expert weavers. Each worshiped many gods and sought their favor by making frequent sacrifices. What was left of each of these ancient Indian civilizations was almost

entirely destroyed by such Spanish conquerors as Cortez and Pizarro in the sixteenth century (page 233).

### **Ways in Which the Mayan, Aztec, and Inca Civilizations Differed.**

*The Mayas Make Progress in the Arts and Sciences.* Mayan civilization flourished from about 500 to about 700 A.D. and again about 1000 A.D., but it was already dying out when Columbus discovered America in 1492. The scholarly Mayan priest class had considerable knowledge of astronomy, mathematics, and surgery. They had worked out a remarkably accurate calendar by about 300 B.C. They had written some history and poetry, although only a few of their books remain. We haven't yet learned to decipher much of their picture-writing.

Mayan sculpture is outstanding. The abundant decoration on palaces and temples resembles that on the Angkor Wat in Indo-China. Mayan furniture was also handsomely carved in stone. Mayan architects built huge pyramids with stairways leading to the altars at the top. Mayan engineers must have been skillful to construct these, as well as highways, bridges, and reservoirs. Apparently their only tools were of stone. Civil wars and disease helped to destroy this promising civilization. Even Mayans living at the time of Cortez could tell little about their ancestors.

*The Aztecs Combine Cannibalism and Culture.* The Aztec civilization of Mexico was a strange mixture of barbaric customs and enlightened practices. About 1300 A.D., the Aztecs had migrated from the north and conquered earlier settlers called *Toltecs*. On the site of what is now Mexico City, the Aztecs built the capital of their great empire. Located on two islands in a lake, this magnificent capital was linked to the mainland by land bridges. Water flowed into the city by way of an aqueduct.

Spurred on by a desire to win the favor of their many gods, the Aztecs engaged in constant warfare. They sought war captives who

could be sacrificed from the altars atop their pyramids. After the sacrifice, the cannibalistic Aztecs would often eat the flesh of their victims. The more fortunate prisoners of war were made slaves. The Aztec emperor Montezuma II governed a loose union of Indian tribes which traded with one another and spoke one language. The conquering Spaniards under Cortez were amazed when they found that the Aztecs had houses of sun-dried brick and fine public buildings of stone. Aztec palaces had marble floors and walls covered with colorful tapestries. The Aztecs, enriched by tribute and trade, had built zoos, fountains, and luxurious baths. They were entertained by plays, dances, singing, and athletic performances. Each town had a weekly market day when merchants sold their fine cotton cloth, handsome pottery, and jewelry. To the market farmers brought tomatoes, beans, and corn. Here, too, craftsmen could sell their fine stone mirrors, razors, and weapons.

Like their predecessors, the Mayas, from whom they probably learned much, the Aztecs had a system of numbers and a fairly reliable solar calendar. Their picture writing in color has been found on skins, paper, and cotton cloth, as well as on stone.

It is hard to believe that such a mighty empire would collapse under the pressure of the small group of Spanish invaders led by Cortez. Jealousy among the tribes ruled by Montezuma probably prevented united resistance to the Spaniards. Furthermore, the superstitious belief that the bearded white man, Cortez, was a god made many hesitate to resist him. The soldiers of Cortez plundered the capital of its gold and silver. They destroyed temples, pyramids, and records which might have told us much more about Aztec civilization.

*The Incas Set Up a Kind of Socialism.* Pizarro, a poor Spanish adventurer of the sixteenth century, was excited by stories of treasure houses bulging with gold in the land of the Incas. By 1535 he had conquered this mightiest Indian empire in the New World.



This cast-copper bird-head painted in the colors of a parrot was found in a burial place in Zaculeu, Guatemala, resting on the shoulder of a Mayan skeleton. Inside the head, probably part of a parade costume, is a hollow in which a little bell rings

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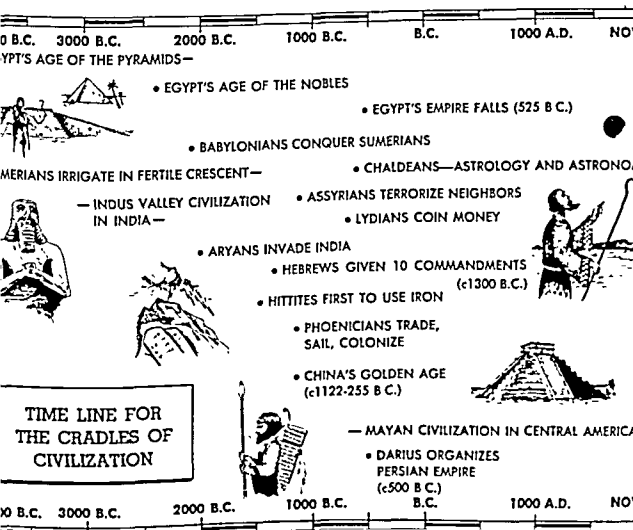


For the Inca Empire once included what is now Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile. From his palace in the city of Cuzco, in what is now Peru, high up in the Andes Mountains, the Inca ruler had exercised the power of life or death over his ten million subjects. To them he was more than a king. The Incas worshiped the sun in elaborate ceremonies, and they considered their emperor a descendant of the sun. The Inca people had few freedoms. Everything they did was dedicated to the service of the emperor. Fine highways and bridges made it possible for the emperor to check on the loyalty and efficiency of government officials. Taxes and tribute from gold and silver mines filled the imperial palace. Crime was rare and criminals were savagely punished.

Agriculture was strictly regulated. All land was government-owned. Farmers used fertilizer, irrigation, and terracing to make fields

more productive. Inca crops included the all-important corn as well as potatoes and cotton. The camel-like llama was used as a beast of burden and its wool was used for cloth. The government required every worker to stick to his job. This ironclad rule covered weavers, metalworkers, and pottery-makers as well as farmers.

In spite of the apparent efficiency of this dictatorship, the Incas never achieved a system of writing, a system of money, nor a high development of the arts. Their only method of counting was tying knots in strings. Their palaces and fortifications emphasized size and strength rather than beauty. There was little opportunity for individuals to make decisions as they do in a democracy. How could there be when all power was centered in the emperor? When Pizarro kidnapped and executed the emperor, who was left with experience enough to make decisions?



## EUROPE - A LATE STARTER

Europe got off to a late start in the march of civilization. European barbarians were still using stone hammers in the period from c4000a.c. to c500 b.c. while various peoples in the Middle East and Far East were making great contributions to progress. Upon many of these contributions Europe was to build.

Once Europe got started in the march of civilization, it surpassed the ancient *Orient*, the area east of the Mediterranean. Many weaknesses help to explain the decline of the Orient. In the Orient most rulers had been despots who showed little regard for human life or dignity. The masses of the common people there had had little individual freedom. They had been taught to be resigned to their fate. Most of them were superstitious rather than reasoning. It was generally accepted that the ruler was a kind of god. Loyal subjects were expected to support their so-called *divine* rulers in their drives to build huge world empires.

Beginning about 500 b.c., the *Occident* — the area west of Asia — began to make rapid progress. This early European progress centered in Greece and Rome. In the Orient, the average individual had been a nobody. In the Occident, as the centuries rolled on, he began to be a somebody. For example, in ancient Greece (c500 b.c.) the minds of men began to be freed from superstition and blind obedience to authority. The ancient Greeks stressed the freedom of the individual to reason things out for himself, and his freedom to express his ideas. They felt that the entire community would benefit if every citizen were encouraged to develop his abilities. In fact, citizenship really began in ancient Greece. Citizens had such rights as a trial by jury, and such privileges as voting, as well as such duties as military service. Citizens in ancient Greece, unlike subjects in the ancient Orient, thereby felt inspired to co-operate with their government. Greece became the cradle of democracy. Ancient Greek art has rarely been matched for beauty and simplicity. Around the world today playwrights, scientists, doctors, mathematicians, and historians are building upon foundations laid by the ancient Greeks. And ancient Greek philosophy, which was distinguished by such noble ideals as a restless search for the truth, is still studied everywhere.

However, wars among rival Greek city-states and with the Persian Empire drained the energies of the Greeks. Thus, in the fourth century b.c., Alexander the Great of Macedonia (in northern Greece) was able to conquer all of Greece. He also conquered the Middle East and merged the civilizations of the Orient and the Occident. But by 31 b.c. the Roman Empire was to conquer the entire Mediterranean area. To the civilization which they took over, they added a Roman touch. This stream of civilization was to flow on from Rome to the rest of Europe and thence to us.

The ancient Romans also stressed citizenship. Unlike the Greeks, they even granted citizenship to many conquered people. Many countries, including our own, have borrowed ideas from the Roman government and the Roman legal system. Although not so original as the Greeks, the practical Romans made many contributions in engineering, architecture, literature, and philosophy. The word *classic* is applied to the combined civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, especially to their art and literature. But the benefits of classical civilization were not enjoyed by everyone in ancient Greece and Rome. If they had been, Europe might have made even greater progress than it has.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Himalayas • Indus • monsoons • Aryans • Chandragupta • Asoka • Gupta dynasty • Hinduism • transmigration of souls • caste system • Brahmins • untouchables • Laws of Manu • suttee • Buddhism • Gautama • Four Truths • Eightfold Path • Nirvana • Angkor Wat • Arabic numerals • Hindustani • Sanskrit • Rig Veda • Mahabharata •

Ramayana • sari • Kalidasa • China's Sorrow • Shang dynasty • Chou dynasty • Ch'in dynasty • Shih Huang-ti • Han dynasty • mandarins • silk route • Lao-tse • Taoists • Confucius • Mo Ti • Mencius • the Three Truths • pagoda • Chinese Classics • ancestor worship • Mayas • Incas • Aztecs • Yucatan • Montezuma II

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Discuss the amazing contrasts in the geography of India.
2. Give proof that the civilization of the Indus Valley was similar in many ways to that of the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys.
3. Mention three invasions of India from 2000 B.C. to 326 B.C.
4. Asoka rules with the great. Give reasons.
5. What conditions made Gautama unhappy?
6. Compare Buddhism with Hinduism.
7. Why did Buddhism appeal especially to members of the lowest classes?
8. India's art is strongly influenced by India's religions. Discuss.
9. What were India's distinctive contributions to science?
10. In what ways is Indian literature a clue to India's history?
11. Point out what you consider to be the good

- and the bad features of the Laws of Manu.
12. Contrast the position of women in China and India for centuries with that of women in ancient Egypt.
13. Prove that China was civilized when Europe was still barbaric.
14. List some of the things that are big about China's geography.
15. Show that in China history has repeated itself many times.
16. What was golden about the age of the Chou dynasty?
17. Of what achievements of (a) the Chou dynasty, (b) the Ch'in dynasty, and (c) the Han dynasty may patriotic Chinese boast?
18. Prove that Taoism changed after Lao-tse's death just as Buddhism changed after Buddha's death.
19. Compare the ideas of Lao-tse with those of Confucius.

20. Mention some fascinating facts about the Chinese family.
21. Show that there is great variety in Chinese religious beliefs.
22. How did Chinese writing make learning difficult?
23. Chinese education was a grueling ordeal, but the rewards were sometimes great. Discuss.
24. Arrange a list of Chinese inventions in what you consider the order of their importance as contributions to world progress.
25. For what reasons is it usually easy for us to

- identify most Chinese painting and architecture?
26. Mention some Chinese beliefs and ideas which are reflected in their literature.
27. How does the geography of the cradles of civilization in the Far West differ from that of the cradles of civilization in the Middle and Far East?
28. In what ways were the American cradles of civilization similar to other cradles of civilization?
29. Mention two distinctive characteristics of (a) the Mayan, (b) the Aztec, and (c) the Inca civilization.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. A caste system is always an obstacle to progress. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
2. In what respects are there elements of a caste system in many countries, even today?
3. How has the Hindu religion influenced life in India?
4. The lives of (a) Buddha and (b) Confucius might make excellent subjects for motion pictures. Discuss why.
5. Compare the architecture of a Buddhist temple with that of (a) an Egyptian temple and (b) your own church.
6. Buddhism and Hinduism challenged each other. Explain.
7. What similarities do you notice in the history of India and that of China?
8. Imagine yourself an Indian hearing Buddhist teachings for the first time. What would your reaction have been?
9. Untouchability sounds especially shocking to western ears. Why?
10. What geographical features of China contributed to its isolation for centuries?
11. Explain: "Like some milk, China's civilization became homogenized."
12. Does Shih Huang-ti seem to you to have been more of a villain or a hero? Discuss.
13. Modern nations, like ancient China, have sometimes built "Great Walls." But these have been laws, ideas, and practices, rather than physical structures. Explain and give examples.
14. What personality traits did Buddha, Lao-tse, and Confucius have in common?
15. In what respects are the teachings of Lao-tse similar to moral teachings in our own country?
16. Give your opinion of each of the proverbs from the Chinese Classics quoted in this chapter.
17. Which ideas of Mo Ti and Mencius sound modern?
18. Which of the practices characteristic of Chinese family life do you think we should adopt in our country? Tell why.
19. A baby was lucky to be born a boy rather than a girl in ancient China. Explain.
20. Should our government lay down fixed rules of behavior in human relationships such as those laid down by Confucius? Discuss.
21. Define *subtle*. What is subtle about Chinese painting and poetry?
22. Of the three American civilizations studied, which do you think was the most civilized? Give reasons.
23. The history of ancient America is full of unsolved puzzles. List some. How are such puzzles sometimes solved?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map of Asia locate (a) the cradles of civilization in India and China, (b) all the places mentioned in this chapter which are in Asia, and (c) areas to which Buddhism spread.
2. Write an editorial expressing your views on the caste system. Ask your English teacher to comment on your journalistic style.
3. From an anthology on world literature, read

some poems of Kalidasa. How does this enrich your knowledge of Indian life?

4. Collect newspaper clippings on India. What light do these throw on the problems of India discussed in these pages?

5. From *The Poetry of Freedom*, edited by Benét and Cousins, select the poem from the section on India which appeals to you most. Tell why.

6. Using the index of this book, find out what additional information there is on (a) India and (b) China. Then make a brief outline of topics to be studied later on each of these countries.

7. Collect as many pictures as you can of India's, China's, or ancient America's (a) clothing, (b) dances, (c) handicrafts, (d) architecture, or (e) other items of interest.

8. As a group project, prepare a chart comparing either China or India with the United States, as to (a) size, (b) topography, (c) natural resources, (d) population, (e) climate, and (f) natural disasters. Use such sources of information as an atlas, an almanac, and an economic geography book.

9. Using the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, select and read a recent magazine article on (a) India, (b) China, or (c) ancient America. Contribute to a group summary based on the reading of such articles.

10. Using *Crow's Chinese Are Like That*, prepare an oral report on interesting customs of the Chinese.

11. Draw a cartoon illustrating Shih Huang-ti's burning of the books. Write an appropriate caption for this.

12. In collaboration with some fellow pupils, write a dialogue which might have taken place when Confucius and Lao-tse met. Imagine that Buddha had joined them. What might he have said?

13. Contribute to a class list of questions which a newspaper reporter might have asked in an interview with (a) Asoka, (b) Mencius, or (c) Montezuma II.

14. Visit the exhibit on India, China, or ancient America in a museum. Take notes on those handicrafts which seem to you most interesting. Show how a manufacturer of textiles, pottery, or jewelry today might make use of your notes.

### Summing Up

1. In your notebook answer the questions under all the illustrations in this chapter. What additional questions would you have asked about these illustrations?

2. List the topics in this chapter about which

you would like to know more. Using the library card catalog, compile your own bibliography on one of these topics.

3. Prepare three broad essay-type questions, one on India, one on China, and one on ancient America. Outline the answer to one of them.

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### Recommended Reading for Unit One

(Books preceded by an asterisk (\*) are easy to read.)

Andrews, *Meet Your Ancestors; a Biography of Primitive Man*. What their bones tell us about our ancient ancestors.

Breasted, *Conquest of Civilization*. Full of interesting information about the ancient peoples.

Chiera, *They Wrote in Clay*. Ancient Mesopotamia's history revealed from clay bricks.

\*Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia.

Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*. What the ancients wrote about themselves and their times.

Embrie, *Indians of the Americas*. The stories of

the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas interestingly told

Evans, *Costume Throughout the Ages*. A compact account of what people have worn from ancient times.

\*Gaer, *How the Great Religions Began*.

\*Hartman, *The World We Live In and How It Came to Be*. A well-illustrated history of the highlights of world civilization.

\*Kummer, *First Days of History*. A clear picture of Persia, India, and China as well as of Egypt and Mesopotamia

- \*Lamprey, *Long Ago in Egypt*. The story of Egypt under one of history's first important women, Queen Hatshepsut.
- \*Leaf, *History Can Be Fun*. Laugh while you learn.
- \*Linton and Linton, *Man's Way from Cave to Sky-scraper*. A study of the ways of life of men of all races everywhere.
- \*Meadowcroft, *Gift of the River*. How the Nile influenced Egypt.
- \*Mills, *Book of the Ancient World*.
- \*Mills, *The People of Ancient Israel*. Life among the Hebrews to 70 A.D.
- Morrison, *Lost Queen of Egypt*. An interesting novel about the life of the wife of King Tutankhamon.
- Peattie, *Geography in Human Destiny*.
- \*Quennell and Quennell, *Everyday Life in the Old Stone Age and Everyday Life in the New Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages*. Both the story and the pictures teach much about how the early peoples worked and played.
- Seeger, *Pageant of Chinese History*. The dramatic story of the civilization which never died.
- \*Van Loon, *The Story of Mankind*. General trends rather than specific details are stressed.
- Walsh, *Curiosities of Popular Customs and of Rites, Ceremonies, Observances and Miscellaneous Antiquities*. A fascinating reference book.
- White, *Lost Worlds; Adventures in Archaeology*. This reads like a fast-paced detective story.

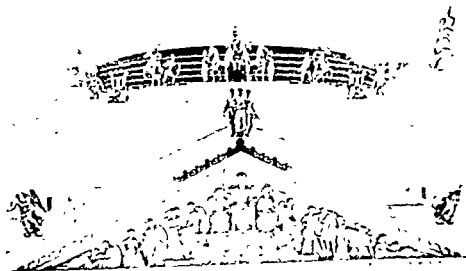
## UNIT TWO

# GREECE AND ROME BUILT UPON EARLIER CIVILIZATIONS

Some Symbols of Ancient Greece and Rome -

(1) The Most Famous Long-Distance Runner in History, Pheidippides, Who Brought the News of Victory at Marathon to Athens.

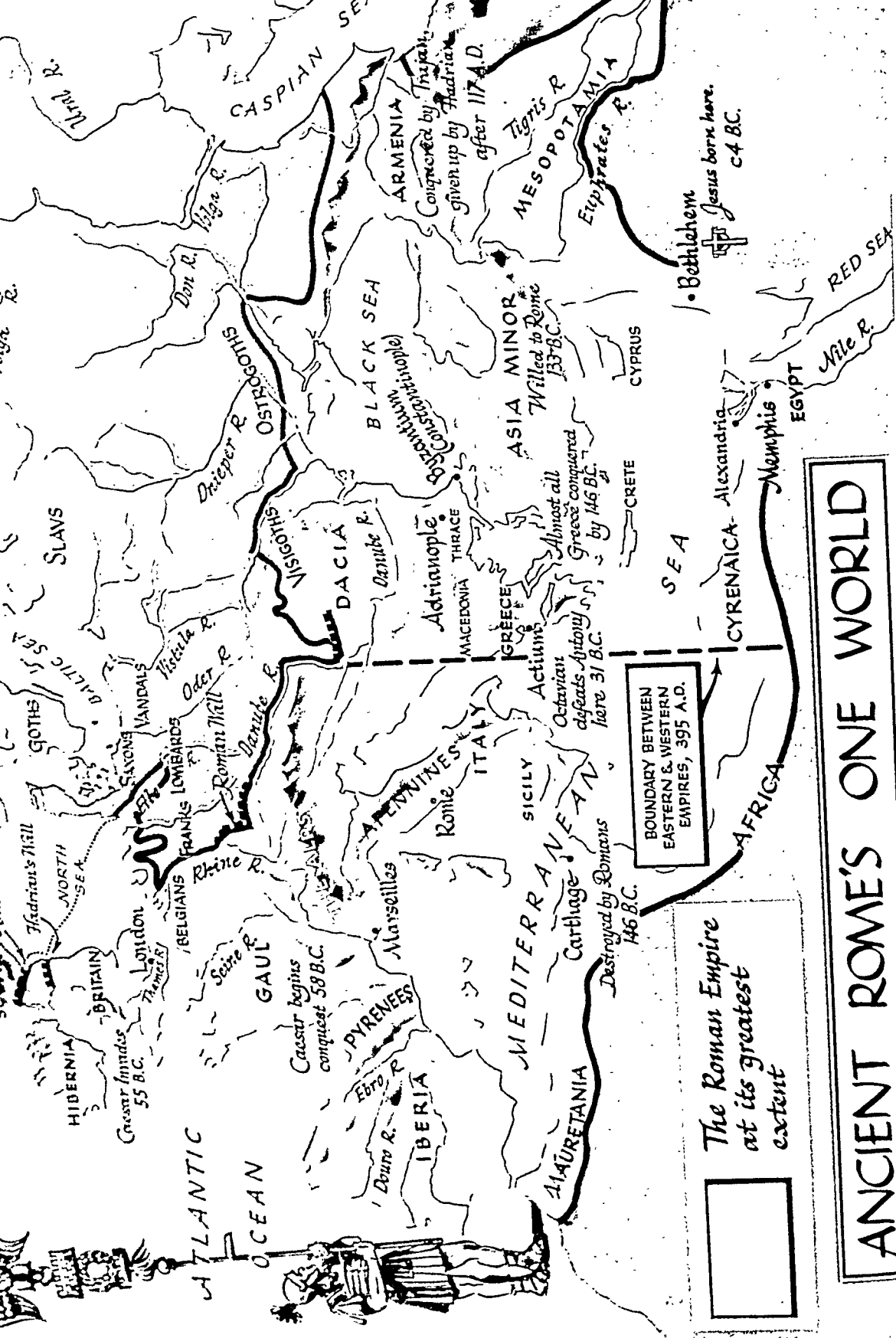
(2) Modern Model of Ancient Rome's Pantheon, a Building Which Contained Many Striking Features, Some Borrowed from the Greeks.



M·AGRIPPA·L·F·COS·TERTIVM·FECIT







# ANCIENT ROME'S ONE WORLD

The Roman Empire  
at its greatest  
extent

BOUNDARY BETWEEN  
EASTERN & WESTERN  
EMPIRES, 395 A.D.

## CHAPTER 4 . . . . CIVILIZATION REACHES EUROPE BY WAY OF GREECE

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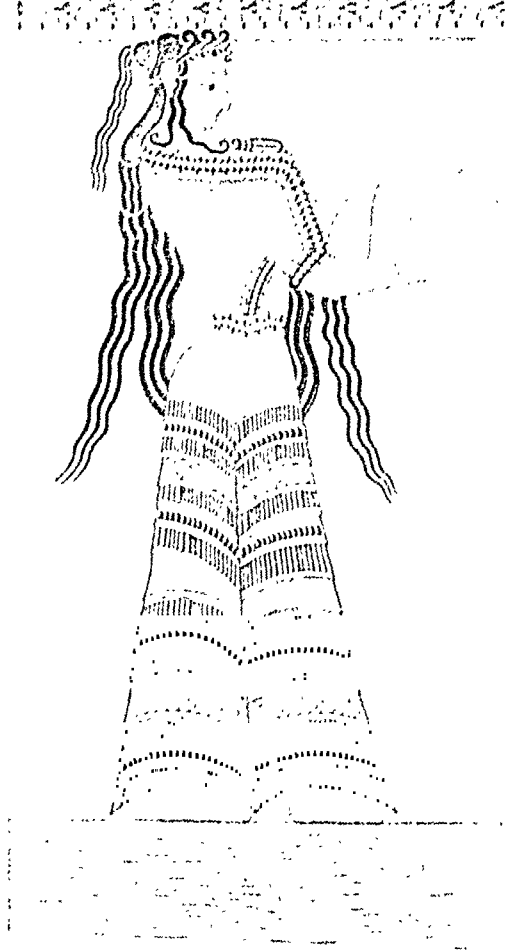
*The Aegean World Serves As a Steppingstone • The Ancient Greeks Strive for Perfection in Citizenship and Culture • Geography Strongly Influences Greek Life • Sparta a Military State • Athens Progresses from Monarchy to Democracy • How Citizenship Strengthened Athenian Democracy • Causes, Events, and Results of the Persian Wars (492-479 B.C.) • Democratic Athens Builds an Undemocratic Empire • The Peloponnesian War (459-404 B.C.): the Greeks Destroy Themselves • Making a Living in Fifth-Century Athens • Religion: Greek Gods Like Supermen • Education for Sound Minds and Sound Bodies • Socrates Stresses the Search for Truth • Plato Plans His Perfect Republic • Aristotle's Encyclopedic Mind Stresses the Search for Happiness • Ancient Greek Literature Very Modern • The Greeks Master Orators and Music Lovers • Science in Greece Full of Firsts • Greek Art: Simplicity and Beauty at Their Best • Why Greece Declined • Alexander the Great Conquers Much of the World • Hellenic Civilization Plus Oriental Civilization Equals Hellenistic Civilization.*

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### The Aegean World Serves as a Steppingstone

In 1900 A.D., an archaeologist, Sir Arthur Evans, began excavating the ruins of a tremendous palace at Knossos on the island of Crete in the Mediterranean. His work revealed to the world the high level of civilization reached by the Cretans about 2000 B.C. Practically every inch of wall space in the palace was covered with colorful pictures of Cretans at work or play, but seldom at war. These murals (wall paintings) and Cretan statuettes glorify the strength and beauty of the human body. Apparently women enjoyed great freedom, for the murals

show girls as well as boys engaging in acrobatics. Cretan women are also pictured watching athletes boxing or somersaulting over bulls. They wore low-necked gowns with flounced skirts and corseted waists. Many brightly colored, delicate porcelain jars were uncovered in the palace rooms. The fish, the shell, and the octopus were favorite designs. Cretan art objects of gold, bronze, and ivory, as well as metal weapons, are among the finest produced in all history. The streets of Knossos were paved. Wealthy Cretans had bathrooms to which water was pumped through tiled pipes. The palace had a library with thousands of clay tablets in phonetic, rather than picture, writing.



What does this picture tell about Cretan tastes?

Cretan writing has not yet been deciphered.

The long, narrow island of Crete helps to form the Aegean Sea out of the Mediterranean Sea. The seafaring Cretans had turned the Aegean into a trading center. Because their rulers had a fleet of merchant ships, they are known as the *Sea Kings of Crete*. Eventually, the enterprising Phoenicians crowded out both the Cretans and the Egyptians from both Mediterranean and Aegean trade. Crete and the hundreds of little islands of the Aegean learned much from the civilizations of the Middle East. This learning they spread to the slowly developing barbarians of Europe. The history of Aegean civilization is usually divided into two periods, that of Crete<sup>1</sup> (c3000-c1400 B.C.), being

<sup>1</sup> Cretan civilization is sometimes called *Minoan*, after certain Cretan kings named Minos.

one. The other period of Aegean civilization is named the *Mycenaean* after a city, Mycenae, on the mainland of Greece. Mycenaean civilization also developed in certain cities of Asia Minor. It declined about 1200 B.C.

Another archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann, unlocked the secrets of Mycenaean civilization. As a boy, Schliemann had read the exciting epics of the Greek poet Homer (page 90). As a wealthy man, he used his fortune to find out whether the city of Troy of Homeric fame had really existed. Schliemann's excavations on a site in Asia Minor in 1870 revealed the ruins of nine cities built one on top of another. One of these answered Homer's description of ancient Troy. Schliemann's expedition next moved on to southern Greece to uncover other ancient cities described by Homer.

What historical treasures Schliemann unearthed in the ruins of cities at Mycenae and Tiryns! Daggers and swords inlaid with precious metals, golden crowns and necklaces, cups of gold and silver elaborately decorated—all were strikingly beautiful. These treasures, as well as the enormous buildings with bathrooms and drainage systems at Tiryns, show Cretan influence. Much of the remarkable Aegean civilization was taken over by those remarkable Greeks whom we shall now study.

## The Ancient Greeks Strive for Perfection in Citizenship and Culture

"We are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; . . . Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything, of which the secret if revealed to an enemy might profit him. . . . Our constitution . . . favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy . . . (Neither) class consideration . . . nor . . . does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve



the state . . . Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it . . . we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness . . .” — From the *Funeral Oration* by Pericles

These phrases have been selected from a great speech made by the greatest statesman of the greatest of the ancient Greek city-states, Athens. They give us an idea of the remarkable civilization which existed in Athens in the fifth century B.C.

**Who the Ancient Greeks Were and What They Had in Common.** Down from the Danube River valley and the Black and the Caspian Sea areas and into the Greek

peninsula poured wave after wave of invaders. About 1500 B.C. these Indo-Europeans pushed through the mountain passes in their horse-drawn wagons. Some of these nomads settled on the mainland. Others sailed to the Aegean islands. Still others founded such cities as Ephesus and Miletus on the coast of Asia Minor. These semibarbarians, who were later called *Hellenes*, destroyed much of the brilliant Cretan and Mycenaean civilizations and killed many of the original settlers. However, in time the Hellenic invaders intermarried with the conquered Aegeans. Their descendants adopted much of the civilization inherited from the Aegean world and built upon it. They called Greece *Hellas*.

In spite of frequent hostilities between the Greek city-states, the ancient Greeks had much in common. Their common Indo-European language enabled them to read a common literature dealing with their common origins. Outsiders who did not speak Greek were called *barbarians* (babbler). From all the Greek city-states, Greeks traveled to the same religious shrines to honor the same gods. Athletic festivals in which only Greeks were permitted to participate were another bond of unity.

**Geography Strongly Influences Greek Life.** The home of the ancient Greeks was the peninsula which juts out into the Mediterranean from southeastern Europe. Many Greeks also lived on Aegean islands and in cities of Asia Minor. These cities in Asia Minor are sometimes called Ionian cities.

The indented coast line gave the Greeks many good harbors. Ships could sail from the Greek coast across the usually calm Mediterranean Sea to other European ports and to ports in Africa and Asia. Greece was on the main route of the Phoenician sailors. These carriers of civilization brought to the Greeks a huge store of world knowledge of metals, writing, navigation, business methods, and art. Greeks had to become traders because there was not enough fertile land for many of them to farm. They had to have products to trade for needed food. Thus, many Greeks began to manufacture goods to sell.

The inhabitants of each city-state were intensely loyal to their communities rather than to Greece as a whole. Mainly because of the many mountains and bays which cut up the peninsula, the ancient Greeks were never able to establish one united nation. Thus each of the hundreds of city-states was like a small, independent nation. From about 800 to 500 B.C. several city-states established many colonies along the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. A number of the colonies in time became independent city-states. The Greek reasons for establishing colonies are much the same as those of other colonizers in

history. They wanted more land, raw materials, customers, and naval stations. The Greeks who went to the colonies included exiles and persons seeking wealth, glory, or greater freedom. Through the colonies Greek civilization began to reach out to other parts of Europe.

Among the Greek city-states, two stand out. These two, Sparta and Athens, differed greatly. The other Greek city-states tended to follow either the Spartan pattern or the Athenian pattern.

**Sparta a Military State.** Many a modern boy feels that he is burdened with problems—and he often is. Suppose, however, that this were his program: wearing only one garment, going barefoot even in winter, sleeping on a homemade bed of reeds, eating meager, unappetizing meals, walking always in silence with eyes to the ground, and receiving regular whippings in public to prove his toughness. Suppose, too, that because his infant brother happened to be sickly, the helpless baby were left to die uncared for on a mountainside. Suppose that from the age of seven he lived in an army school where he spent day after day drilling and singing military songs. Suppose that punishments were handed out not for stealing, but for getting caught. Spartan schools stressed courage, endurance, and absolute obedience. Such was the life of a boy in the aggressive military state of Sparta.

Spartan men, too, had their lives mapped out for them by the government. At twenty, a Spartan was a fully trained soldier. At thirty, he was considered an active citizen and a member of the lawmaking body. He was then required to get married and to raise a family to serve the government. Even then he had to eat in the army mess hall rather than at home. If he were not killed in battle by his sixtieth birthday, he was then permitted to enjoy home life.

**Spartan Women Help to Build This Military State.** According to a Spartan legend, a Spartan woman had five sons killed in a battle. When this news was broken to her,

she said: "All I want to know is: did Sparta win?" This indicates how Spartan women had also been trained to consider their personal feelings less important than the welfare of the state. Spartan girls were taught to wrestle, hurdle, and throw the spear and discus. The purpose of this health education was to develop mothers who would bear strong children, who in turn would grow up to be strong soldiers. Spartan women were not allowed to vote. However, in most other respects, they enjoyed equality with men.

*What Made Sparta a Military State.* The earliest Spartan tribes swept into the Peloponnesus, the southernmost part of Greece, from the north about 1000 B.C. They conquered the natives, seized their lands, and made them slaves. As population increased, more food was required. The Spartans then made war on neighboring communities and annexed their lands. By 500 B.C., practically the entire Peloponnesus was controlled by the Spartans. Their subjects now outnumbered them by the thousands. Revolutions threatened. To keep control, the Spartans made their country a military state.

If Sparta's goal was only to develop efficient and courageous soldiers and blindly obedient citizens, Sparta was a success. However, in the arts and sciences Sparta contributed almost nothing to the glory that was ancient Greece. The self-satisfied Spartans felt that they had nothing to learn from other peoples. Nor did they encourage independent thinking or new ideas among their own people. Who knows how many undiscovered artists and inventors among the Spartans spent their lives as soldiers?

*Spartan Soldiers Live off Those Who Work.* In ancient China the soldiers were the lowest class. In ancient Sparta the soldiers were the highest class. China's civilization lives on, but Sparta's has been dead for over two thousand years. The soldier-citizens of Sparta owned all the land and did most of the fighting, but none of the work. These few citizens, who numbered about five per cent of the population, annually elected five men



(left) Greek Girl Doing the Dangerous Sword-Dance, Turning Somersaults Forward and Backward Across the Points of Swords Stuck in the Ground.

(right) Greek Girl Juggler Filling a Container with Her Toes While She Juggles with Her Partner.

called *ephors*. The *ephors* actually ran Sparta.

Next in importance to the soldier class were the freemen. These freemen were barred from citizenship because they were not descended from the original invaders. Since the citizens had contempt for trade and industry, the freemen had a monopoly of these occupations. In time of war they were drafted into the army. A third class were the *helots*—government-owned slaves. Helots were required to work the farms of the soldiers. So badly treated were these helots that some rebelled. They were savagely crushed. Government spies roamed the country at night murdering any helot who showed qualities of leadership. Thus it was hoped that there would be no more rebellions.

*Athens Progresses from Monarchy to Democracy.* What kind of government is best? From about 1000 B.C. to about 500 B.C., various Greek city-states sought the answer to this question by trying out one form of government after another. One, Athens, began as a monarchy and became the world's first democracy.

*Athens Tries Rule by the Few.* Until about 750 B.C., kings ruled Athens. Then an aristocracy having great wealth and military might replaced the monarchy. By aristocracy the Greeks meant "rule of the best." Actually Athens from about 750 to about 600 B.C. was ruled by nobles. Needless to say, some nobles were far from "the best." During this period almost all the good land of Athens fell into the hands of nobles. Exchange of goods had

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tacked by the rich for going too far with his reforms and by the poor for not going far enough, Solon exclaimed: "I stood at bay like a wolf amid a pack of dogs!"

After Solon gave up politics, disagreements among nobles, businessmen, and peasants increased. The peasants in particular, although no longer slaves, were poverty-stricken. Desperate, they threw their support to a tyrant named Pisistratus. For fifty years Pisistratus and the sons who succeeded him were able to stay in power.

*Cleisthenes Extends Citizenship to Many* But many Athenians were restless under one-man rule. They realized that such rule, even if efficient, was a standing threat to their liberties. In 508 B.C., a popular noble, Cleisthenes, helped the democratic groups overthrow the ruling tyrant. Cleisthenes, the third famous lawgiver of Athens, was determined to prevent further conflict among nobles, businessmen, and peasants. He hoped thus to preserve democracy. Representation in the government and in the army was divided fairly among these three classes. The benefits of Athenian citizenship were granted to some immigrants, to some former slaves, and to many of the poor. To prevent dictatorship, which had so often arisen out of class conflict, Cleisthenes thought up a system known as *ostracism*.<sup>2</sup> At an annual meeting every citizen of Athens might write on a broken piece of shell (*ostrakon*) the name of any person he considered to be a threat to democracy. Any person receiving a certain number of votes was exiled for ten years.

Thus, Draco, Solon, and Cleisthenes started Athens and the world on the road to democracy.

*Every Athenian Citizen a Lawmaker.* Athenian citizens had come to realize that if a person wants good government, he must take an active part in it himself. Forty times a year, about five thousand Athenian citizens met in an enormous open-air assembly to make laws. Every male citizen over twenty

years old who attended these meetings was thus a Congressman. The lawmaking body, called the Assembly, was the heart of the Athenian government. In it any citizen could speak. In order to get the floor and hold it, however, he had to be a good speaker. He could not afford to be sensitive, for boos and catcalls might greet him. After debate, the citizens voted. If the majority favored the bill, it became a law. This system of government, where every citizen is a lawmaker, is known as *pure or direct democracy*. Modern countries, with millions of citizens, could not adopt such a system. The United States, for example, has a *representative democracy*. Under the American system, one Congressman represents thousands of people.

In Athens the Council of Five Hundred proposed laws for the Assembly to discuss. There was so much work to be done that the council split up into committees of fifty. Each committee handled a different problem of government. Our Congress has a similar *committee system*. In Athens the names of candidates for membership in the Council of Five Hundred were picked as at a lottery.

*Every Athenian Citizen Given Officeholding Opportunities* In Athens it was possible for a man who was not especially popular or especially rich to hold a high position. For there were over a thousand government jobs. Furthermore, officials were chosen every year, and some jobs were limited to one term. This procedure gave practically every Athenian citizen an opportunity to be a government official at some time. Moreover, it hindered any political clique from monopolizing the government too long. The most important officeholders were the Ten Generals. The generals were the only public officials who were not chosen by lot. They were the people's choice. They carried out the laws. They were also in charge of the army and navy and of relations with other city-states.

*Every Athenian Citizen at Some Time a Juror* Most Athenians were law-abiding. Yet they were frequently in the courts. Why?

<sup>2</sup> To *ostracize* a person today means to refuse to have anything to do with him.



been by barter. As business increased, money began to be used. To get loans, poor farmers mortgaged their farms. This meant that if they failed to repay the money which they had borrowed at high interest rates, they would have to forfeit their farms. As poverty spread, many peasants thus lost their farms and had to work for others. Some were even forced to become slaves. Others left the mainland to start life anew in the colonies.

A new business class made up of manufacturers and merchants had arisen. Trade with the colonies had made them rich. This business class united with the peasants and laborers to demand a voice in the government. People began to ask: "Why should only nobles hold all the government jobs?" "What chance does a peasant or a businessman have in courts where only nobles are jurors?" But the nobles refused to share their power. Civil wars broke out. In these civil wars landowning aristocrats were lined up against wealthy merchants. The merchants were supported by peasants and laborers. The merchant group won. An *oligarchy* (rule by a few) of merchants gained control of the Athenian government. But the peasants and laborers who had helped the merchants gain power were no better off.

Would-be dictators often take advantage of confusion and discontent to seize control of the government. So it was in Athens about 600 B.C. The discontented people were only too glad to follow any shrewd politician who made them attractive promises. Even the most ridiculous promise sounds reasonable to a starving man. The dictators who rose to power in Athens in the late seventh century B.C. were called *tyrants*. To the ancient Greeks a tyrant meant anybody who had seized the government by force and ruled without regard to the law. Not all Greek tyrants were cruel. Actually, in order to stay in power, many of these tyrants were constantly bidding for popularity. They tried to win the support of the businessmen by promoting trade. To win the loyalty of the poor, they sometimes even divided the estates of

nobles among peasants. They often beautified the city and gave charity to the poor.

*Athens Chooses Rule by the Many.* But the Athenian love of freedom made the people suspicious of one-man rule. Often this suspicion turned to hatred when some of the tyrants really acted like cruel despots. Sometimes their power was inherited by incapable sons. For such reasons the Athenians got rid of their tyrants. Some were exiled, and some murdered. By 500 B.C., Athens was ready for democracy, government by the people.

*Draco Promotes Democracy by Putting Laws into Writing.* Imagine being put to death for stealing a few vegetables or for refusing to work! Sounds cruel, doesn't it? Yet the average Athenian was grateful for the laws which provided such penalties. Why? Before 621 B.C., Athens had no written laws. Therefore, the ruling aristocracy could decide what was law and what was not. Angry protests arose against this unfair system. As a result, a noble named Draco put all the unwritten customs into a code of laws. This code was so harsh that it was said to be written "not in ink, but in blood." But now, at least Athenians knew when they were committing a crime and when they were living up to the law. Now, too, it would be more difficult for the judges — who were nobles — to play favorites.

*Solon Makes Athenian Laws More Just.* Lawmakers today are sometimes called *solons*. Solon was one of the wisest lawmakers of the ancient world. Merely writing down the laws of Athens had not wiped out oppression. Kindly Solon in 594 B.C. replaced most of Draco's laws with less harsh ones. He abolished slavery for debt. He canceled mortgages on land and gave the poorer people a voice in the government. He placed a limit on the amount of land a noble could own. No longer were the juries and the law-making assembly monopolized by nobles. Solon also encouraged business and established a sound financial system. Poor Solon, who tried to please both rich and poor, did not satisfy either, however. When he was at-

in the masses of the people. To them only Athenian citizens were capable of ruling.

*For Men Only* would have been another appropriate label for Athenian democracy. Athenian women received almost no education. Their husbands were selected for them. They were not even permitted to accompany their husbands to parties. Nor could they inherit property.

But the weak spots of Athenian democracy should not blind us to its glorious achievements. There is not a single democracy in the world today which is not in debt to ancient Athens.

**Causes and Events of the Persian Wars (492-479 B.C.).** The powerful Persian Empire of Darius (page 43) demanded that the Greek colonies in Asia Minor pay tribute to it. The colonies refused and revolted. In spite of military aid sent by Athens to the colonies, the revolt failed. Angry at Athens for sending the aid, Darius made up his mind to conquer the city-states on the Greek mainland. He was also fearful that the Greek spirit of independence might spread throughout the Persian Empire. What would happen to Darius's absolute power and to the Persian Empire, if this new idea called democracy became contagious?

**The Greeks Gain Confidence at Marathon.** In 490 B.C., Darius sent an expedition across the Aegean Sea to the seacoast not far from Athens. The huge Persian army pitched camp on the plain of Marathon in preparation for an attack on Athens. Eastern despotism was all set to destroy Western democracy. Athens trembled. Desperate calls for help were sent to other Greek city-states. The best runner, Pheidippides, was sent for the best army, Sparta's. After covering 150 miles in two days, Pheidippides was close to collapse. Imagine his feelings when the superstitious Spartans told him that it would be bad luck for them to go to war before the full moon!

The Athenian general Miltiades decided that the best defense is a good offense. He hurled his ten thousand soldiers against the Persians at Marathon. Thousands of Persian

arrows could not stop the speedy attack of the heavily armored Greeks defending their homeland. The previously unconquered Persians fled in panic, leaving six thousand of their own dead behind. Pheidippides, who had fought in this battle of Marathon (490 B.C.), raced home to Athens—a distance of 26 miles—with news of the victory.<sup>\*</sup> With his dying breath, he gasped: "Athens is saved."

**The Greeks Show Magnificent Courage at Thermopylae.** But Persia did not give up. Ten years later, King Xerxes, son of Darius, renewed the conflict. With a huge army the Persians crossed the Dardanelles on a bridge of ships and invaded Greece. A small band of Greeks was waiting for them at a narrow pass between the mountain and the sea at Thermopylae. The Greek forces, led by a Spartan, Leonidas, included soldiers from various city-states. The Greeks hoped by holding the pass to block Persian entry into central Greece. For a few days the courageous Greeks resisted the large army of invaders. Then a traitor informed Xerxes of a trail around the pass. This enabled the Persians to attack the Greeks from the rear. Not a single Greek survived this battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.) But it is remembered as one of the finest examples of patriotic sacrifice in history. In the years which followed, the inspired Greeks defeated the Persians on land and sea. This enabled many of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor to gain their independence.

**Results of the Persian Wars.** Had the Persians won the Persian Wars, Athenian democracy might have been completely destroyed. Then the rest of Europe could not have built upon its foundations. The Oriental idea that individuals owe blind obedience to an absolute ruler might have spread throughout Europe. Furthermore, the magnificent contributions of the Greeks in the arts and sciences, which we shall soon study, might

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<sup>\*</sup> Today a foot race of about 26 miles is called a *marathon*.

have been lost to us. Victories in the Persian Wars made the Athenians proud and confident. Athens became the most important city-state in Greece. During the war there had been unity among the city-states. But, as so often happens, once the war was won, the allies fell to quarreling. Disaster was to result.

**Democratic Athens Builds an Undemocratic Empire.** The period from 479 B.C. to about 400 B.C. is the most glorious in Athenian history. Under the leadership of brilliant statesmen, Athenian democracy shone in this Golden Age. Under the leadership of Athens, many of the Greek city-states were united in a great empire. Enterprising merchants helped to make fifth-century Athens prosperous. Master artists and original thinkers thrived there. Yet, by 400 B.C. Athens had ceased to be a great power. We shall soon see why.

Hanging over the heads of all Greeks was the possibility of another Persian invasion. Athenian leaders persuaded the Greek cities of Asia Minor and of the Aegean Islands that they should unite with Athens in a *confederation* (a loose union of states). This confederation was called the *Delian League*. Besides protecting members from the Persians, it aimed to rid the sea of pirates, to settle disputes among members, and to pool financial and military resources.

Persia and the pirates were both repulsed by the Delian League. Then many of the Greek city-states wanted to leave the league. But the league had brought Athens power and prosperity. Athenian statesmen and merchants were determined to turn the Delian League into an Athenian Empire. Athenian military leaders used force to keep the city-states in the confederation and to get others to join. These empire builders seized the common treasury and demanded enormous tribute from the other members. Athenian settlers sometimes forced farmers in other city-states off their lands. To prevent rebellions, Athens stationed Athenian soldiers throughout the new empire. People were encouraged to spy on their own people and

report any plan of uprising back to Athens. What a contradiction! Here was Athens practicing more democracy at home than the world had yet known and treating fellow Greeks elsewhere most undemocratically. What an opportunity was missed by the Delian League to create a united Greece! Instead, from 431 B.C. to 404 B.C., Greece became a battleground for Greek city-states and an easy prey for foreign invaders.

### Statesmen of the Athenian Empire.

*Themistocles, Hero Accused of Treason.* Themistocles (born c514 B.C.) spent his last days in exile among the Persians. Yet all Athens once hailed him as a hero. He had built a fleet which had destroyed a Persian fleet. At his suggestion, Athenians had built long walls which enclosed the road connecting Athens and the port of Piraeus. Thus, food could be brought in from the sea in case Athens was under siege. Popular and patriotic Themistocles was later ostracized because Athenian nobles feared his hold upon the people. They accused him of selling out to the Persians.

*Aristides the Just Votes to Exile Himself.* Themistocles had favored a big navy. His leading opponent, Aristides (born c550 B.C.), favored a big army. Themistocles won out and Aristides was ostracized. An interesting story is told about this ostracism. It shows that not every Athenian was a great thinker. During the voting, an illiterate man asked Aristides to write the name of Aristides on a piece of shell. "But why?" Aristides asked. "Has Aristides ever injured you?" "No, I've never seen the man," replied the citizen. "But I'm sick and tired of hearing everybody call him Aristides the Just." Whereupon Aristides obliged the man by writing his own name down for banishment!

Aristides was called "the Just" partly because of his fairness in deciding how much each city-state should contribute to the Delian League.

*Pericles, Patriot and Patron of the Arts.* The most famous Greek of Greece's Golden

Age was Pericles' (495-429 B.C.). For thirty years he controlled Athens. In fact, this period is often called the Age of Pericles. He was loved by the people for his fairness, wisdom, and eloquence. He refused to make false promises even if this meant losing votes. Pericles was born an aristocrat. Yet under his leadership the poor and the veterans were helped with jobs, food, and free entertainment. He made it possible for the poor to take government work by seeing to it that they were paid salaries. Pericles' Athenians supported Pericles because he beautified the city and established new colonies. They were grateful because Pericles had done so much to make Athens prosperous and the center of art, literature, and science. Pericles' Funeral Oration (page 77), which Pericles delivered in honor of Athenians killed in battle, sums up his wise policies for Athens.

However, like Socrates, Pericles could not please everybody. Some said that by helping the poor he was merely buying votes to make himself a political boss. Many moderates criticized him for going too far in extending democracy. Other critics felt that he had not gone far enough. His enemies drove some of his friends into prison or exile. He was accused of leading a scandalous life. In 429 B.C. Pericles died in an epidemic. His *Reins* words were: "What I am most proud of is: No Athenian ever put on mourning for an act of mine." Yet Pericles is blamed for bringing on the Peloponnesian War with Sparta, which cost many Athenian lives and caused many Athenians to put on mourning.

**The Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.): the Greeks Destroy Themselves.** The tyrannical Athenian Empire was bound to make enemies. Soon Greece was split into two hostile leagues of city-states. The Peloponnesian League, led by Sparta, rivaled the Delian League, led by Athens. These rivals came to blows in the Peloponnesian War. Why? To begin with, Sparta feared the increasing power and wealth of Athens during the Age of Pericles. In fact, Sparta tried for a time to avoid war because of this fear. Fur-



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

[illegible]

On the 24th of the preceding month the vessel  
"Toucan" arrived. After some early morning  
efforts had failed to land her, the crew had  
quitting and sailed. Her crew struck the ship,  
wiping out over one-third of the population  
of the island. The Algonquians were not so suc-  
cessful when they entered the bay, but they  
were of service to the island as they left a  
generous supply of food and clothing on the  
shore of a cove, and as they had to  
pass near the shore. It was Algonquian  
men, and Algonquian women, who  
had entered the bay and were seen from the  
shore when nearly everybody in the com-  
munity in Cayenne. He told me a home-  
land Algonquian was forced to sign a treaty for a  
treaty. The latter Sparta dominated for  
for thirty years.

The Greek city states had the best of the day distribution. But they were not equal.

tyranny much worse. Sparta's militaristic aristocrats blotted out democracy in every city-state. Property was seized. Rebellions were savagely suppressed. One succeeded, however. The city-state of Thebes under General Epaminondas crushingly defeated the Spartans in 371 B.C. at the battle of Leuctra. Thebes, like Athens and Sparta before it, tried to dictate to the other Greek city-states without success. Thus, all Greek efforts to establish a unified Greek nation failed. Greece was to be unified in 338 B.C., but under a foreign conqueror, King Philip of Macedonia.

**Making a Living in Fifth-Century Athens.** Under Pericles the port at Piraeus hummed with activity. Athens was then the business center of the Mediterranean world. Its leading competitor, Phoenicia, an ally of Persia, had been defeated. To furnish their many craftsmen with materials, Athenians imported metals, lumber, and wool. For rich, luxury-loving Athenians ships from the East brought perfumes, fine cloth, Oriental rugs, and Persian slippers.

To pay for its imports, Athens sold pottery, metal products, wine, olive oil, furniture, and cloth. The small shops in which Athenian craftsmen worked each specialized in manufacturing a single product. Slaves and non-citizen freemen did most of this work. Athens might have been even more prosperous if Athenians had known more about banking and business. They stored the money they made instead of investing it in new or bigger businesses. The majority of Athenians were farmers. They specialized in raising figs, grapes, and olives, using crude methods.

**Simplicity in Daily Living.** The average Athenian lived in a simple, one-story home facing a narrow, usually garbage-strewn alley. The alleys had no sidewalks. Since most houses had no windows, courtyards had to supply light and air. There was usually no floor but the earth. A few rich homes had floors and walls of mosaic tiles, porches with columns, and some plumbing. They were decorated with handsome vases, tapes-



These spirited Greek runners of the sixth century B.C. make a fine decoration for this large storage jar. In the 200-yard race in which they are participating, the sprinters swing their arms high and touch the ground only with their toes.

tries, and statues. But, in general, living in a fine house seems to have meant little to the Athenian, rich or poor. The sunny climate kept him outdoors, usually in the market place or in the open-air assembly. Instead of spending his money on a beautiful home for himself, a patriotic Athenian contributed to the construction of magnificent public buildings to share with his fellow-citizens.

Greek food was much like ours. For sweetening, the Greeks used honey. They drank wine, but rarely got drunk. Both men and women draped loose, flowing linen garments around their bodies and wore sandals. Women wore their hair in waves drawn back from the forehead and fastened into a knot at the back of the head with bone or ivory hairpins.

**Religion: Greek Gods Like Supermen.** Unlike the Orientals, the freedom-loving Greek artists, writers, and scientists in general did not have to conform to rigid rules laid down by priests. The Greeks looked upon their many gods not with great fear, not with great love, but as glorified human beings who lived forever and remained forever young. Greek gods were believed to possess great beauty, strength, and wisdom. Yet they could be just as quarrelsome, loving, hungry, selfish, and kind as any human. It was believed that the gods lived on the crest of Mount Olympus, Greece's highest mountain.

Zeus, the leading god, hurled thunderbolts and made lightning flash. Handsome Apollo, the symbol of the sun, inspired poets, musicians, and doctors and predicted the future. The goddess of wisdom was Athena, patron saint of Athens. Aphrodite, the love goddess, sent her child Cupid with his arrows to make young Greeks fall in love. The adventures of these and lesser gods, their loves and hates, are the favorite themes of Greek literature. Since the Greeks were pleasure-loving, they believed that their gods liked a good time, too. They did not expect very much in the next world. The dead, they thought, descended to a dark and joyless underworld, called *Hades*, ruled over by Pluto. Only a few heroes could hope to go to a bright and joyful place, called the *Elysian Fields*.

**Worship and Fortunetelling Combined at Greek Oracles.** The Greeks were constantly seeking advice and favors from their gods. To honor particular gods, magnificent temples were built. To determine the will of the gods, the Greeks often went on pilgrimages to oracles. Oracles were sacred places dedicated to certain gods. To the famous oracle of Apollo at Delphi, kings, businessmen, and lovesick youths went for advice. This advice was supposed to be coming from Apollo through the mouths of priest-interpreters. But the priests were cautious. The answers they gave could usually be interpreted in two ways. For example, King Croesus of Lydia went to Delphi to find out



Preparing for a Greek Chariot Race. Usually the drivers were naked and the horses lightly harnessed.

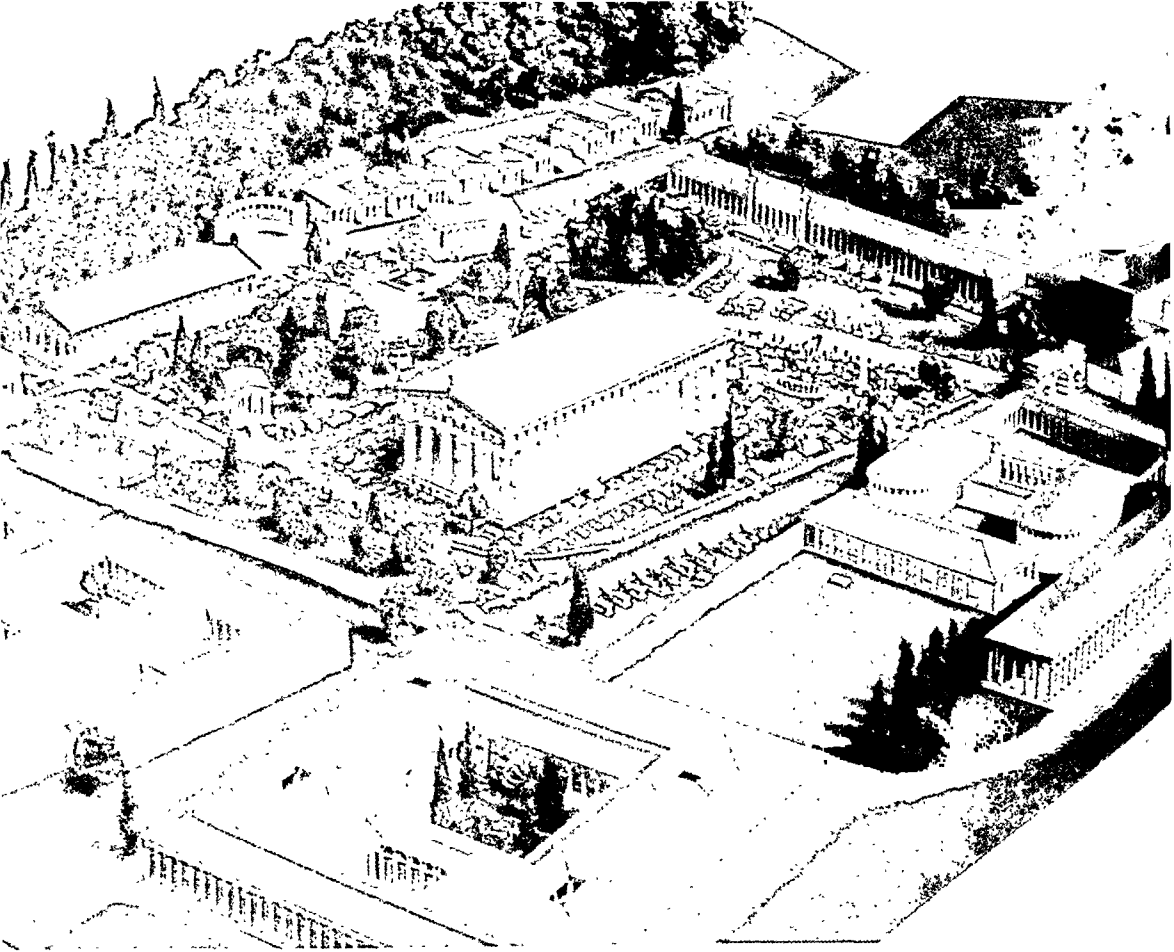
whether he should invade Persia. The answer came: "If you invade Persia, you will overthrow a mighty empire." Croesus did overthrow a mighty empire — his own!

**Religion and Patriotism Combined at the Olympic Games.** What an honor it is today for an athlete to represent his country in the Olympic games! Patriotism to his city-state, as well as devotion to Zeus, was demonstrated when an athlete competed in the ancient Olympic games or similar religious festivals. Competitors had to be excellent athletes of Greek ancestry and have a reputation for good conduct. The Greeks used the Olympic games as a kind of calendar. The first Olympic games on record were held in 776 B.C. The four-year period which elapsed between contests was called an *Olympiad*.

The Olympic games were like a gigantic track meet with added attractions. Husky athletes competed in dashes, distance runs, the broad jump, and throwing the discus, spear, and javelin. Wrestling and boxing matches, chariot races, and horse races thrilled thousands. Sculptors displayed statuettes; musicians, poets, and playwrights per-



Greek Wrestlers. The wrestler on top has secured his left leg firmly around that of his opponent. The opponent tries to raise himself by means of his free left arm and right knee.



Model of the Ancient City of Olympia

This city, the site of the Olympic games, housed Greece's most precious works of art. Find out why this city was a unifying force among the usually disunited Greeks.

formed; and peddlers sold souvenirs. Olympic champions were crowned with wreaths of laurel or olive leaves. Some Greeks made the mistake of thinking that, just because a man was an Olympic champion, he would make a good public official. And some champions made poor statesmen. In modern times the Olympic games have been revived in the hope of promoting friendship among nations.

**Education for Sound Minds and Sound Bodies.** Progress usually results when people are free to think, to exchange ideas, and to experiment. In general, the ancient Greeks were not chained by despotic rulers to old ideas, nor fearful of change. They were blessed with liberty to seek truth for them-

selves. Scientists who are constantly experimenting, pupils who ask questions when they are not convinced, artists who strive for perfection — all these have the attitude encouraged by the ancient Greeks.

Most of the other Greek city-states took Athens as their educational model. The aims of Athenian education were to develop good citizenship, health, poise, ability to think for oneself, and appreciation of the arts. Whereas girls stayed at home, their brothers set out for school at the age of seven. To keep the schoolboys out of mischief, their families sent special slaves, called *pedagogues*, to school with them. The poorly trained and poorly paid teachers taught the boys to read, write,

count, understand music, and memorize the poetry of Homer. For physical training, boys were taken to the playground. Since there were no free public schools, many Athenian boys received little schooling. At sixteen, however, they could all go to a public gymnasium, where they practiced sports and listened to lectures on music, literature, and philosophy. At eighteen, they received two years of compulsory military training. Then they became citizens.

As citizens, Athenian adults continued their education. To take part in the Assembly, they had to be skilled in public speaking and debate. As jurymen, they had to know the laws. Ambitious citizens who could afford to do so attended lectures given by professional teachers called *Sophists*. The Sophists taught many how to win arguments. Today persons accused of practicing *sophistry* are said to be more interested in winning an argument than in getting at the truth. However, the Sophists trained pupils in history, government, mathematics, and science, too. Many Sophists taught their pupils to question superstitions. Some Sophists got into trouble with the authorities for daring to question traditions about the Greek gods.

*Socrates Stresses the Search for Truth.* In Athens in the late fifth century B.C., there was a man named Socrates who attracted admiring crowds wherever he went. He was homely and shabbily dressed, but he had a noble heart and a brilliant mind. He devoted his life to finding truth and to teaching men to distinguish between right and wrong. For money and superstition he had only contempt. Socrates believed that if any idea could not stand up under thorough examination, it should be rejected as untrue. He kept questioning his own thinking as well as that of others. He was constantly asking people searching questions on their ideas of duty, justice, reason, and love. Clear thinking by all, Socrates believed, would strengthen the government. This great philosopher felt that false knowledge would prevent people from living the happiest and the most honest lives

that were possible. "Know thyself," he urged.

Yet Socrates was accused of opposing religion and of misleading young minds. A jury condemned him to death. He had made a few powerful enemies, and some of these did not like the way he made them look ignorant with his questions. Those who enjoyed privileges did not welcome change. They hated this self-appointed examiner who was giving the people new ideas. Some of his many admirers plotted Socrates's escape from prison. But he refused, asserting that laws, even bad ones, should be obeyed. Before drinking the poison hemlock,<sup>4</sup> Socrates composed poems and carried on discussions with friends. He tried to comfort those who wept. He pointed out that, since none of them had ever been dead, none knew that death was worse than life.

*Plato Plans His Perfect Republic.* Socrates wrote no books. Much of what we know about him comes from the writings of Plato, his greatest pupil. Plato's books, called the *Dialogues*, are written in the question-and-answer form made famous by Socrates. Government, music, science, literature, justice, and virtue — topics dear to the heart of Socrates — are discussed in the *Dialogues*. Who is the main character and wisest speaker in these *Dialogues*? Socrates, of course. For Plato greatly admired his teacher.

In one of Plato's *Dialogues*, called the *Republic*, speakers discuss their ideas of a perfect government. According to Plato, the ideal government would divide people into three main groups. The few who loved ideas and wisdom, not material things, would be the governors. In short, philosophers would rule. Brave men would be the soldiers. The majority, who think mainly of food, clothing, and luxuries, would be the producers. Each class would be expected to keep its place. Each individual would be assigned to the task for which he was best suited. Plato had little respect for the intelligence of most people.

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<sup>4</sup> This was the Athenian method of executing criminals.





Last-Minute Preparations for the Performance of a Greek Play. Notice the masks to be worn by the players and the pipe-player rehearsing.

However, to insure justice for all, he suggested limiting the property of the ruling class. He also proposed equal rights for women. It was in his school, the *Academy*, that Plato carried on most of his discussions.

**Aristotle's Encyclopedic Mind Stresses the Search for Happiness.** Aristotle (born 384 B.C.) was Plato's most brilliant pupil. To Plato, the goal of life was the search for truth. To Aristotle, it was the happiness of the many. Plato drew up a blueprint for what he considered a perfect government. Aristotle studied the governments of existing Greek city-states, pointing out the good and bad features of each in his book *Politics*. He condemned neither monarchy nor aristocracy nor democracy. Each, he said, had its values under certain conditions. Aristotle established a school, too, the *Lyceum*. For nearly nine centuries the Academy and the Lyceum remained among the most famous schools of Europe. For nearly twenty centuries the writings of Aristotle were studied in European schools. In his famous book, *Ethics*, Aristotle warned against going to extremes in anything.

Aristotle was a tireless investigator and collector of facts in every known field of science. His Lyceum became a kind of plant and animal museum and laboratory. He even vivisected animals for medical research. Such a reputation did Aristotle acquire for being the authority on almost every subject that for a few centuries during the late Middle Ages

the awe in which he was held held back progress. Instead of observing and experimenting for themselves, brilliant scholars would quote "the philosopher" — Aristotle. But even Aristotle made some mistakes. He believed, for example, that the sun rotates about the earth.

### Ancient Greek Literature Very Modern.

The literature of ancient Greece was like a fresh spring from which sprang a mighty river with many branches. In fact, many a modern play is just an ancient Greek play, performed in modern dress and written from a modern angle. Greek literary models also serve for modern poems, histories, fables, and public speeches.

**Greek Poems Tell of Gods, Heroes, and the People, Too.** It is said that the ancient Greek Homer was a blind poet who begged for food as he wandered throughout the land. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, epics credited to him, are simply told adventure poems, filled with suspense. They express noble ideals. The *Iliad* tells the story of a ten years' war between the Greeks and the Trojans; in it gods and heroes both play their parts. The *Odyssey* describes the adventures of a Greek hero of the Trojan Wars, Odysseus (Ulysses), on his trip home. Perhaps as far back as 1000 B.C. the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were sung by wandering minstrels to harp accompaniment. A less noted poet, Hesiod (c700 B.C.), wrote not of gods and heroes but of the sorrows and hardships of the common farmer.

By 500 B.C., democracy had got a firm foothold in Greece. The individual as well as gods and heroes counted for something. Poets began to write poems pouring forth their own joys and sorrows. Because these poems were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre, they were called *lyric poems*. The greatest of the lyric poets was a woman, Sappho (c600 B.C.). Her favorite theme was love. A male lyric poet, Pindar (born 522 B.C.), wrote dancing and drinking songs, poems praising Olympic champions, and beautiful hymns glorifying the gods.

In this same period, fables became popular.

Fables are short stories in which animals think, talk, and act like human beings. These fables, supposed to have been written by a Greek slave, Aesop, closely resemble fables told earlier in India. Even today adults hope to teach children to be thrifty, kind, and sincere in imitation of the good animals in *Aesop's Fables*.

*Greek Drama Provides Models for the World.* Picture on a hillside a huge open-air theater with about 20,000 seats. An all-male cast wears strange masks and performs with almost no scenery. Nearly every citizen is attending as a civic and religious duty. To this government-owned theater those who do not have the price of admission are admitted free. Some have been watching play after play from dawn to sunset for three days in succession. They are helping to judge which playwright should be awarded the coveted prize. This ancient Athenian Theater of Dionysus which you are picturing was a school, temple, and community center as well as a theater. In it, thousands of Athenians each year served not only as spectators and judges, but as amateur actors. It was in this theater that the plays of some of the greatest dramatists in all history were performed.

All who sin must suffer. This was the theme of most of the plays of Aeschylus, the *father of Greek tragedy* (born 525 B.C.). The story of how the haughty and aggressive Persians were humbled by the patriotic and god-fearing Greeks is proudly told in his play *The Persians*. In *Prometheus Bound* and *Agamemnon* he describes the terrible tortures inflicted upon those who defy the gods. As in those of Aeschylus, in the plays of Sophocles (born c496 B.C.), the characters talk and act like human beings, not like puppets of the gods. Sophocles's plays preached the noble Greek ideal of moderation in all things. Later playwrights used such plays as *Antigone* and *Oedipus* as models. Every scene and every bit of dialogue in these plays is skillfully woven into the plot to develop suspense and a terrifying climax.

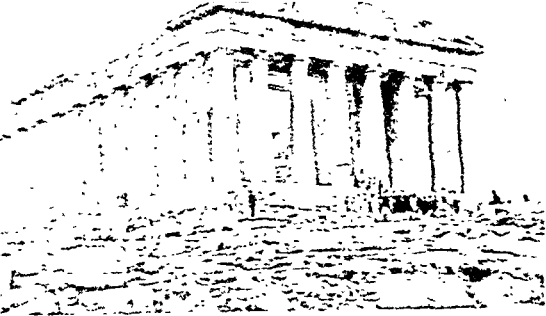
Euripides (born 480 B.C.) was interested in

the problems of ordinary people. His dramas encouraged people to question superstition and to doubt many traditions. In his plays *Medea* and *Trojan Women*, women are the leading characters. Euripides condemned war. He sympathized with the oppressed and the hungry. He also questioned the existence of the gods. Eventually he was exiled.

Aristophanes (born 448 B.C.) was the master of Greek comedy. His play *Lysistrata*, often produced in modern times, shows his hatred of the horrors and stupidity of war. In this witty play, the women decide that, since the men have failed to end war, they will take matters into their own hands.

*Herodotus and Thucydides Pioneers of History-Writing.* Fantastic legends and charming anecdotes, as well as basic information, crowd the pages of the famous *History* written by Herodotus (born c484 B.C.). Herodotus, the *father of history*, traveled extensively. His central theme was the wars between the Greeks and the Persians. But he told also of the customs, governments, religions, and geography of the ancient world up to Persia's defeat. Herodotus gave an accurate account of his own observations, but he did not scientifically examine information which he got from others. Herodotus attributed most events to the will of the gods. Thucydides (c471 B.C.-c399 B.C.), on the other hand, in his famous *History of the Peloponnesian War*, said "I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry." Thucydides showed relationships between causes and results. He was always fair. He attributed events not to the will of the gods, but to the actions of human beings. For these reasons he is called the *first scientific historian*.

*The Greeks Master Orators and Music Lovers.* The melodious Greek language, which expresses clearly even slight differences in meaning, was a great help to orators. Towering above the hundreds of other eloquent orators was Demosthenes (born c384 B.C.). Yet in his first public speeches Demos-



The Ruins of the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens. Even if the Parthenon were entirely in ruins, it would never die. Why?

thenes was howled down. His voice was high-pitched and his lungs were weak. But practice makes perfect. With pebbles in his mouth Demosthenes tried to make his voice heard above the waves breaking at the seashore. He practiced gestures before a mirror. To improve his style, he spent weeks copying the speeches of great men. Eventually, in the opinion of many, Demosthenes became the finest orator in history.

The word music comes from the Greek. To the Greeks the word meant poetry and dancing as well. Practically every Athenian citizen could play a flute or a lyre. Every religious, dramatic, and athletic festival was seasoned with music. The Greeks invented the system of indicating musical notes with written symbols. And the Greek system of intervals — such as octaves — and scales influenced all later music.

**Science in Greece Full of Firsts.** An eclipse of the sun occurred in 585 B.C. This event made famous Thales, a scientist from the Greek city of Miletus in Asia Minor. For Thales (born 640 B.C.), who had studied early Egyptian and Babylonian astronomy, had predicted the eclipse. Thales, so-called *father of Greek science*, believed that changes in climate and the behavior of the stars and planets are the work of nature, not of the gods.

Every high-school student of geometry is familiar with the theorem, "The square of the hypotenuse equals the sum of the squares of the two other sides of a right-angled tri-

angle," the *Pythagorean theorem*. Pythagoras (c500 B.C.), who discovered it, was one of the first astronomers to believe that the earth and planets are round.

Most ancient Greeks believed that disease is caused by evil spirits. Hippocrates (born 470 B.C.), the *father of medicine*, attacked such superstitions. He studied symptoms of diseases and the effects of food and climate on health. In the modern manner, he kept case histories of his patients. Graduates of medical schools today take the *Hippocratic Oath*, which is named after this great physician. Each promises, for example: "I will exercise my art solely for the cure of my patients and will give no drug, perform no operation for a criminal purpose, . . ."

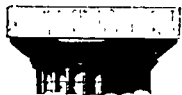
Each of these scientists, like Aristotle (page 90), had the scientific habit of searching for truth by observing and investigating.



One Type of Greek Column. This is one of many in the "Porch of the Maidens" on the Acropolis.

**Greek Art: Simplicity and Beauty at Their Best.** For centuries, from everywhere, art students have flocked to the ruins on the Acropolis. The Acropolis is a rocky hill in the heart of Athens. Here patriotic Athenians of the Golden Age constructed their most magnificent public buildings. Here the fine Greek sense of harmony, simplicity, and beauty is best displayed.

Through the gate to the Acropolis Athenians carried offerings to their patron goddess, Athena. In her honor, they erected on



Doric



Ionic



Corinthian

The Capitals of the Three Famous Types of Greek Columns. Which do you consider the most beautiful? Why?



A Reproduction of the Famous Fifth-Century B.C. Statue, *The Discus-Thrower*, by Myron. This statue shows Greek admiration for a well-proportioned body and skill in portraying one. Discuss.

the summit of the Acropolis their most exquisite temple, the Parthenon. Athena was represented by a colossal bronze statue standing outside the Parthenon and by a gold and ivory statue within. Much of the gay festival scene which was sculptured on the border beneath the roof of the Parthenon is gone. But the perfectly proportioned marble columns of the temple still stand. They are sturdy and plain. Such columns are called *Doric*. Another type of Greek column, the *Ionic*, is more slender and more elaborately decorated at the top. In later times, Greek temples were constructed with the still more elaborate *Corinthian* columns. The tops of Corinthian columns are lavishly ornamented with clusters of sculptured leaves. These three orders of Greek columns have

been copied in buildings all over the world.

After the Persian Wars, Phidias, the most famous Greek sculptor, helped Pericles direct the beautification of Athens and the building of the Parthenon. Huge size, strength, and serenity distinguished the statues of Phidias, all of which have disappeared. His masterpiece was the gold and ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia; it was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Another sculptor, Myron, specialized in statues of Greek athletes in action, such as the familiar *Discus Thrower*. The most famous Greek statue still in existence is the *Hermes* of a later sculptor, Praxiteles. Praxiteles made his statue more graceful and lifelike than those of Phidias.

"Simplicity is beauty." This was the theme of the Greek artist, whether he was an architect, a sculptor, a painter, a potter, a goldsmith, or a silversmith. Museums all over the world have samples of beautifully painted Greek vases, cups, and bowls. Greek pottery was shaped with almost mathematical exactness, then painted in red or black. Exquisite paintings on the pottery give an intimate picture of how the Greeks worshiped, played, worked, and courted their sweethearts.

**Why Greece Declined.** The glory of Greece lay in its democracy, its intellectual freedom, and its cultural achievements. The tragedy of Greece lay in the frequent wars between its city-states. So jealous were these states of one another that they would not even share their scientific knowledge. Their intense loyalty to their own governments blinded them to the achievements of others. Many of the city-states tried to be self-sufficient in preparation for war. That is why they traded as little as possible with other city-states.

Compulsory military service kept many farmers from cultivating their crops. Debts piled up. When they lost their farms, farmers moved to the cities. The cities became overcrowded. Not enough food was raised to feed the people. Hunger and unemployment spread. Freemen could not compete with the slave labor in the city shops. Morals declined.

Honest labor was held in contempt because slaves did most of the work. Many of the jobless became hired soldiers in the Persian army. Others became pirates or bandits. After 400 B.C., these conditions had so softened the inhabitants of Greece that its decline was inevitable.

Meanwhile, King Philip of Macedonia had worked out a master plan which hastened Greece's decline. He proposed: (1) to build a powerful Macedonian standing army; (2) to conquer the city-states one by one, playing one off against another; and (3) to lead the Greeks in conquering Persia. The orator Demosthenes, tried to rouse Athenians to the dangers threatening their liberties. In fiery speeches called the *Philippics*, he denounced Philip. But Demosthenes's warning was ignored. By 338 B.C., all Greece except Sparta had fallen to Philip. Thereafter patriotic Demosthenes tried futilely for years to rally resistance. Instead, many Greeks supported Philip. They felt that he alone could unite Greece and get revenge on Persia. The Persian campaign was ready when Philip was assassinated. Not long afterward, Demosthenes committed suicide.

## Alexander the Great Conquers Much of the World

With Philip dead, many Greeks felt that the plans for the invasion of Persia might just as well be buried with him. But they underestimated Philip's son, who had succeeded to the throne. Capable Alexander, only twenty years old, was a veritable volcano who seethed with ambition to conquer the world. As a boy, Alexander had trained the wild horse Bucephalus when bold adults had tried and failed. This feat so delighted Philip that he exclaimed: "O my son, find an empire worthy of you. Macedonia is too small!" Alexander loved learning. He is said to have memorized the *Iliad*. Wherever he traveled, he inquired about the plants and animals as well as about the people and their customs. Perhaps this was the influence of Aristotle.



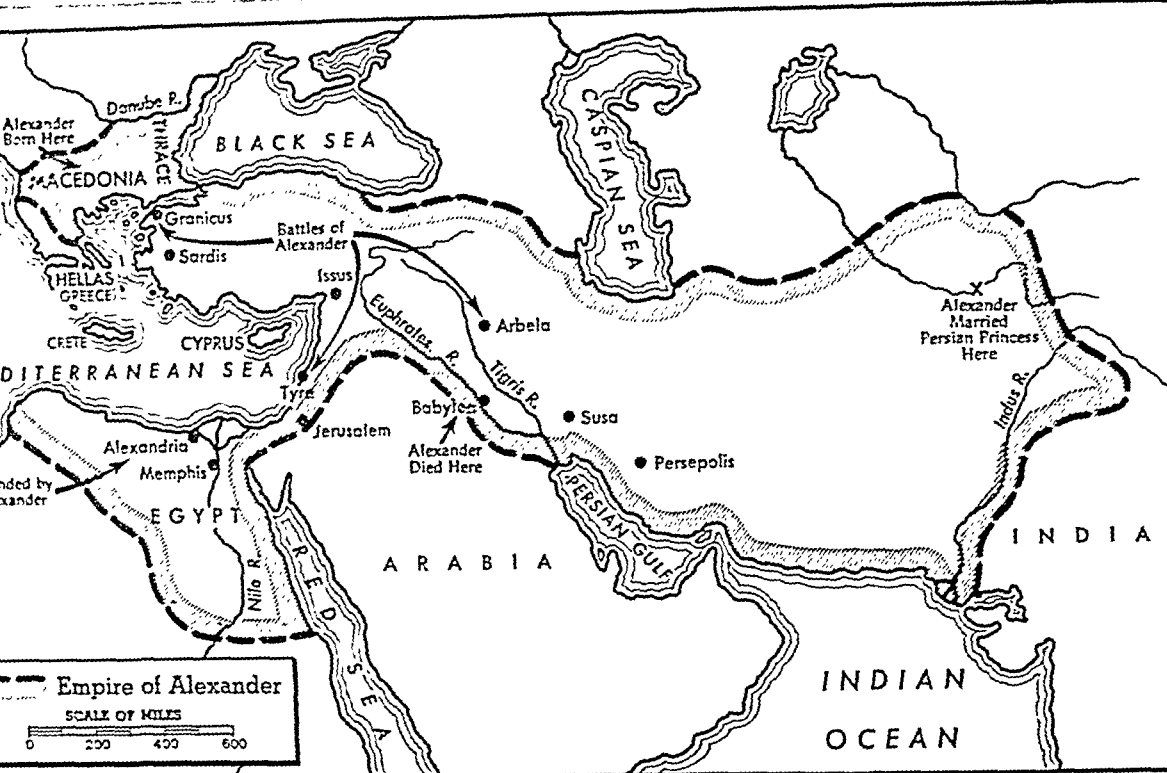
Aristotle Teaching Alexander. Find out what influence this great philosopher had upon his pupil.

**The Conquest of the Middle East.** By 334 B.C., Alexander was ready to invade Persia by crossing the Hellespont (Dardanelles). Alexander, who some believe was the greatest military genius in history, won decisive victories at Granicus and at Issus. Then he wrote to King Darius III of Persia: "I am lord of all Asia, and therefore do thou come to me . . ." Alexander then battered the old Phoenician city of Tyre into submission. Egypt was his next conquest. But being pharaoh of Egypt was not enough for one who wanted to become emperor of the world. After marching through the Tigris-Euphrates valley, he won the battle of Arbela, near the ruins of Nineveh. This victory meant the doom of the Persian Empire.

Alexander shrewdly took advantage of the superstitions of his Oriental subjects by proclaiming himself a god. He worshiped their many gods as well as his own. He did not interfere with their local customs. He married a Persian princess, Roxana, and ordered his soldiers to marry Persian girls. In these ways,

he tried to show the Persians that he was not merely a foreign conqueror. The benefits of Greek culture were introduced to the conquered peoples. Alexander was a clever judge of men and knew how to win their loyalty. Even non-Greeks who showed ability were appointed to high positions.

**The March to the Far East.** Alexander could have enjoyed the luxurious life of an Oriental despot in any one of the magnificent Persian cities which he had captured: Babylon, Susa, or Persepolis. But being king of Macedonia, master of Greece, pharaoh of Egypt, and emperor of Persia was not enough for restless Alexander. In a five-year campaign, he led his hardened veterans north to the Caspian Sea area and eastward to beyond the Indus River in India. Even this was still not enough for tireless Alexander. But it was more than enough for his battle-scarred army. They had had years of hunger, thirst, disease, and fighting. They wanted to go home. Unwillingly Alexander made the long journey back to Babylon. In 323 B.C.,



at the age of thirty-three, the man who had conquered so much of the civilized world in eight years died of a fever.

**Alexander's Empire Splits and Falls.** In the last years of his life, Alexander must have seemed a changed man to his Macedonian veterans. He demanded that his subjects stretch out before him and kiss his feet. He wore luxurious Persian robes, and his vanity and violent temper grew steadily worse. In a drunken rage he murdered a man who had saved his life. After Alexander's death, his empire weakened. Thirty years later, the empire split into three main parts. Each was ruled by one of Alexander's generals or their descendants. For example, the Ptolemies ruled Egypt. By 31 B.C., each of these kingdoms was to be conquered by the Romans.

### Hellenic Civilization Plus Oriental Civilization Equals Hellenistic Civilization

Alexander had dreamed of one world where Greek civilization would merge with Oriental civilization. In spite of the political

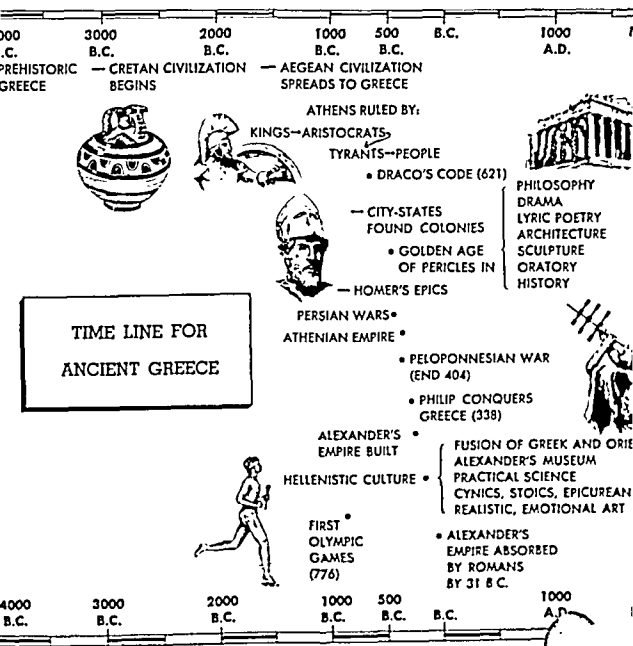
disunity after his death, Greek and Oriental culture did merge. This combined culture is called *Hellenistic* civilization (c338-c31 B.C.).

Alexander and the generals who succeeded him built scores of cities, including Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria. Here Greeks, Babylonians, Egyptians, Jews, and others mingled, traded, and learned to appreciate the many contributions of one another. Many of them lost their narrow-mindedness. They began to think of themselves as world citizens rather than as citizens of separate communities. Many of the leading merchants and public officials of these Hellenistic cities were Greeks who had migrated from the homeland. Statues, schools, parks, theaters, and columned temples were constructed in the Greek manner. The educated upper classes used the Greek language and studied many Greek subjects. The Greek use of reason for getting at the truth spread. Greek styles in clothing were popular and many Greek customs were observed.

But the Hellenistic cities were no mere imitations of the old Greek city-states. The one-

man rule of the Orient, rather than the democracy of Athens, was usually the model. Each of the Greek city-states had ruled itself. But the Hellenistic cities all owed allegiance and paid taxes either to the Ptolemies or to another of Alexander's heirs. In Oriental fashion the Ptolemies considered themselves divine and monopolized the wealth of Egypt in their own treasuries. Hellenistic women, unlike Greek women, but like Egyptian and Babylonian women, had property rights and held important positions. Schools for girls were established.

Alexandria, the Pride of the Hellenistic World. Guarding the harbor at Alexandria stood the famous lighthouse of Pharos. Into this picturesque harbor sailed ships laden with Arabian spices, Chinese silks, Russian furs, and ivory, pearls, and raw cotton from India. Unlike the narrow alleys of ancient Athens, the planned streets of Alexandria were broad, well-paved, and lighted at night. Unlike the unattractive homes of Athenians, the homes of wealthy Alexandrians were magnificent marble structures surrounded by beautiful gardens. Their mosaic







Archimedes Requesting Roman Soldier to Let Him Work Out His Mathematical Problem in Peace.

floors, luxurious furniture, and fine rugs were proof of great prosperity. The city had public baths and a system of supplying water by means of underground pipes. In the Alexandrian shops, glass blowers, linen weavers, perfume makers, and paper makers were always busy. Furthermore, throughout the Hellenistic world standard money and a banking system helped business.

The Ptolemies spent fortunes on a government-owned research university called the *Museum*. The Museum included a library with nearly half a million books, a lecture hall, laboratories, an astronomical observatory, and huge collections of plants and animals. Good salaries attracted great scholars from many parts of the world to the Museum. The scholars translated into Greek such great literature as the Hebrew Old Testament. They copied by hand the Greek classics, thus preserving them for us.

**Hellenistic Science Serves Practical Purposes.** How to make more money, how to live more comfortably, how to have a good

time — these were goals of the practical Hellenistic world. Until 1600 A.D., no period produced as many practical inventions as did the Hellenistic period. A pump with valves, cylinders, and pistons was invented. An elementary steam engine was used to open the doors of temples automatically. This early and simple machine age produced such devices as cogwheels, siphons, and derricks.

Practical Archimedes (born 287 B.C.) showed how the pulley, the screw, and the lever could make work easier. He correctly calculated the way to measure the circumference of a circle. Hellenistic goldsmiths were aided by his discovery of the principle of specific gravity and the law of floating bodies. Knowing these principles, they could distinguish between pure gold and gold adulterated by less precious metals. When Syracuse was besieged by the Romans, Archimedes built a kind of derrick which could lift Roman ships right out of the water. He also improved upon a device for hurling stones long distances. It is said that Archimedes was one day figuring out a problem on the beach. He was too occupied to pay attention to a Roman soldier who spoke to him. Furious, the soldier thrust his spear through the great scholar. Thus brute force interrupted world progress.

The geographer Eratosthenes (born c276 B.C.) pointed out that India could be reached by ships sailing around Africa. He was among the first to call the earth round, and he estimated its circumference almost correctly. For locating places on the earth, he devised a simple scheme of vertical and horizontal lines (*latitude* and *longitude*). Another Hellenistic astronomer proved that the earth rotates on its axis and revolves around the sun. Unfortunately, the astronomer Ptolemy (of the second century A.D.) disregarded this idea. He insisted that the earth is the center of the universe. Ptolemy was considered such an authority that his error was accepted until about 1500 A.D. City planners who blue-printed the streets of Hellenistic cities, engineers who constructed aqueducts and

bridges, geographers who estimated distances—all found geometry necessary. The geometric theorems which Euclid (c300 B.C.) outlined are among the basic principles of every mathematics course today.

The human body was the favorite subject of Greek artists. The Greeks could not bear to dissect it for medical study. Hellenistic doctors at Alexandria were more practical. For thousands of years Egyptians had been embalming mummies, thereby learning much about human organs. Hellenistic doctors inherited this knowledge and also learned to deaden pain with drugs and to perform operations. Their experiments proved that blood flows through the arteries.

**Hellenistic Philosophers Spurn Wealth, Stress Self-Control, and Urge Moderation.** Walking one day in his ragged clothes, a Hellenistic philosopher met Alexander the Great. Accustomed to having people bow before him, Alexander proclaimed: "I am Alexander the Great." "And I am Diogenes the Cynic," was that philosopher's unimpressed response! Diogenes (born c412 B.C.) was the most famous of a group of philosophers called the *Cynics*. They believed that to be happy men must have contempt for wealth, power, and life's normal pleasures.

All of us know persons who bear pain without complaining, who, even after a death in the family, go back to their jobs and do the best they can. "There is nothing we can do," they explain. "It is the way of life." Such persons are often called *stoical* after the *Stoics*, another group of Hellenistic philosophers. The founder of Stoicism was a Jew, Zeno (born 350 B.C.). "Rise above misfortune! Whatever your job in life is, do it with patience and fortitude. Wealth, fame, and power are unimportant." This was the sort of advice Zeno gave. The Stoic belief in the equality and brotherhood of man was to strongly influence Christianity.

Epicurus (born 342 B.C.), the founder of Epicurean philosophy, denied that the gods influence human lives. He asserted that there is no life after death. Therefore his followers,



The Victory of Samothrace. How has the sculptor depicted movement here?

the *Epicureans*, believed in enjoying to the full life on earth. Many persons have the false impression that Epicureans believed that we should "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die!" Actually, the Epicureans recognized that overeating and getting drunk bring pain, and recommended moderation in all things. To avoid pain and enjoy real happiness, they urged all to pursue knowledge.

**Hellenistic Art Stresses Real-Life Subjects and Strong Emotions.** Agony, grief, and joy were some of the strong emotions depicted by Hellenistic artists. The *Laocoon Group*, showing a father and his sons being strangled by a snake, and the *Dying Gaul* are typical Hellenistic sculpture. Famous, too, is the *Victory of Samothrace*, which looks as if it belonged on the prow of a ship. Even better known is the famous armless lady, the *Venus de Milo*. Hellenistic artists loved to copy famous paintings such as the *Battle of Alexander and Darius* in yellow and blue colored mosaic tiles.



Of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, Hellenistic artists produced three: the Pharos Lighthouse at Alexandria, the Colossus of Rhodes — which stood at the harbor here — and the Altar of Zeus in the Temple at Pergamum. Nor was the common man neglected. Sculptors portrayed, for example, a careworn peasant driving a cow to market. All this was in contrast to the calm and peaceful treatment of gods and godlike subjects by artists of the Age of Pericles.

**Why Hellenistic Civilization Declined.** Beginning about 200 B.C., certain weaknesses in the Hellenistic civilization began to show up. Slavery spread. Slave labor was so cheap that businessmen did not bother to make use of the growing number of inventions. Slavery

threw free men out of jobs. High taxes and increasing debts drove free farmers from their lands to join the ranks of the unemployed in the cities. Thus there were fewer customers with money to buy the goods being produced. Much of the great wealth was in the hands of a few kings, merchants, and landowners. The poverty of the majority of the people caused strikes, civil wars in the Greek peninsula, and slave rebellions throughout the Hellenistic world. Furthermore, the Hellenistic world was never united under one government. Alexander's heirs and the Greek city-states frequently warred upon one another. Thus, economic distress and political disunity made it easy for the young and vigorous Roman Empire to conquer the Hellenistic world.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Agean civilization • Sir Arthur Evans • Heinrich Schliemann • helots • aristocracy • Solon • Draco • Clisthenes • ostracism • direct democracy • oligarchy • Homer • Macedonia • Marathon • Thermopylae • Delian League • Themistocles • Aristides • the Just • Pericles • Sophists • Socrates • Plato • Aristotle • Delphic Oracle • Olympiad • Aeschylus

• Aristophanes • Herodotus • Thucydides • Demosthenes • Thales • Pythagoras • Hippocratic Oath • Phidias • Myron • Parthenon • Doric Column • Peloponnesian War • Sappho • Pindar • Philip of Macedonia • Hellenistic • Alexander the Great • Alexandria • Eratosthenes • Euclid • Archimedes • Diogenes • Stoics • Epicureans

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What ideas might either a dress designer or a jewelry designer get from studying Cretan art?
2. Prove that geography was a major factor influencing ancient Greek history.
3. Prove that the ancient Greeks had much in common.
4. Describe the social classes in Sparta.
5. Discuss the different forms of government with which ancient Athens experimented, giving reasons for the decline of (a) aristocracy, (b) oligarchy, and (c) the rule of the tyrants.
6. What was done to make sure that every Athenian citizen took an active part in Athenian government?
7. Compare the work of the Athenian Assembly and the Council of Five Hundred.

8. Compare court procedures in Athens with our own.
9. Prove that your school tries to develop the same traits as are stressed in the Oath of the Young Men of Athens.
10. Arrange the weaknesses in Athenian democracy in what you consider the order of their importance.
11. Discuss the leading cause, the most dramatic event, and the most important result of the (a) Persian Wars or (b) the Peloponnesian War.
12. The aims of the Delian League were good, but many of its practices were bad. Explain.
13. Which character traits of Pericles do you admire most? Why?
14. Discuss the reasons why the Peloponnesian

War was a tragedy to the people of Greece.

15. Compare the (a) food, (b) clothing, and (c) shelter of the average Athenian with your own.

16. Show how the Olympic games were related to (a) religion, (b) patriotism, (c) business, and (d) recreation.

17. What aspects of Athenian education might we do well: (a) to copy; (b) to avoid?

18. List some of Socrates's ideas and describe your reaction to each.

19. Point out similarities and differences in the ideas of Plato and Aristotle.

20. Show how Greek plays reflected Greek life.

21. What might your speech class learn from studying the life of Demosthenes?

22. Prove that music meant much to the ancient Greeks.

23. What character traits of Alexander the Great do you (a) admire; (b) condemn?

24. Prove that Hellenistic life was a combination of the Greek and Oriental.

25. Explain why both scholars and businessmen flocked to Alexandria during the Hellenistic period.

26. What were Archimedes's contributions to science?

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. To what extent could we say about our country what Pericles said about Athens in the *Funeral Oration*?

2. Compare the bonds of unity in the United States today with the bonds of unity in ancient Greece.

3. Why might (a) a modern boy or (b) a modern girl be dissatisfied with the type of education in ancient Sparta?

4. Explain how the Spartans might have prevented revolution without using force.

5. Why are military dictatorships such as that of Sparta a threat to all concerned, including the dictators themselves?

6. What lessons are there for us in a study of the rise and fall of the Greek tyrants?

7. To what extent do you approve of the reforms of Clisthenes?

8. If it were possible for modern America and ancient Athens to exchange lessons in democracy, what could each learn from the other?

9. Show that many wealthy Americans, like wealthy Athenians, contribute money to public improvements for all to enjoy.

10. Men using some of Pericles's techniques might be threats to democracy. Discuss.

11. What could have been done to prevent the Peloponnesian War?

12. Compare the methods of making a living in ancient Athens with those of either (a) Egypt, (b) Mesopotamia, (c) China, or (d) India. In each case show the influence of geography.

13. Explain why progress was stimulated in Athens but hindered in Sparta.

14. Some persons today think of themselves as oracles. Explain.

15. What lessons could the Athenians teach modern communities about adult education?

16. Do you admire or condemn the Sophists? Why?

17. Athens's treatment of Socrates was a blot on its democracy. Why?

18. How would you like to live in Plato's *Republic*? Discuss.

19. Compare the part played by the theater in Greek life with its part in American life.

20. What do you think was the greatest contribution of the Greeks to science? Why?

21. What was modern about the ancient Greek scientists?

22. In many ways the Hellenistic world was a melting pot. Explain.

23. A philosophy of life might be written about the manner in which Archimedes met death. Explain.

24. Show by examples the differences between Hellenistic art and the art of the Golden Age of Athens.

25. Which philosophers appeal to you most, those of ancient Greece or those of the Hellenistic period? Explain.

26. To what extent were there similarities between the reasons for the decline of Greek and of Hellenistic civilization?

## Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. In collaboration with a classmate, write a short short story using ancient Crete as your locale.
2. Read selections from either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* and jot down what you consider important information given by Homer about the Greeks of his period.
3. By means of a ladder drawing, illustrate the social class structure in ancient Sparta. In committee compare this class set-up with that in ancient (a) Egypt, (b) Mesopotamia, (c) India, or (d) China.
4. Write an imaginary newspaper interview with the leader of a helot rebellion in Sparta who has been caught and is awaiting execution.
5. From *Readings in Ancient History* by Davis, choose any selection on the Golden Age of Athens. Prepare an outline for an oral report on the most dramatic and significant bits.
6. Select from Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* those quotations from (a) Sappho, (b) Aesop, (c) Aeschylus, (d) Sophocles, (e) Euripides, (f) Herodotus, (g) Thucydides, (h) Socrates, (i) Aristophanes, (j) Plato, (k) Aristotle, and (l) Demosthenes which appeal to you most. Make posters of the class's favorites to decorate the classroom.
7. Debate: Resolved that the Greek practice of ostracism should be introduced into the United States.
8. After reading the biography of some famous Greek in Plutarch's *Lives*, write a character sketch of that individual in modern style.
9. Write an essay entitled either *If Persia Had Won at Marathon* or *Pheidippides Is My Name*.
10. Read the sections in *Life in Ancient Athens* by Tucker which deal with (a) clothing, (b) homes, (c) customs, (d) position of women, or (e) recreation. Then write an imaginary page in the diary of an ancient Athenian, using this information.
11. Glance through the *Story of the Olympic Games* by Kieran and select those chapters which you think would be most interesting for the rest of the class to read. Tell why.
12. Make an oral report on Greek architecture, using as a possible source *All the Ways of Building* by Lamprey. Illustrate with blackboard sketches.
13. Read *On His Condemnation to Death* about Socrates in *The World's Great Speeches*, edited by Copeland. Select the five most noble sentiments expressed, giving reasons for your choices.
14. Write an essay entitled *Hippocrates Visits a Modern Hospital*.
15. In committee, contribute to a list of the public buildings in your community which have some important Greek architectural features. Sketch these features in your notebook.
16. With friends visit the Greek exhibit of a museum. Compare those items which interest you most with the favorites of your friends.
17. Write an essay explaining how Greek history might have been different if the Greek peninsula had a smooth coast line and a flat, fertile terrain.
18. In collaboration write an imaginary argument between an ancient Spartan and an ancient Athenian in which each boasts of the superiority of his city-state.
19. List the causes for the decline of Greece under the headings *Political*, *Social*, and *Economic*. What lessons might the modern world learn from your list?
20. Imagine yourself a soldier in Alexander's army. Write a poem expressing your reaction to his death.
21. Debate: Resolved, the world would have been better off if the empire built by Alexander had lasted forever.
22. As a research project, write a report on any one of the Hellenistic scientists or philosophers. Indicate your most useful sources.

## Summing Up

1. If you were writing a book on ancient Greece, indicate what you think would be an original title for it and give five interesting chapter headings.
2. In your notebook answer the questions that

you will find under the pictures in this chapter.

3. Show how each of the following might benefit from a study of ancient Greece: (a) a statesman, (b) a doctor, (c) an architect, (d) a writer, and (e) a teacher of any subject.

War was a tragedy to the people of Greece.

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## CHAPTER 5 . . . . ONE ROMAN WORLD IS BUILT BY MILITARY MIGHT AND SHREWD MANAGEMENT

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Italy's Geography a Key to Roman History • Rome: From Tiny Village to Great Empire • The Bitter Conflict between the Plebeians and Patricians • Class Conflicts Contribute to One-Man Rule • Julius Caesar Becomes Dictator of Rome • Augustus As Rome's First Emperor • The Roman Empire Declines in the West • The Family Important under the Republic • The Romans Put Their Religion to Practical Use • Christianity Cheers a Weary Empire • Roman Philosophers Encourage Freedom from Fear • Education Reflects Roman Ideals • Literature Largely Imitative • Recreation Takes Violent Forms • Art and Architecture Big and Practical • Science a Collection of Ancient Knowledge • Roman Law: Great Gift to the Modern World • Food, Clothing, and Shelter: Keys to Roman History • Roman Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture: Keys, Too • Rome Sum's Up the Ancient World

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About 1000 B.C., Rome was a tiny village perched on seven hills along the Tiber River in central Italy. About 100 A.D., Rome was the capital of a world empire which extended as far east as the Persian Gulf, as far west as the Atlantic Ocean, as far north as England, and as far south as the Sahara. By 500 A.D., this mightiest of all world empires had crumbled.

Picture the grandeur that was Rome at its height about 100 A.D.! Shepherds in Rumania conversed in the Roman language, Latin. Merchants in Mesopotamia paid for goods with Roman coins. Even in far-off England criminals were sentenced by Roman judges under Roman laws. Pirates and bandits everywhere were in mortal fear of Roman sailors

and soldiers patrolling sea and land. All roads led to Rome. On these well-paved highways, traffic was heavy with postmen, traders and soldiers. Peace prevailed throughout the western world for over a century before and nearly a century after 100 A.D. This longest period of peace in the history of the western world is called *Pax Romana*, Latin for Roman Peace. Throughout the Roman world, pupils trudged to school to acquire knowledge accumulated by the Romans from the Orient, from Greece, and from their own great thinkers. Throughout lands circling the Mediterranean Sea, practically anybody could say, "I am a Roman." It was in this one world that the seeds of Christianity sprouted.

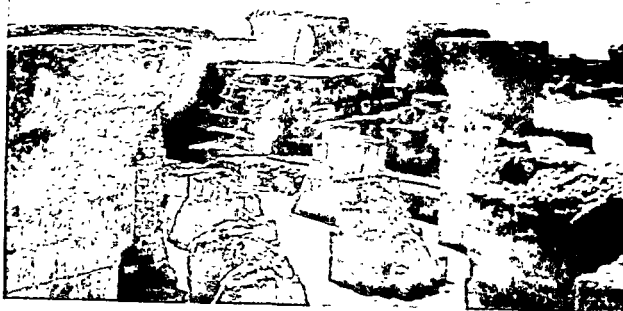
How could the tiny village of 1000 B.C. be-





### The Appian Way As It Looks Today

In the fourth century B.C., the forced labor of criminals built this most famous of the ancient roads which led to Rome. What role did Roman roads play in building the empire?



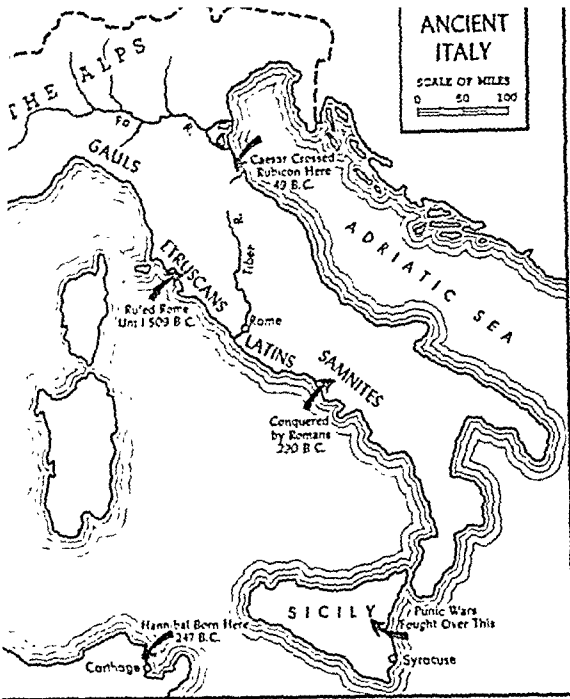
Newly Discovered Ruins of Baths of Ancient Carthage on the Mediterranean Sea.  
Write in your notebook a paragraph on what this must have been like in ancient times.

the river. When Romulus and Remus found out who they were, they killed their evil uncle. Later, in a quarrel, Romulus slew Remus. The city of Rome got its name from the surviving brother. The ancient Romans liked to tell this legend because it made them seem to be descendants of the gods. And there were no written records to disprove it! More probably, however, Rome originated as a military or trading post years before 753 B.C.

**Rome Becomes Master of Italy.** From about 753 to 509 B.C., the Romans were subjects of the Etruscans, from whose superior civilization they learned much. After overthrowing the harsh Etruscan kings in 509 B.C., Rome established a republic and became the leader of a loose union of Latin cities (the Latin League). This league, originally organized for defense, was soon used by Rome for offense. One by one, the Romans conquered their allies as well as their enemies. The most persistent enemies of the Romans were the Samnites, tribes of central Italy. It took the Romans nearly fifty years to crush them. Then, by 290 B.C., all of central Italy was under Roman domination.

To become master of all Italy, however, Rome had yet to conquer the Greek cities in the south. These Greek city-states called upon their homeland for help. In response, General Pyrrhus brought to Italy experienced soldiers and war elephants. Winning battle after battle, Pyrrhus reached within thirty miles of Rome. But the Romans refused to quit. They inflicted such heavy losses on Pyrrhus that his victories were really defeats. After one of them, he is said to have exclaimed: "Another such victory, and we are lost!" Even today an individual is said to have had a *Pyrrhic victory* if, in attaining his goal, he suffers terrible losses. Pyrrhus was finally forced to return to Greece. During this period of Roman conquests, the Golden Age of Greece had blossomed and faded, Alexander's empire had risen and fallen, and the Hellenistic Age was flourishing. The little village on the Tiber by 265 B.C. had become master of Italy. But it was to become master of much more.

**Rome Faces Competition from Carthage.** Only one year after the Italian peninsula was unified, Rome was at war with Car-



come the home of the great empire of 100 A.D.? What did Roman civilization contribute to the progress of mankind? Why did this mightiest of empires decline and fall? The answers to these questions are both a history of Rome and a lesson for modern civilizations.

### Italy's Geography a Key to Roman History

The peninsula of Italy is like a leg stretching out into the Mediterranean Sea. The Apennine Mountains form the leg bone. The Alps are where the thigh of this leg would be. Off the toe lies the island of Sicily, a stepping-stone to Africa. In the calf of the leg lies the fertile Po River valley. The Italian peninsula is in a favorable location in the center of the Mediterranean Sea, that great highway of ancient communication. Farmers of the Italian peninsula were blessed with a mild climate. Their fields were sheltered from cold northern winds by the Alps. There was sufficient fertile land for growing grain and raising cattle.

Rome was well situated to become the center of a world empire. From Italy's central position in the ancient world, Roman soldiers and sailors could attack Greece, North Africa, Spain, Gaul (modern France and Belgium), and England. The hills around the city protected it from invasion. Yet it was accessible to the sea by way of the Tiber River. The Italian mountains did not cut the peninsula up into separate communities. Therefore it was easier to build a united Rome than a united Greece. Geography also helps to explain why the early Romans paid little attention to commerce. Since there are few good harbors on the east coast of Italy, few Greek or Oriental merchants visited the peninsula. And the better harbors on the west coast faced peoples still living as semibarbarians. Furthermore, the Romans faced possible invasion through certain Alpine passes.

In the center and the south of the Italian peninsula lived the Italian tribes, an Indo-European people who first settled there about 2000 B.C. The Latins were one of the Italian tribes. On the northwest coast (modern Tuscany) lived the Etruscans. Farther south, along the coast and on the island of Sicily, were Greek colonies.

### Rome: From Tiny Village to Great Empire

**The Legend of the Founding of Rome.** Not many years before 753 B.C., according to a legend, two helpless infants in a cradle drifted down the Tiber River. Their pitiful cries were heard by a female wolf. The wolf rescued them and nursed them until they were adopted by a farmer. In 753 B.C. after the twin boys Romulus and Remus had reached manhood, they founded the city of Rome.

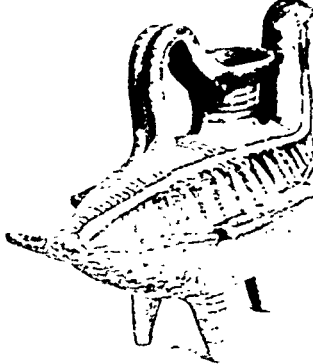
According to the legend, the twins' ancestors included the love goddess Venus and Mars, the god of war. As children of the king of the Latin tribes, they were supposed to inherit the throne. A cruel uncle who wanted the throne for himself had thrown them into

board Carthaginian ships from Roman ships, and then engage in hand-to-hand fighting. The First Punic War (264-241 B.C.) was long drawn out. Carthage, in sheer exhaustion, finally yielded Sicily and a money indemnity to Rome. In the period of peace which followed, Rome seized the islands of Sardinia and Corsica and conquered the Gauls in northern Italy. Meanwhile, Carthage used Spanish soldiers and Spanish silver to man and equip a new Carthaginian army.

**Rome Rallies to Defeat Hannibal.** The story of the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) reads like a biography of Hannibal. Hannibal's father, a general, had drilled into his son an undying hatred of everything Roman. When young Hannibal was appointed Carthaginian commander, he decided to take the offensive. The Romans never expected that the Second Punic War would be fought on their own soil. They never dreamed that Hannibal would take thousands of soldiers and scores of horses and elephants from Spain across the Pyrenees Mountains, the Rhône River, and the Alps into Italy. But he did, although his army was then cut in half by hunger, exposure, accidents, and attacks by barbarian tribes.

For sixteen years Hannibal was the terror of Rome. He won battle after battle, with victories at Lake Trasimenus and at Cannae (216 B.C.). In the trap laid by Hannibal at Cannae, over fifty thousand Romans perished. Yet Hannibal was still in a dangerous position. He lacked the equipment to lay siege to Rome. Furthermore, most of the Italian cities which he expected to desert Rome, supported Rome. No reinforcements came to Hannibal from the merchants at Carthage. When his brother attempted to lead a relief army over the Alps, the Romans destroyed it. Hannibal was cruelly informed of the fate of this army when his brother's head was rolled into camp! Moreover, the Romans were confident that, if they could hold out long enough, they were bound to win.

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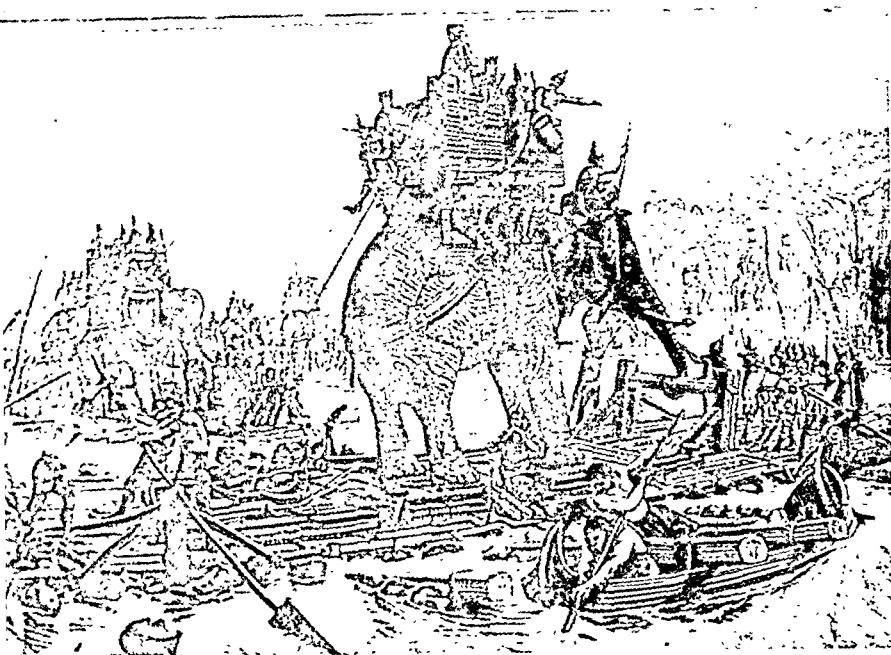


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Italy, the Roman general Scipio threatened Carthage. Alarmed, the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal home to defend the city. At Zama, in 202 B.C., Scipio defeated Hannibal. Thus ended the Second Punic War. The peace treaty almost ruined Carthage. Spain, most of the Carthaginian navy, and a large sum of money were turned over to Rome. Carthage also promised never to go to war against any country without Rome's consent.

What happened to Hannibal? What did this military genius gain from the sixteen-year campaign which cost hundreds of thousands of lives? An exile in the East, far from home, in danger of being turned over to the Romans, Hannibal committed suicide. He had always carried poison in a finger ring for just such an emergency.

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Hannibal's Army Crossing the Rhône River. Why has Hannibal's story fascinated millions throughout history?

thage. Carthage had been founded by Phoenician colonizers in the ninth century B.C. Now Carthage was an immensely wealthy city in its own right and the heart of a great commercial empire. Carthage had colonies along the North African and Spanish coasts and on some of the Mediterranean islands. These colonies supplied Carthage with raw materials, soldiers, and cheap labor. The Carthaginians regarded the entire western Mediterranean as a Carthaginian monopoly. It was even rumored that they drowned any foreign sailor who dared to venture between Sardinia and Gibraltar!

According to their enemies, the Romans, Carthaginians were treacherous, cruel, and immoral. The Romans envied them their fleets of merchant ships which brought valuable minerals from England and Spain. These minerals were exchanged for African ivory and ebony and for Oriental textiles and metal-work. On their huge estates Carthaginians practiced up-to-date methods of farming. The city of Carthage itself was crowded with temples, government buildings, palaces, and slums. Carthage had a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. As a rule, Carthaginian soil was tilled by slaves. For over a century, beginning in 264 B.C., this powerful merchant oligarchy was to engage in frequent warfare with Rome.

The three wars between Rome and Carthage were called *Punic* (Latin for *Phoenician*). Rome had a huge army and Carthage a powerful navy. Since these rivals were separated by water, at first things looked hopeless for Rome. But Roman soldiers were free citizens fighting for their country and Carthaginian soldiers were either war captives or foreigners fighting for pay.

Both Rome and Carthage wanted the fertile island of Sicily which lay between them. For a long time the Romans had been mainly farmers, not traders. Therefore, Carthaginian merchants had had little Roman competition. However, after Rome annexed the Greek commercial cities of southern Italy, Romans and Carthaginians became rival traders. Aristocrats in both countries felt that war might give them an opportunity to seize land, booty, and trade. To get support for the war, Roman aristocrats told the people that Rome's existence was being threatened.

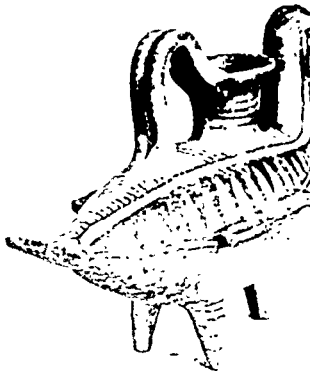
The practical Romans realized that they needed a navy to beat Carthage. So they built one. Also, they realized that they could not compete in naval tactics with the experienced Carthaginians. On land, they were accustomed to getting close to the enemy to destroy him. So they applied their army tactics to naval warfare. They created swinging gangplanks. Thus Roman soldiers could

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speeches with: "Carthage must be destroyed!" Many Romans lived in mortal fear of another invasion like Hannibal's. The Romans deliberately picked a quarrel with Carthage which caused the Third Punic War (149-146 B.C.). After winning this war, the Romans made sure that there would not be another Punic War. They completely destroyed Carthage and cursed any who might attempt to rebuild it. Surviving Carthaginians were sold into slavery. The territories around Carthage became the Roman province of Africa.

**Rome Both Wins and Loses by the Punic Wars.** What happened to Rome as a result of the Punic Wars? The future looked bright. Rome now controlled the western Mediterranean. The eastern Mediterranean was within its reach. Romans were absorbing Greek civilization through increased contacts with the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily. This civilization, rather than the Oriental civilization of Carthage, was to be passed on to Europe by Rome. But there were some clouds on the horizon of this bright future. Puffed up with the pride of victory, many Romans became aggressively militaristic. More and more of the conquered lands were acquired by wealthy Roman nobles. Small farmers and poor workers became bitter because a few nobles and others grew very rich while they grew poorer. This bitterness between classes was to contribute to civil war and eventually to the downfall of Rome.

In the long run, then, there were no fruits of victory. Some historians have regretted that Rome and Carthage did not use co-operation and trade treaties to settle their differences. One Roman aristocrat felt that the existence of Carthage helped to stimulate Rome. In contrast to Cato, he used to end his speeches: "Carthage must stand!"

**Rome Expands in the East and West.** The Ptolemies of Egypt and other heirs of Alexander the Great were constantly quarreling with one another. So were the Greek city-states. Knowing what Rome had done to its commercial competitor, Carthage, one

could predict destruction for another Roman commercial competitor, the Greek city-state of Corinth. One could also predict that Rome would probably annex all these eastern lands. Rome did. By 146 B.C. Egypt and the Greek city-states had become Roman dependencies and Macedonia, a conquered Roman province. By 63 B.C. all of Syria was also a Roman province. Spain, won from Carthage, was the first of Rome's provinces in western Europe. Gaul came next. Then England was invaded and later annexed. With the addition of Dacia (modern Rumania) about 100 A.D., Rome reached its greatest extent. On the map the Roman Empire at this time resembled a huge ellipse surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. The tiny village on the Tiber had come a long way!

## Some Answers to the Riddle of Roman Expansion

**The Role of the Roman People.** Would-be empire builders have sometimes looked back at Rome and asked: "How did they do it?" About 500 B.C., a Roman army was trapped by its enemies. The government was desperate. Messengers were sent to a retired Roman general, Cincinnatus, asking him to save the army. Cincinnatus was busy plowing when the messengers arrived. When they offered him absolute power during the emergency, he reluctantly accepted. After crushing the enemy, Cincinnatus gave up his powers as a dictator and returned to his plow.

Proudly the Romans used to tell the legend of Cincinnatus to their children. They held up his qualities as ideals for Roman citizens to imitate. The early Romans were independent farmers who loved their soil, their gods, and their country. These hard-working, disciplined citizens made courageous soldiers. Unlike the imaginative, original, and artistic Greeks, the Romans were a practical and conservative people. However, they were clever imitators who borrowed from the best of other civilizations. Roman arches built from Etruscan models, Roman ships cut from Car-





plunder. The whole city turned out to watch these Roman triumphs.

At first, the Roman army was a citizen army of free farmers who were sometimes rewarded with grants of conquered land. As Rome expanded, more and more soldiers were needed for longer and longer periods of service. Since they could not return to cultivate their land, the government had to pay them salaries. Thus the citizen army gave way to a professional army. The basic unit of the Roman army was the *legion*, made up of about four thousand troops. Roman soldiers wore helmets, armor, and shields and fought with javelins and swords. Military service was compulsory for all Romans between the ages of nineteen and forty-seven.



Roman General Addressing His Army. In this common practice, the cowards were condemned to death and the brave rewarded.

**The Role of the Roman Republic in Building the Roman Empire.** The Romans who won independence from the cruel Etruscan kings in 509 B.C. hated monarchy. They therefore decided that henceforth they would elect their rulers, limit their term of office, and dismiss them if they violated the law. Such a government, in which the people are the source of power, is a republic. Under the Roman Republic, there were two elected executives called *consuls*. Because the Romans feared one-man rule, they elected their consuls for one-year terms and gave each

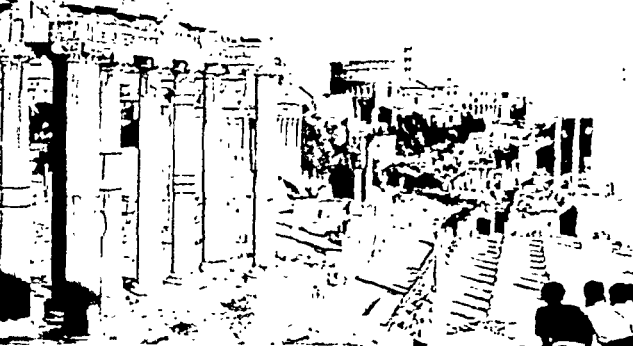
power to check the other. Like the President of the United States, the consuls of Rome were commanders in chief of the army. Like him, they had a voice in lawmaking, in carrying out laws, and in the work of the courts. The Romans recognized the need for speedy action in time of war or other emergency. In such periods, in place of the two consuls, they substituted a dictator. This official had complete power for six months, provided that he did not change the basic laws of Rome. In our country, too, during wartime the President receives greater powers.

In our Congress, the power to make laws is fairly evenly shared by the Senate and the House of Representatives. But in Rome, the lower house, the *Assembly*, was unimportant compared with the Senate. In the Senate were all ex-consuls and many rich landholders. Senators held office for life. The Roman Senate conducted war and made rules for governing conquered provinces. All laws had to be proposed and passed by the Senate. Like our Senate, the Roman Senate ratified treaties with foreign countries as well as appointments to office.

In the early days of the Roman Republic, the Assembly, which was composed of all the citizens of Rome, met only when summoned by a high official. About all the Assembly could do was to vote "yes" or "no" on laws proposed by the Senate. Although the Assembly elected the consuls, its choice was limited to nobles nominated by the Senate. In time, the Assembly acquired more power, including the right to declare war.

### The Bitter Conflict Between Plebeians and Patricians

Under the laws of the United States, all citizens have equal rights. Practically all citizens can run for political office. Ours is therefore a democratic republic. The Roman government, on the other hand, was an aristocratic republic. Its citizens did not all have equal rights. For a long time, the Romans



Looking Down on the Ruins of the Forum, Rome's Civic Center. Here Romans met for elections, business, and fun. Describe an area in any American city which you think compares with this, as it must have looked in ancient times, pointing out both similarities and differences.

were divided into two classes, the landholding nobles, called *patricians*, and the common people, called *plebeians* or *plebs*. Only patricians could be consuls, senators, priests, or other important officials. Intermarriage between patricians and plebeians was illegal.

The struggle of the plebs to gain equal rights was a long and hard one. In fact, class warfare between the plebs, most of whom were poor, and the patricians, most of whom were rich, eventually helped to destroy the Roman Republic. The opening shot in this class warfare came in the fifth century B.C. In a body the plebs left the city and threatened never to fight for Rome again unless certain demands were met. What were these demands? The right to marry patricians, to hold high government offices, and to share in the lands won in war. The plebeians also demanded a change in the laws which favored creditors more than debtors. The patricians needed the plebs for soldiers. Therefore, the pleb military strike was partly successful. Grudgingly, the patricians granted a few concessions to the plebs. They granted them the right to elect

two (later, ten) officials called *tribunes*. The tribunes were permitted to shout from outside the Senate "Veto" (Latin for "I forbid") to any law that they considered unfair to the plebs. Slavery for debt was abolished.

But the job of the tribune was not an easy one. The laws of Rome had never been written down. The judges were all patricians who usually interpreted the law to favor their own class. This was exactly what had happened in Greece before Draco and Solon. On the insistence of the plebs in 450 B.C., however, the laws of Rome were engraved on twelve bronze tablets. They were then placed in full view in the Forum (market place). The Laws of the Twelve Tables favored the rich. Yet at least the plebs now knew what was legal and what was not.

Twice again the plebs threatened military strikes. Thus they won the right to become consuls and other high officials and to sit in the Senate. By 257 B.C., laws passed by the Assembly no longer needed Senate approval. And plebs could marry patricians. This was the high water mark of Roman democracy.

Shortly afterward, Roman democracy be-

gan to decline. Rich plebs joined patricians in opposing the demands of poor plebs. In theory, anyone could run for high office. In practice, since officials were not paid, only the rich could afford to. Some tribunes, who were supposed to be the protectors of all the plebs, looked out for the interests of the rich ones only. Furthermore, as wars increased and the Roman Empire expanded, the power of the aristocratic Senate continued to grow. For in emergencies the Roman people tended to rely on the experienced statesmen of the Senate.

## Class Conflicts Contribute to One-Man Rule

In a sense, the Roman Republic after 146 B.C. was one world. Here was one opportunity to end wars and to use the resources of the world for the benefit of all. The Romans let this opportunity slip through their fingers. Civil wars tore the republic apart and led to the rise of dictatorship. Why? Was it because Roman citizenship was denied to many conquered peoples? Was it because it is impossible to maintain democracy at home without extending it abroad? Was it because the Roman people were unable to see through the tricky promises of would-be dictators? Could a few monopolize the wealth of the Roman Empire without antagonizing the poor? A study of the various classes of people in the Roman Republic may help to answer these questions.

A simple, hard-working Roman farmer of the year 500 B.C. coming to life four centuries later would have been bewildered by what he saw in Rome. Tens of thousands of idle Romans were wandering about aimlessly in the streets. Thousands of others sat in huge amphitheatres, thrilled by the sight of one armored slave killing another. The bloodier the contest, the louder the cheers! In big factories countless slaves toiled, manufacturing goods for their masters to sell. The simple farmer might wonder at the showy persons who swaggered along in silken garments of

purple and gold and who lived in luxurious homes. He would not recognize the many-storied tenements in which the poor lived. Nor would he understand why there were so many political clubs in which ambitious candidates were bribing men to vote for them. But he would soon come to realize that Rome in 100 B.C. was a city in which certain classes were growing steadily richer while other classes were growing steadily poorer.

**Speculation and Corruption Weaken the Republic.** Frequently, as a result of wars, some persons grow rich. In Rome, during the wars of conquest, some men bought up land at low prices and sold it later at high prices. They thus became real estate speculators. Others made huge fortunes when they secured government contracts to build roads, bridges, or ships or to manufacture armor for soldiers. As business increased during and after the wars, the demand for money grew. Some Romans went into the business of lending money and became members of the richer class by charging high rates of interest.

Some patricians and rich plebs became war profiteers through farming. They crowded the small independent farmers off their lands. Soon most of the land was owned by a few large landowners. Some politicians were also war profiteers. Often former consuls and men who had held other high positions sought the job of *proconsul* (governor) of a defeated province. Some proconsuls were honest men. Others worked with the tax collectors in cheating the provincials. The Roman government used to sell to private companies the right to collect taxes. These private tax collectors, called *publicans*, collected the sums required by the Roman government. But they frequently squeezed from the taxpayers an additional amount for themselves.

The people in the provinces sometimes complained to Rome that the law was being violated. But it did them no good. Proconsuls often bribed juries. And many senators refused to enforce the law. Many of them had

been proconsuls themselves! Since these proconsuls had ruled despotically in the provinces, they tended to have contempt for the republic at home. Rich Romans monopolized the high offices in the republic. They paid salaries to certain senators who supported their interests in the Senate. And the tremendous wealth obtained through conquests widened the gap between rich and poor.

**Slavery Weakens the Republic.** About 100 B.C., thousands of slaves, white and colored, rose in rebellion against the Roman government. The Romans sent army after army to Sicily, the scene of the rebellion. After they were finally suppressed, the slaves plunged their swords into one another. They knew that as captives they would have been forced to fight wild beasts for the amusement of Roman spectators.

Why should these slaves have risked their lives in rebellion against powerful Rome? They felt that death was preferable to the brutal treatment given slaves on Roman estates. Each Roman slave was branded for identification. During the day, as they toiled in the fields, they were chained together. At night they were driven into underground cells. City slaves were treated a little better, especially Greek captives who had been doctors, artists, or writers. Sometimes their masters even freed them.

Slavery helped to ruin the small independent farmer who had been the backbone of the Roman Republic. Corn and wheat grown by slaves in Sicily and North Africa could be sold more cheaply than corn grown by free Roman farmers. Prosperous farmers owning big estates refused to pay wages to free farmers. They could buy slaves and feed them just enough to keep them alive. When a few courageous small farmers tried to compete with big landowners, they had to borrow money. When they could not pay back loans, many of them lost their farms. As in Greece, many Roman soldier farmers returned from the wars to find their lands in such bad shape that they were hard to cultivate. For all these reasons, free farmers gave

up farming and swarmed to the city. Thus they increased the number of unemployed.

Slavery practically ruined Rome's free working class also. Since slaves did all kinds of work, wages dropped. Free workers lost their jobs. Thousands of former farmers poured into the city to compete for the few jobs that were left. Soon both groups, the city workers and the former farmers, began to lose respect for work. They considered it suitable only for slaves.

**The Stage Is Set for Civil War.** The Rome of 100 B.C. saw two main groups lined up against each other. On one side were luxury-loving, often corrupt patricians, who were in control of the government. On the other was the bitter, grumbling, and execrable city mob. Sometimes, wealthy plebs joined the patricians, and sometimes they remained with the plebs, depending upon which was to their greater advantage. Disunity at this time was especially serious because many colonies were rebellious and barbarians were hammering at Rome's borders. Such conditions have always provided a golden opportunity for would-be dictators.

Ambitious Roman politicians soon realized that by bribing the voters and promising all things to all people, they could win control of the government. Unscrupulous leaders often borrowed money so that they could give voters free bread and free entertainment, called *bread and circuses*. They knew that if they got themselves jobs as proconsuls, they would collect more than enough tribute to pay off the loans. As proconsuls, they would be in command of armies of professional soldiers. With this military might a proconsul could overthrow the republic and make himself dictator. Rome was truly sitting on a volcano!

**The Gracchi Attempt Reforms.** A few patriotic Romans saw that the republic was in danger. They knew that unemployed mobs made lazy by handouts do not make the best citizens. They knew that landless farmers have little incentive to fight for their country. They were afraid that the embittered poor



The Mother of Gaius Gracchus Implores Him Not to Seek Vengeance for the Murder of His Brother.

might listen to the propaganda of the would-be dictators. Outstanding among these reformers were the brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. They were grandsons of Scipio, Hannibal's conqueror. Although patricians, the Gracchi were interested in helping the poor plebs. Tiberius Gracchus was elected tribune in 133 B.C. He immediately suggested that the amount of land that any one person could own be limited, and that lands above this limit be divided among the poor. To prevent a rival tribune from vetoing this suggestion, Tiberius illegally got him ousted from office. The senators attacked the land law as robbery and called Tiberius a would-be dictator. They were especially alarmed at this appeal which he made to the plebs:

"Savage beasts have their places of refuge; but the men who bear arms and die for Italy enjoy only the air and light. The commanders urge soldiers to fight for the shrines

of their ancestors. . . . You fight and die to give luxury and wealth to other men. You are called the masters of the world, but you have not a foot of ground to call your own."

Enraged, the senators had Tiberius and hundreds of his followers murdered. Their bodies were dumped into the Tiber River.

But Tiberius's program did not die with him. His brother Gaius, who was elected tribune in 123 B.C., persuaded the Assembly to pass the land reforms again. He also won popularity with the poor by getting the government to sell grain at half price.<sup>1</sup> He proposed a law to prevent boys under seventeen from being drafted. He tried to increase the power of the democratic Assembly at the expense of the aristocratic Senate. Senatorial violence was also the answer to this reform program. To avoid murder at the hands of enraged senators, Gaius ordered a slave to kill him. In fear that his loyal followers would make a martyr of Gaius, the Senate warned his mother not to wear mourning for him.

Why is this quarrel between the Gracchi and the Senate significant? A republic is in danger when disputes between political parties are settled by bloodshed rather than by law. The Senate's stubbornness in refusing to meet their demands made the Roman people feel that only with a strong army behind them could they win reforms. And ambitious military heroes in control of powerful armies have often persuaded the poverty-stricken and unemployed to accept them as dictators.

**Civil War Breaks Out: Marius and Sulla.** Two such military heroes appeared in Rome shortly after the death of Gaius Gracchus. One, a rich pleb named Marius, led the people's party. The other, Sulla, born a poor aristocrat, was backed by the aristocratic senatorial party. General Marius had won fame by defeating a rebellious king in

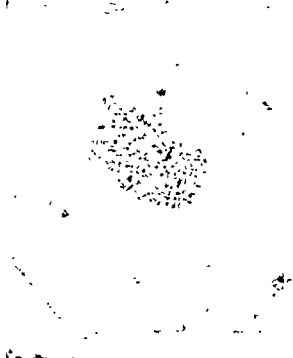
<sup>1</sup> However, Gaius lost popularity with the poor when he proposed that full citizenship be given to many colonists and allies. This privilege they did not want to share.

North Africa and by smashing an attempt of German tribes to invade northern Italy. Marius violated the Constitution by having himself elected consul many times. He built up a professional army loyal to him rather than to Rome. By similar acts later generals were to make themselves military dictators of Rome.

Sulla became a military hero when he suppressed a rebellion of Rome's allies in Italy. The rebels were demanding Roman citizenship—which they later did receive. The Senate then appointed Sulla to lead an army against a rebellious king in Asia Minor. The Assembly appointed Marius to the same job. The armies of the two generals fought it out in Rome. Sulla won and went off to Asia Minor. While he was gone, Marius killed many of Sulla's aristocratic followers. When Sulla returned, he avenged himself upon the followers of Marius with terrible cruelty. Lists of these men were posted. Such lists were called *proscriptions*. The men on them were said to be *proscribed*. Big rewards were paid anyone who could prove that he had killed these proscribed followers of Marius. Innocent persons, especially if they owned rich estates, were included among the proscribed. Sulla then weakened the Assembly's power and strengthened that of the aristocratic Senate. With the backing of the corrupt Senate, Sulla easily made himself dictator.

### Julius Caesar Becomes Dictator of Rome

Ten years after the death of Sulla, all Rome was talking about three other ambitious politicians: Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar. Pompey was a military hero. Crassus was both a military hero and Rome's richest citizen. Slaves, mines, and real estate had made him a fortune. As for Julius Caesar, from his youth he had burned with ambition. One day, young Julius was reading the life of Alexander the Great. When his friends asked why his eyes were filled with tears, he re-



A Section of the Original Mosaic Pavement on the Floor of a Roman Villa in England, Far from the Hellenistic World from Which the Romans Probably Learned This Art. What special difficulties faced the artist in making a mosaic like this?

plied: "Have I not cause for weeping? Alexander the Great at my age had conquered many nations. What have I done so far?"

But Caesar's tears were wasted. He was destined to rule an empire far greater than Alexander's. Caesar planned his rise to power with care. He made himself popular with the masses of the people by much handshaking, by spending money on bread and circuses, and by paying for votes. When his funds were exhausted, he borrowed money from Crassus. Crassus, greedy for political favors, had frequently contributed money to both political parties. Although a noble, Caesar had become the spokesman for the people's party. Pompey and Crassus saw the value of a political partnership with this popular politician. Their partnership, which

is known as the *First Triumvirate*, gave benefits to all three. Caesar became consul (59 B.C.). Pompey got lands for distribution to his war veterans. Crassus got special tax benefits.

Caesar now had political power and financial backing. If his ambition was to be fulfilled, he needed a personal army as well. When he secured the appointment as proconsul of Gaul, he became his own press agent. He sent home exciting accounts of his remarkable conquests over the Gauls and of his invasions of Germany and England. Caesar told the story of the campaigns in Gaul (58-50 B.C.) in his book, *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*. From studying this book students of Latin learn why Caesar is ranked among the great generals of history.

As his victories increased, so did Caesar's popularity at home. That is the way he had planned it. But it was not what either the Senate or Pompey wanted. The aristocratic Senate feared this hero of the people. Crassus had been killed in a campaign in the East. Pompey, once the enemy of the Senate, now joined hands with it in opposing his former political partner, Caesar. Pompey was jealous. In 49 B.C., the worried Senate ordered Caesar to break up his army and come home. In defiance Caesar led his troops across the Rubicon River from Gaul into Italy. By bringing a provincial army into Roman territory, Caesar was breaking the law. He knew the risks involved, for, as he crossed the Rubicon, he uttered the famous phrase: "The die is cast."<sup>2</sup>

Civil war, between the personal army of Caesar and the armies of the Senate led by Pompey, followed. Pompey fled to Greece with Caesar in pursuit. In 48 B.C., Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus. This time, Pompey fled to Egypt with Caesar again in pursuit. To please Caesar, someone murdered Pompey.

There was now little excuse for Caesar to

<sup>2</sup> By this expression Caesar meant that there was no turning back. He knew that if captured he would be executed.

remain in Egypt. But he lingered on, a victim of the charms of Queen Cleopatra. The next few years were spent strengthening Rome's hold in the East, in North Africa, and in Spain. On Caesar's return home in 45 B.C., the Senate, now his puppet, made him dictator. The Roman Empire was Caesar's, but not for long. On the Ides of March (March 15th) in 44 B.C., he was stabbed to death in the Senate chamber. Some senators had become jealous and annoyed at his claim that he was descended from the gods. Others, like Brutus, felt that it was patriotic to kill one whom they considered a tyrant. They feared that he had wanted to establish a dynasty.

## Dictator Caesar Attempts Reforms

Caesar's enemies said that he wore a laurel wreath to cover his bald spot. His friends said that he had well earned this mark of triumph. Caesar reminds one of the tyrants of ancient Greece. Like them, he seized power illegally and tried to improve conditions. Caesar's mind held a vision of one Roman world, a world of peace, prosperity, and security. Holding the reins of this one Roman world would be the driver, Julius Caesar.

To make the unemployed and landless of Rome feel that they belonged to this one Roman world, Caesar ordered that they be given farm land in the provinces. To prevent any religious group from feeling like outsiders, Caesar tolerated all. To win co-operation even from his enemies, he pardoned many and appointed some to government jobs. Caesar tried to make the people in the provinces forget that they were conquered subjects. Some provincials were granted Roman citizenship. Some even became high officials in the government and army. Caesar appointed honest men as proconsuls and abolished the corrupt collection of taxes by publicans. Another reform of Caesar's was a new calendar, the *Julian calendar*. Yet with all these statesmanlike virtues, Caesar was still a dictator. Unfor-

tunately, Caesar's pattern of one-man rule was to be imitated by later dictators with less vision, less tolerance, and less ability.

## Octavian Becomes Master of Rome

Augustus (born *Octavian*), adopted son of Caesar and emperor of Rome, lay on his deathbed at the age of seventy-nine. He asked for a mirror and arranged his hair neatly. Next he turned to those at his bedside. "Have I played my part well?" he asked. In tears they nodded. "Then," added Augustus, "farewell and applaud!" So goes the legend. Had Augustus played his part well? It was not an easy part. He was only eighteen when Julius Caesar was murdered. In two years Octavian had by means of using Caesar's legions, gotten himself elected consul. He had also formed a political partnership with two of the most powerful leaders of Rome. This *Second Triumvirate* ruthlessly robbed and murdered thousands suspected of having any connection with Caesar's murder. Many innocent persons were victims, especially among the wealthy. Two leading conspirators had fled to Macedonia with an army. There, at Philippi, in 42 B.C., they were defeated.

Octavian and the stronger of his two partners, Mark Antony, soon shared the Roman Empire. Octavian ruled Rome and the West. Antony ruled Egypt and the East. But Octavian wanted to follow in the footsteps of Julius Caesar. He had no intention of allowing Antony to stand in his way. Shrewd Octavian spent his time building up his popularity among all classes in Rome. Handsome Antony, the idol of countless Roman women, spent his time with Cleopatra. It was rumored that this Egyptian enchantress, once ambitious to rule Rome with Julius Caesar, was now planning to rule it with Antony. The former partners, Octavian and Antony, therefore soon came to blows. In the naval battle at Actium, in 31 B.C., Octavian won. Antony, and then Cleopatra, committed suicide.

With the death of Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies ruled the Hellenistic Age in the East came to an end. Its end also was brought to the century of civil warfare in Rome. Now Octavian, master of the Mediterranean world, was to usher in two centuries of peace known as the *Pax Romana*.



A Contemporary Marble Bust of Augustus Who Boasted of Finding Rome a City of Brick and Turning It a City of Marble. What qualities did Augustus have for leadership?

## Augustus as Rome's First Emperor

Octavian was a master of psychology. By pretending that he did not want the job, he got to be emperor of Rome. When he returned in triumph from Egypt, he found the Roman people war-weary and willing to accept a strong one-man rule. Octavian permitted the Senate to shower him with one important job after another. He graciously permitted the Assembly and the Senate to continue functioning, but they were just his puppets. Octavian had many titles. But he preferred *Augustus* (*Holy Majesty*), because he, like Julius Caesar, claimed to be descended from the gods. Henceforth, patriotic





Triumphant Roman Emperor Being Honored by the Goddess of Victory. Senators and lictors surround his chariot. Find out the function of a lictor.

Romans were expected to worship their emperors as gods. This practice, long common in the East, was new to the West.

Augustus wanted to complete Julius Caesar's program for peace and prosperity. He had the doors of the Temple of Janus closed. (These were closed only in peacetime.) His army was used mainly to guard the frontiers of the Roman Empire. Like Julius Caesar, he tried to make the provincials feel that they were Romans. Citizenship was granted especially to foreign soldiers who enlisted in the Roman army. Honest governors, fair taxation, and representation in the Senate for the provinces all contributed to unity. Peace, along with improved roads, helped to increase trade. Augustus encouraged marriage and discouraged divorce. Rome was beautified. The people of many lands met in Rome and exchanged ideas in the arts and sciences. The Greek influence was especially strong. No wonder the Augustan period (30 B.C.-14 A.D.) is called the *Golden Age of Rome*!

Augustus was brilliant, tactful, and efficient. Yet he was a dictator. He started the custom by which the emperor designated his own successor. He organized a special body of troops for the emperor's personal protection, the *Prætorian Guard*. Later *Prætorian Guards* were to make and unmake emperors. Augustus often spent provincial taxes on public works in the provinces. But the income from Egypt, the richest of all provinces, went into his own pocket. In his reign, moreover, a law was passed prohibiting plebs from holding office unless they were rich. Although

Augustus forbade the use of bribery to win elections, he sometimes used it himself! Furthermore, while one man did the people's thinking for them for over forty years, democracy did not get the exercise it needed in order to grow.

### Roman Emperors after Augustus (14-180 A.D.)

Of the emperors who succeeded Augustus, some were bloody tyrants, some intelligent statesmen, and others so unimportant that few remember their names. We all know of people who, once they get big jobs, let their power go to their heads. This happened to many Roman emperors.

Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, began as a capable ruler. He warned tax collectors that "a good shepherd shears his flock; he doesn't fleece it!" Tiberius ended his reign with extreme cruelty toward all suspected opponents. Caligula, too, was at first just. He granted pardons and recalled exiles. But great power corrupted him. Once he invited his favorite race horse to dinner and suggested that the horse be made a consul! He was as cruel as he was mad. His major regret was that the whole Roman people did not have one head "so that he might cut it off at one blow"!

When Nero became emperor, he was asked to sign the death warrant for a criminal. "Would that I had never learned to write," he sighed. This lover of music, art, and literature beautified Rome with palaces, parks, and

Scene from the Arch of Titus, Who Destroyed Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Soldiers carrying sacred Hebrew objects are accompanied by magistrates wearing togas.



temples. Yet Nero is the man who killed his mother, his brother, two of his wives, and his famous philosopher teacher, Seneca! When a great fire destroyed almost all of Rome, rumors were spread that Nero had started it. Nero shifted the blame from himself to the Christians, then a new religious group. He knew that this small minority was too weak to fight back. This technique of making scapegoats of minority groups has often been used. Under Nero the scapegoat Christians were executed.

A Roman army made General Vespasian emperor. He set up a public school system with pensions for teachers. The Colosseum, Rome's sports stadium, was constructed during his reign. His son Titus suppressed a Hebrew revolution in Jerusalem and ruthlessly destroyed the temple there (70 A.D.)

For nearly a century (96-180 A.D.) the Roman Empire was blessed with five so-called *good emperors*. In general, they were honest and conscientious. Under one of them, Trajan, the empire reached its greatest extent in 106 A.D.

"A wrongdoer is often a man who has left something undone, not always he that has done something." This noble thought is taken from a famous book of philosophy, *Meditations*, written by a *good emperor*, Marcus Aurelius. In the main, this typically Stoic philosopher (page 99) ruled with justice and efficiency. He was convinced that his was the only true religion, however, and was intolerant toward Christians.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D., the Pax Romana ended. Few emperors then seemed able to preserve unity. In a period of only fifty years, as many as thirty emperors were made and unmade by armies. Civil wars between rival armies raged. Lives and property were threatened. Distant provinces revolted. The barbarian tribes which had been hammering away at Rome's borders for centuries now found little difficulty in getting in.

## The Roman Empire Declines in the West

On the site of the old Greek town of Byzantium, where Europe and Asia meet, Emperor Constantine (324-337 A.D.) constructed a magnificent new capital for the Roman Empire. In his own honor he called the city *Constantinople*. By 400 A.D., the Roman Empire was finally split into an Empire of the East and an Empire of the West. The eastern half, with its capital at Constantinople, flourished until it was conquered by the Turks in 1453 A.D. But by 500 A.D., the Empire of the West, with its capital at Rome, had fallen. The barbarian German tribes had finally succeeded in conquering it. Yet it was not German strength, but Roman weakness, which caused the empire to crumble.

**Economic Weaknesses in the Empire.** Much of the prosperity of the early empire days was artificial. In the main, wealth came from plunder, tribute, and moneylending.

Thus a few grew rich. The Romans never developed sufficient commerce or large-scale industry to provide most people with incomes. Workers' incomes were low because of competition with slave labor. Thus very few Romans could be good customers. Consequently, many businesses failed. This increased unemployment. As factories and shops shut down, cities began to die out. Having no other way to make a living, many Romans became pirates or bandits. This hurt business still more.

Furthermore, the money system broke down. For a long time, the Romans had been importing goods from the Middle East. This was necessary because there was not enough production at home. The Romans kept sending their coins to the East to pay for imports. Soon there were so few gold and silver coins left that the government had to mint coins of cheaper metals. Since these coins were less valuable, businessmen demanded more coins for goods and prices rose. Some businessmen would not accept the cheap coins, but demanded payment in goods. This primitive barter could not serve the needs of the vast Roman business world. Business began to be confined to local communities. These areas tried to produce all that they needed themselves so that they would be self-sufficient. Their failure to trade with other areas was a crushing blow to the unity of the empire.

The big estates of prosperous Romans had also become self-sufficient. Estate-owners collected taxes. They maintained their own police. On such estates were weavers, carpenters, shoemakers, and other craftsmen producing goods for the people living there. This is another reason why city factories were forced to close down. These self-sufficient estates are further proof that the unity of the empire was disappearing. In fact, many poor farmers were pledging allegiance to estate-owners rather than to the Roman emperor. These poor farmers were more afraid of losing their lives and property because of the disorders of the times. Furthermore, they

were burdened with heavy taxes. For these reasons, they turned over their lands to big landlords. They retained the right to cultivate the land, and they won the protection of the landlord. In time, the law required these farmers and their descendants to remain on the land which they cultivated. These men, thus tied to the soil forever, were known as *coloni* and later as *serfs*. Runaway *coloni* were severely punished if caught. If the landlord sold the land, the *coloni* were sold with it. The old independent Roman farmer was no more. No wonder agriculture declined! Those who cultivated the soil no longer felt that it was really theirs.

Because of the hopeless poverty of most persons, the breakdown of industry and commerce, and the ruin of independent farmers and businessmen, the Roman Empire faced economic collapse. Some emperors were alarmed because all over the empire discouraged workers and businessmen were forsaking their profitless occupations. To make sure that goods would be manufactured and fields cultivated, sons were forbidden to take up any other occupation than that of their fathers. Some employees were even branded to prevent them from leaving their jobs. The government also fixed prices and maximum — not minimum — wages. But the later emperors, instead of improving conditions, made matters worse. They increased government expenses by their extravagant courts, huge hired armies, and thousands of government employees. Then they increased taxes at a time when bad business made their payment difficult. The state had become all-important and the individual counted for little.

**Social Weaknesses in the Empire.** After the third century A.D., it was so hard to make a living that the population declined. Many men remained bachelors. Many of those who did marry felt that they could not afford to raise big families. Divorce was widespread. Plagues and wars also reduced the population. Crime increased. Just as culture thrives in periods of prosperity, it suffers in periods

of depression. Thus, little progress was made in the arts and sciences. Those with talents had little opportunity to develop them because every man had to remain in the social class into which he was born. The landed aristocrats could afford to live in luxury. But the vast majority had a cheerless and hopeless existence. They felt that their government had little interest in their welfare. Bread and circuses made many of them lazy.

**Political Weaknesses in the Empire.** When many citizens take an active part in their government, that government gains strength. For centuries, the one-man rule of the Roman Empire had discouraged Roman citizens from participating in their government. Roman citizenship came to mean little. Barbarians filled the ranks of the Roman army. How loyal could citizens feel toward a government headed by an emperor who was made overnight by a rival army? How loyal could former citizens feel toward a government which gave them so little protection that they had to turn over their lands to powerful landholders? So much territory had been gobbled up so fast that the co-operation of all was needed to control the empire. But some Roman emperors ran conquered provinces as their private estates. Rebellions resulted.

Yet even though Rome crumbled, in a sense, it lived on. The Roman Empire of the East at Byzantium preserved many Roman traditions for a thousand years afterward. Even in the West the barbarians absorbed much of Roman culture and passed it on to other parts of Europe. The Christian Church was also to keep the flame of Greek and Roman culture burning.

### The Family Important Under the Republic

Under the Roman Republic, the father of the family could put his wife and children to death or sell them as slaves. Yet women enjoyed many privileges. Unlike Athenian wives, Roman wives dined at the same table



A Roman bride prepares for her wedding, with her mother on the left and with her maid on the right. From a wall painting in an ancient city near Pompeii.

as their husbands. They were free to attend social affairs. In time, Roman women enjoyed almost equal rights with men. The Roman household was a school, church, and workshop. Unfortunately, when Rome became a rich and powerful empire, family life declined.

### The Romans Put Their Religion to Practical Use

In early Rome, the household was considered the home of the gods as well as of the family. The father was the high priest. The practical Romans believed that, if they followed a certain religious routine, the gods would favor them. No wonder they worshiped, for example, Vesta, goddess of the hearth fire which cooked their food and gave them warmth. In return for worshipping the Lares, they expected protection for their farms. As Rome grew, the government adopted some of these household gods. Vesta was promoted to protecting the sacred fire on the hearth of all of Rome. Young girls



From the Arch  
of Constantine.  
The Emperor  
Trajan Performing  
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were proud to be chosen vestal virgins to keep this sacred fire burning.

The practical Romans wanted to make sure that the gods were with them before they started any undertaking. By watching the flights of birds or by studying the entrails of sacrificed animals, they thought that they could predict the future. Such practices are called *divination* or *taking the auspices*. Crafty and ambitious individuals would sometimes bribe the state priests to say that a particular time was or was not auspicious (favorable). Thus such persons were able to begin or postpone wars, for example, to suit their own purposes.

Besides being practical, the Roman religion was imitative. Divination had been copied from the Etruscans. Many of the chief gods were adopted from the Greeks and given Roman names. The chief god, Jupiter, was adopted from the Greek Zeus. His wife was Juno, the Greek Hera. The Roman god of war was Mars, the Greek Ares, and the goddess of love was Venus, the Greek Aphrodite. From the Egyptians the Romans adopted the goddess Isis and, eventually, from the Hebrews, the idea of one God. The Roman religion became so complicated that many educated Romans began to doubt it. Many of these got their ideas from the philosophers of the Hellenistic Age, especially from the Stoics (page 99). These skeptical (doubting) Romans asserted that the gods had little interest in human affairs. In time, millions of Romans became converted to Christianity. On the whole, the Romans were tolerant. As long as a Roman showed respect for Roman gods, he could worship as he pleased.

## Christianity Cheers a Weary Empire

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted . . .

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

Such teachings as this from Jesus Christ's Sermon on the Mount had helped to win millions of converts to Christianity by the fifth century A.D. At this time the political Roman Empire was rotting away. A great spiritual empire was rising which soon tied together with religious bonds persons in every corner of the Mediterranean world. Perhaps nothing in all history has had so strong an influence in determining the thoughts and acts of mankind as has Christianity. Today one out of every three persons in the world is of the Christian faith.

**The Life and Teachings of Jesus.** About 4 B.C., in the reign of Augustus, in the little town of Bethlehem in Palestine, Jesus was born. His people, the Jews, had been successively ruled by Babylonians, Assyrians, and Persians. Now the Romans were their masters. For centuries the saddened subject Jews had dreamed of the coming of the Messiah (Redeemer). It was believed that the Messiah was to be the Son of God. Some expected that he would redeem the Jews from their foreign rulers and create a Kingdom of God on earth.

Humble Jesus was born in a stable. He became a carpenter in the village of Nazareth in Galilee. When he started preaching, some of the Jews believed that here was the *Christ* (Greek for *Messiah*). When many of the sick and lame were cured when they went to him, many more were convinced that the Christ had come. Jesus' teaching was built upon that of the Hebrew prophets. To his followers, he said: "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you" (the *Golden Rule*.) Jesus preached that all men are brothers and that God is their Father. He counted good deeds

more important than empty ceremonies. His enemies testified to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, of the false charge that Jesus wanted to be king of the Jews. Since Palestine was then ruled by the Romans, this was equivalent to treason. In punishment Jesus was nailed to a cross by Roman soldiers in 29 A.D. This brutal form of execution (crucifixion) was common in those days.

**The Apostles of Jesus.** In the main, the early disciples (followers) of Jesus were Jews. For three days following his death, they were grieved and discouraged. However, their faith was renewed when news was spread that Jesus had risen from the dead. Four records of the life and teachings of Jesus make up the first four books of the New Testament. These biographies of Jesus, the *Gospels*, are believed to have been written by four of his disciples. In time, the New Testament plus the Old Testament of the Jews became the Christian Bible. The New Testament tells that Jesus died to atone for the sins of mankind. Jesus had stressed: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment." The disciples preached that salvation would come to all who lived up to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

The disciples also taught that believers would be freed from sin and enjoy everlasting happiness in heaven. Before his death Jesus had selected twelve of his disciples, the *Apostles of Jesus*, for special training in spreading his teachings.

**Influences on Early Christian Thought.** To some extent the way had been paved for the Apostles who went forth to spread the Christian faith among Gentiles (non-Jews) as well as Jews. Judaism had taught worship of one God and had contributed the Old Testament with its Ten Commandments. The Zoroastrianism of the Persians had stressed the struggle between good and evil. Greek philosophers had taught noble ideals. Stoic philosophers had preached the brotherhood of man. These and other religious ideas were

brought to Rome by merchants, soldiers, slaves, and craftsmen.

**The Apostle Paul, First Christian Missionary.** Saul of Tarsus, afterward called Paul, was a devout Jew who was at first strongly opposed to the teachings of Jesus. Once converted to Christianity, however, he dedicated his life to spreading the gospel. Throughout the Roman Empire he traveled, preaching, building churches, and writing his famous *epistles* (letters). In these epistles, which appear in the New Testament, Paul inspired Christians by explaining Christ's teachings. He urged them to keep and spread the Christian faith. Like Jesus, Paul met a violent death at the hands of the Romans.

**Persecution of the Early Christians.** In the first few centuries after the death of Christ, it took much courage and faith to be a Christian. Christians had to hold their services in secret. They often met in the catacombs (underground passages in Rome). Hundreds of Christians were thrown into the arena of the Colosseum to be devoured by lions or were burned alive, beheaded, or crucified. Yet the more Christians were persecuted, the more converts Christianity made. Millions were impressed by the fact that Christians would bravely accept torture and death for their faith, thus becoming martyrs. The blood of these martyrs has therefore been called the *seed* of the Church.

Why were these early Christians so persecuted? People at all times tend to be suspicious of what is new and different. And the behavior of the Christians was very different from that of the Romans. Making money seemed unimportant to Christians. They shared their belongings with others. They were accused of being clannish, of refusing to take part in public festivals, and of keeping their children out of the Roman schools. Since Christ had preached peace, they refused to become soldiers. Rude Romans laughed contemptuously at a religion which was making its strongest appeal to slaves. Even polite Romans used to whisper about the queer Christians who would not go



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to the Circus or the Colosseum because of the cruelty of the spectacles. Rumors spread that the Christians sacrificed Roman children and even ate them.

When times were bad, persecution of Christians increased. Roman rulers used the scapegoat technique (page 121) by blaming the Christians for everything that went wrong. Was there hunger, disease, a fire, a flood, or an earthquake? Whose fault was the disaster? The Christians', of course, said the Romans. Many Roman emperors were sincere in considering the Christians a threat to the Roman government. The Christians, who believed in one God, refused to worship the emperor as a god. This was the main reason for their persecution.

**Christianity Triumphant.** Yet in 392, under Emperor Theodosius, Christianity became the official state religion of the Roman Empire. Now it was the non-Christians who lost their temples, their private property, many civil rights, and sometimes even their lives. What reasons explain the triumph of Christianity? To begin with, Roman persecution in the second century A.D. had driven the Jews from Palestine. As the Jewish people scattered throughout the world, they spread their religious ideas. Since many of these were similar to those of the Christians, Christian beliefs did not now sound so strange to pagans. Furthermore, Christianity was spreading during the period when the Roman Empire was declining. Poverty, civil wars, and unemployment made many persons discouraged with life on earth. To these, Christianity offered the hope of a happy life in the Kingdom of Heaven. Had not Jesus said: "Come unto me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest"? Millions of poor plebs and slaves eagerly joined a faith which proclaimed all men equal. Even rich plebs and patricians were attracted by the promise of an afterlife. Christian ideals of love, charity, mercy, and kindness kindled new hope in the hearts of people everywhere.

Some emperors hoped to use Christianity to cement together the crumbling Roman

Empire. Instead of persecuting Christians, as Nero, Marcus Aurelius, and other emperors had, they adopted a tolerant attitude. For example, the Eastern emperor, Galerius, in 311 granted Christians freedom of worship. In 313, the Edict of Milan, issued by Emperor Constantine, put Christianity on a par with paganism throughout the empire. Many Christians were appointed to high government positions and the clergy were exempted from paying taxes.

Furthermore, Constantine helped to preserve the unity of Christianity by calling the famous Council of Nicaea in 325. Christian church leaders from all over the empire met at the Council to settle certain religious disagreements which had arisen. The Council finally agreed on certain fixed Christian principles which were stated in the *Nicene Creed*. This helped to maintain harmony within the Church for centuries. The Council also condemned *heresy* (any doctrine which the Church considers false) and *heretics* (Christians who accept heresy).

Many of the religious leaders who contributed to the triumph of Christianity were brilliant and tireless. For example, St. Jerome (340-420) made a Latin translation of Hebrew and Greek editions of the Bible. To this day, Jerome's translation, the *Vulgate*, is the basic Bible of the Roman Catholic Church. St. Augustine (354-430) wrote a religious classic, *The City of God*. In it, Augustine predicts that those who believe in and live in the City of God, Christianity, will conquer those who live in the City of Satan. As Pope, Gregory the Great (540-604) practically ruled Rome and warded off barbarian invasions. He also brought about the conversion to Christianity of what is present-day England, France, and Germany. Ireland had previously been converted by St. Patrick.

The very fact that the Roman Empire was a kind of one world helped the triumph of Christianity. Because most persons could speak either Greek or Latin, missionaries could communicate with practically everyone. Rome's fine roads enabled missionaries

to travel almost anywhere in the empire. The universal empire thus helped to build the Catholic (universal) Church.

## Roman Philosophers Encourage Freedom from Fear

Wars, poverty, and disease often tend to make people wonder about the meaning of life. So it was in Rome during the first century B.C. Class warfare was destroying the Roman Republic. Sulla was murdering his enemies. A philosopher, Lucretius, wrote a beautiful poem in which he tried to bring comfort to the people and free them from superstition. The poem was called *On the Nature of Things*. Lucretius pointed out that people should not fear death, which brings an end to pain and sorrow.

When Seneca, teacher of Nero, was once asked why the evil prosper and the good suffer, he replied: "God deals by us as a good father does by his children. He tries us, he hardens us, and fits us for himself." On orders from Nero, this Stoic philosopher took his own life. More famous as a Stoic philosopher than Seneca is Emperor Marcus Aurelius (page 121).

## Roman Education Reflects Roman Ideals

Patriotism, practicality, courage, courtesy, and obedience were the aims of early Roman education. Parents were the teachers. Children were told stories of Roman heroes. They learned to read, write, and do simple problems in arithmetic. They were required to memorize the Laws of the Twelve Tables so that they would have proper respect for law and order.

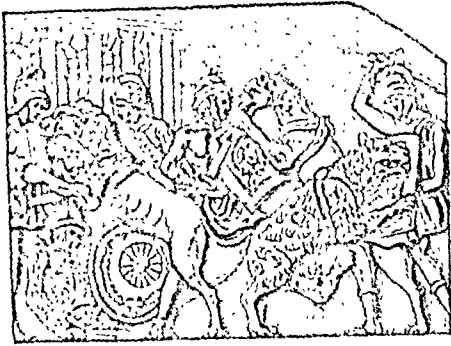
Later in Roman history, freed Greek slaves opened schools. In these schools pupils wrote their lessons on wax tablets with a stylus. Greek, Latin, public speaking, and philosophy were taught. The Romans depended upon the battlefield rather than the gymnasium for building strong bodies. Some

sons of the rich obtained a higher education under famous professors at Alexandria or Athens. Some of the later schools taught both boys and girls to sing, play a musical instrument, and dance. And under the empire, scholarships were sometimes granted to bright pupils. Outstanding professors were exempted from taxation. In general, however, most of the people received little education.

## Roman Literature Largely Imitative

Most Roman literature lacks the originality, imagination, depth of thought, and beauty of Greek literature. Like the Roman people, Roman literature is a practical literature, dealing with the problems of everyday life. Learned Greeks, brought to Rome as slaves, made many Romans more interested in literature. Plautus, Rome's first important writer of comedies (born c254), borrowed many of his ideas from the Greeks. Jolly and boisterous, the plays of Plautus won wide popularity. In one, a servant tells his conceited master that girls swoon in his presence. Solemnly the master replies: "It's a great nuisance, being so very handsome!" The comedies of Terence (born c195 B.C.) were less vulgar and more philosophical than those of Plautus, and less popular. Terence summed up his philosophy thus: "I am a man. I am interested in everything that men think, feel, and do."

The most famous Latin lyric poets, Catullus and Horace, lived in the first century B.C. The poems of Catullus show his strong loves and hates. Horace, on the other hand, appeals to the mind rather than to the emotions. "Be moderate. Enjoy yourself, but don't do anything in excess," expresses his philosophy. Horace's poems helped to make the period of Emperor Augustus the Golden Age of Roman Literature. So did those of Virgil. Virgil wanted to check the vices and soft living which he thought were ruining Rome. He preached a return to the simple farm life and virtues which he thought had made Rome



Roman Gladiators Fighting Wild Beasts.

great. He composed a great epic, the *Aeneid*, to promote patriotism and glorify Augustus. In it he urged:

"But Rome! 'Tis thine alone with awful sway  
To rule mankind, and make the world  
obey. . . ."

What Demosthenes was to Greece, Cicero (106-43 B.C.) was to Rome. Throughout the ages Cicero's *Orations* have been studied by schoolboys and statesmen. His essays on *Old Age* and *Friendship* have given comfort to millions of readers. So fearful were his political enemies of his sharp tongue that they cut off the head with which he spoke and the hand with which he gestured, and nailed them in the Forum for all to see.

Rome made no great contributions in history writing. Caesar's *Commentaries* were publicity pamphlets for himself as well as records of life in Britain, Gaul, and Germany. Tacitus in his *Germania* exaggerated the virtues of the German barbarians in order to expose the vices of the Romans. He wrote that Rome was morally healthier under the republic than under the empire. Livy was more a patriotic propagandist for the Augustan Age than a truthful historian. In magnificent style he glorified the role of Roman gods and Roman citizens in developing Rome from a tiny village to a great empire. It is true that Plutarch, who wrote *Parallel Lives*, making comparisons between great Greek and great Roman statesmen and warriors, spent much of his time in Rome. But he was born and he died in Greece. Plutarch's purpose in

these biographies was to teach lessons in morality.

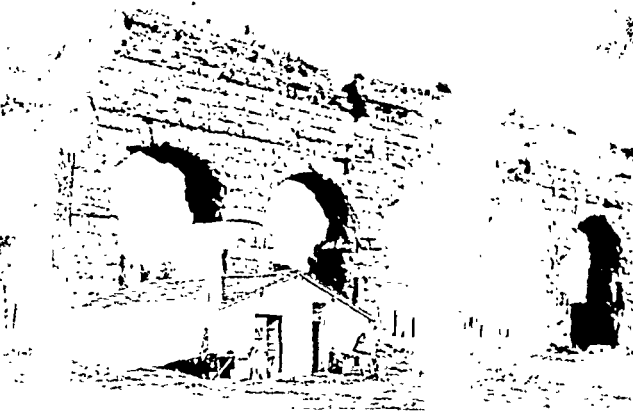
The French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian languages are all children of Latin, the language in which these Romans wrote. Hence they are called *Romance* languages. Even English is chock-full of words of Latin origin. Latin has always been widely used in the services of the Roman Catholic Church.

## Roman Recreation Takes Violent Forms

Few Romans were interested in the thoughtful and artistic plays of the Greeks. Bloodshed and death were what spectators craved to see at the Colosseum and the Circus Maximus. At the Colosseum, fights to the death were staged between pairs of gladiators. These gladiators were either war captives, condemned criminals, or professional fighters. The spectators acted as a jury, turning thumbs down if they wanted a wounded gladiator killed and thumbs up if they wanted him saved. Sometimes men were pitted against hungry wild animals. Sometimes hundreds of lions, tigers, and wolves were let loose in the arena to tear one another apart.

The comfort of the spectators was given careful consideration. Ambitious politicians often provided them with free tickets and refreshments. An awning shielded them from the hot sun. Music softened the moans of the dying performers. Fountains poured forth perfume to destroy the smell of blood. Soft cushions and night lights were added features. Is it any wonder that some sensitive Romans, such as Seneca, were disgusted? On returning home from one such spectacle, he said sadly: "I come home more greedy, more cruel and inhuman, because I have been among human beings."

Death lurked in the chariot races of the Circus Maximus also. Spectators never knew when a driver, gaily clad in his red, blue, or green costume, would be crushed to death while rounding a turn. There were no rules



Claudian Aqueduct Near Rome, a Gigantic Engineering Project Featuring Magnificent Arches.

List three problems that the Romans must have faced in building such aqueducts.

of good sportsmanship. Only winning counted, for winning drivers became Roman heroes. Many a Roman gambled away his life's savings on his favorite.

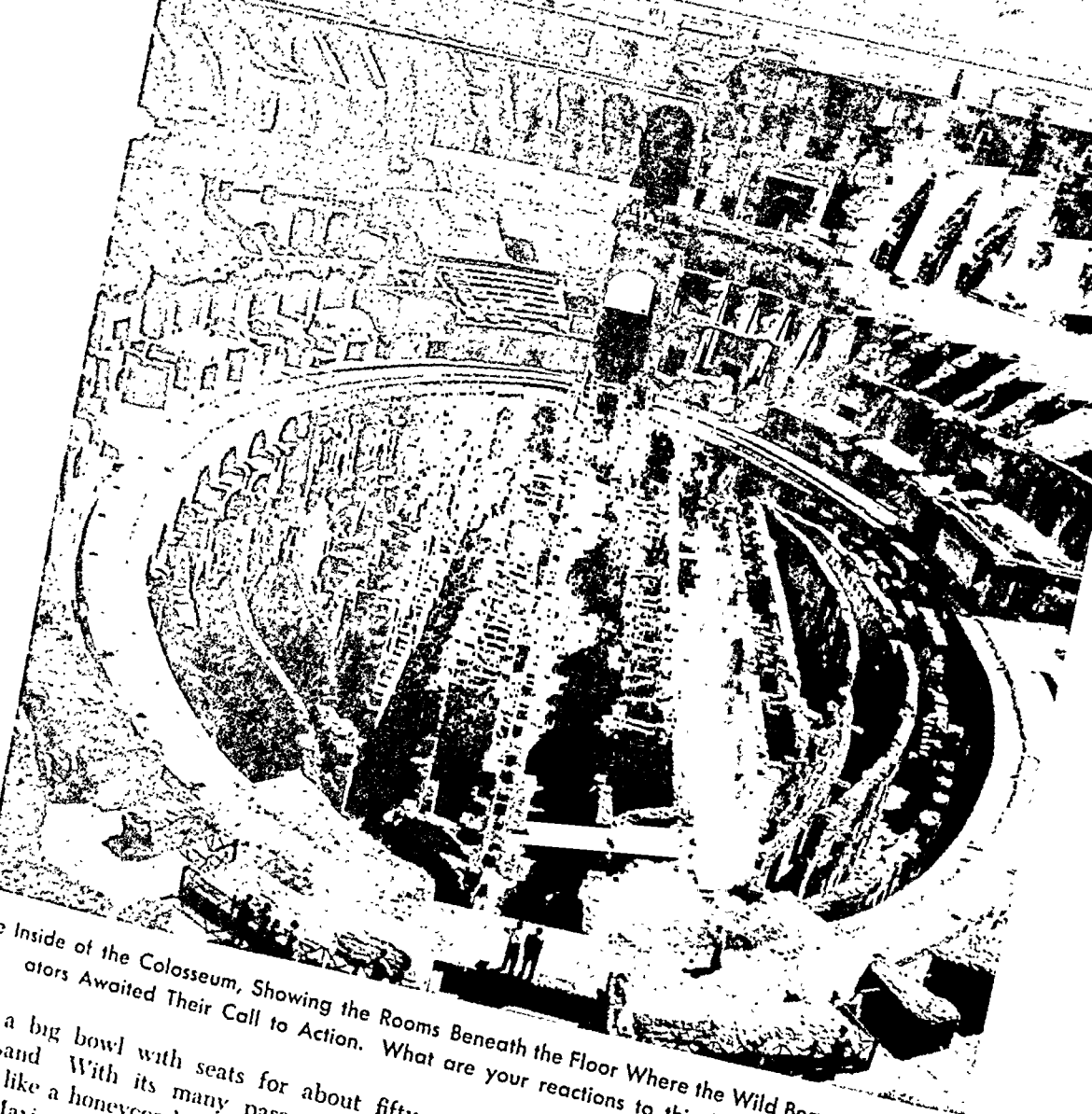
Yet Roman recreation had a finer side. Daily thousands of Romans would gather at the public baths. Besides the bathing facilities, these buildings were equipped with libraries, lecture rooms, art galleries, and gymnasiums. Admission was practically free

## Roman Art and Architecture Big and Practical

What a clear picture of Roman tastes and character we get from studying Roman art and architecture! Greek artists had stressed grace, delicacy, and beauty. But the Romans liked to do things on a big scale. They wanted their public structures to be showy, but also useful. They prided themselves on their huge sports arenas, their luxurious public baths, their magnificent memorial arches, and their

grand temples. Some of their aqueducts (troughs bringing water from the highlands) were over fifty miles long. Their lofty basilicas (public meeting halls) were later to be used as models by architects of Christian churches. Many public buildings and private palaces were grouped around the Forum.

What the Parthenon was to Athens, the Pantheon was to Rome. This temple was a typical Roman structure. Its columns were copied from the Greeks, its mosaic tiles from Hellenistic artists, and the idea of the arch from the Etruscans. Original Roman touches include its circular shape, its dome, and the extensive use of concrete. The Pantheon has served as a model for the Capitol building at Washington, for many railroad stations, and for other buildings which require large interiors without such obstructions as columns. What the Olympic stadiums were to the Greeks, the Colosseum and the Circus Maximus were to the Romans. Even from its ruins one can see that the Colosseum was



Inside of the Colosseum, Showing the Rooms Beneath the Floor Where the Wild Beasts and Gladiators Awaited Their Call to Action. What are your reactions to this form of recreation?

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Like the Persians, the Romans tied their empire together with roads. Straight and strong, they merged in one hub — the city of Rome. Some of them, such as the Appian Way, are still used.

## Roman Science a Collection of Ancient Knowledge

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ists discovered a little that ed much that was old. ), for example, com- hical, ag scientific in

mation. This book, entitled *Natural History*, was a hodgepodge of science and superstition. Pliny maintained that, by going without eating for a long time, a man could acquire breath so poisonous that it could kill a snake!

To keep the public healthy, the Romans provided a good water supply, public baths, sewage systems, public hospitals, army doctors, and even free medical care for the poor. Careless doctors who caused the death of their patients were punished. Yet, in general, Roman medicine was not as advanced as that of the East.

The greatest medical authority at Rome in the second century A.D. was Galen, a Greek from Asia Minor. Galen tried to be scientific and to learn anatomy by dissecting animals. Yet many references to magic appear in his medical encyclopedia. Galen, like Aristotle and Pliny the Elder, was regarded as a scientific authority for centuries. The habit of regarding their word as final hindered progress. Only when man began to experiment for himself, in about 1500 A.D., was the way paved for the great achievements of modern science.

## Roman Law: Great Gift to the Modern World

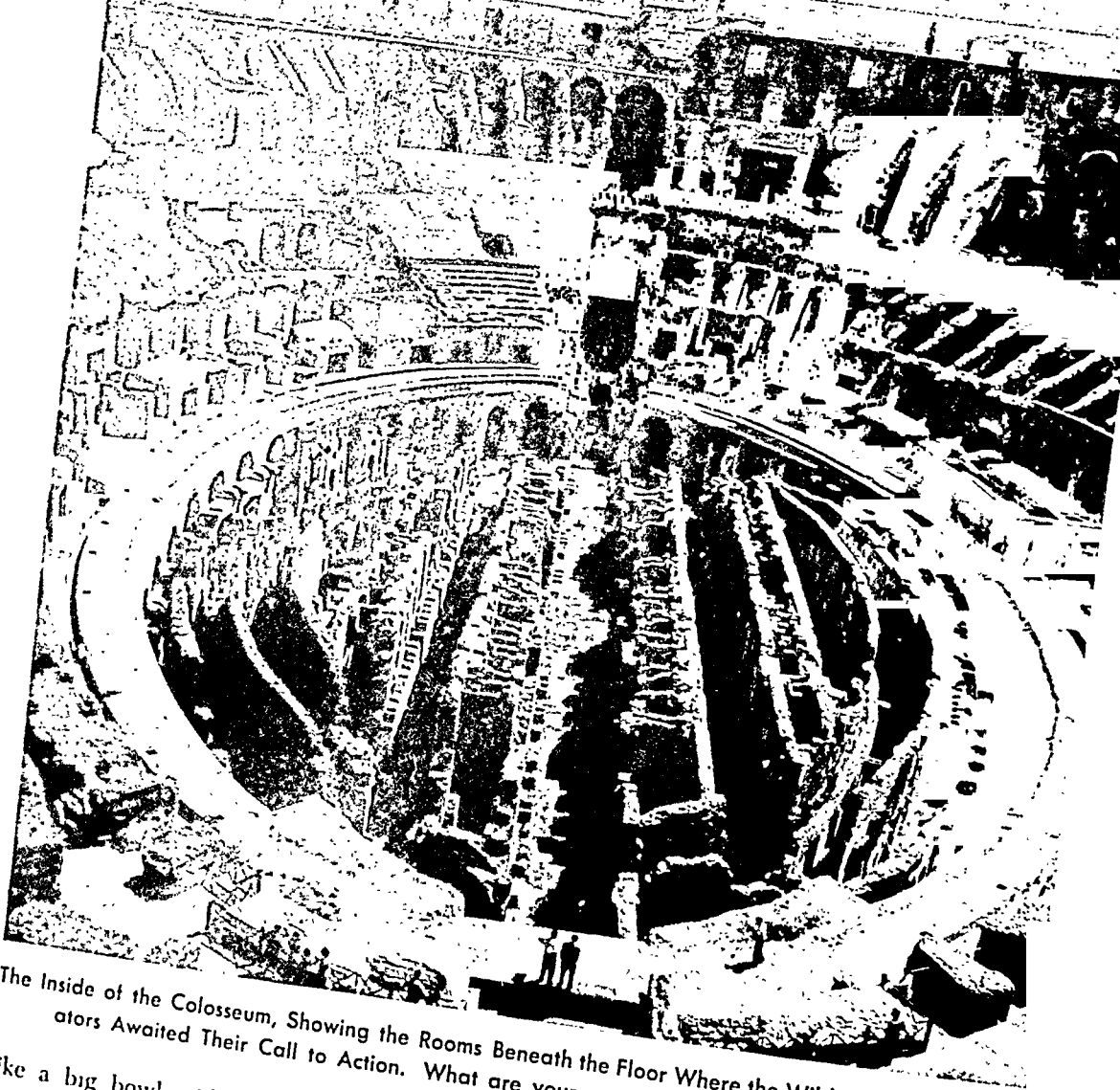
It was probably in law that the Romans made their greatest contribution. Roman law is the basis of many legal systems in the world today. In the fifth century B.C., as we have seen, the Laws of the Twelve Tables were written down. Cruel at first, Roman law later, under the democratic influence of the Stoics, became more humane. The law no longer permitted men to kill their children and slaves. Children were given greater freedom in choosing their own mates in marriage. A main principle of Roman law became: "Better that the guilty go free, than that the innocent be unjustly punished." Roman law also stressed the principle that the state exists to promote the welfare of its citizens. Roman judges showed respect for the customs and

laws of the conquered. Thus they developed a kind of international law based upon justice, experience, and the laws of many different peoples. In the sixth century A.D., Justinian, the Eastern emperor at Constantinople, collected and classified all Roman laws (page 155).

## Food, Clothing, and Shelter: Keys to Roman History

When Rome was a struggling young republic, the people ate simple, wholesome food and drank diluted wines. Later, as wealth poured in from the provinces, some rich Romans entertained at elaborate banquets. Served at the feasts of Lucullus were such dishes as ostrich wings, roasted songbirds, boars' heads, oysters, and the richest of pastries. The abundant wines were no longer diluted. Drunkenness was common. Flowers, perfumes, and music filled the banquet hall, as the guests, reclining on benches, gorged themselves. Lucullan banquets were, of course, out of the reach of most Romans.

Romans did not have to worry about losing buttons, pulling up stockings, or wearing suspenders to hold up trousers. Like Greek clothing, theirs was loose-fitting and simple. Their mild climate enabled them to get along with two main garments: the tunic and the toga. The tunic was like a long shirt with short sleeves. It was bound at the waist. Purple stripes sewed on the tunic were a sign of the wearer's rank. For example, a senator wore a wide purple band down the center. The outer garment, the toga, was a long and clumsy white woolen robe draped around the body. Victorious generals wore all-purple togas trimmed with gold embroidery. Under the empire, poor classes were forbidden to wear any color but brown or black. Women's garments resembled men's, except that they were often more colorful and of fine linen or silk. Both sexes wore leather sandals and shoes, often colored. Prosperous women wore jewels, furs, and cosmetics imported from the East.



The Inside of the Colosseum, Showing the Rooms Beneath the Floor Where the Wild Beasts and Gladiators Awaited Their Call to Action. What are your reactions to this form of recreation?

Like a big bowl with seats for about fifty thousand. With its many passageways, it looks like a honeycomb. The U-shaped Circus Maximus, which seated five times as many, no longer stands. Roman sculpture also mirrors Roman tastes. The Greek columns, the ornate Corinthian capital, appealed most to the Roman love of decoration on such columns, as well as on triumphal arches. Sculptors were kept busy making busts of rich and important men. The busts were made to look lifelike rather than beautiful.

Like the Persians, the Romans tied their empire together with roads. Straight and strong, they merged in one hub—the city of Rome. Some of them, such as the Appian Way, are still used.

### Roman Science a Collection of Ancient Knowledge

Roman scientists discovered a little that was new but collected much that was old. Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.), for example, compiled an encyclopedia of geographical, agricultural, medical, and other scientific information.

## Rome Sums Up the Ancient World

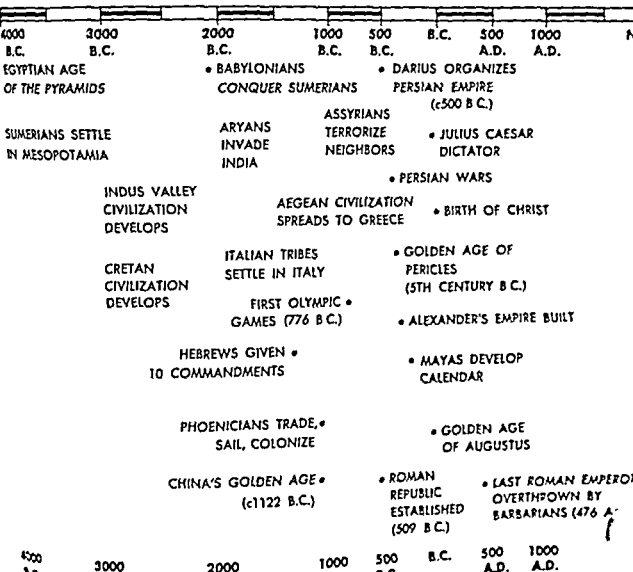
To summarize Rome's influence on us is, in a sense, to summarize the influence of the entire ancient world. For Rome took the achievements of other ancient civilizations and wove them into its own. Students in all fields can profit by knowing the history of their occupations. For example, the lawyer who studies the history of law is likely to be a better lawyer. Babylonia had had Hammurabi; Athens had had Draco and Solon. But the Romans really made their law both a science and a model for later legal codes.

Modern soldiers can study basic principles of warfare in the military tactics of the Romans, which sum up to a great extent those

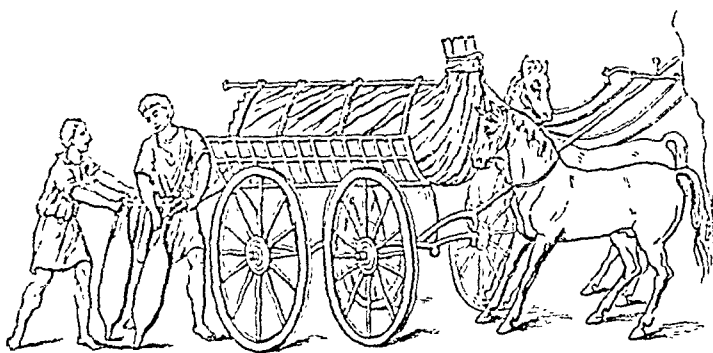
of the Assyrians, the Persians, and Alexander the Great. The Romans also devised original military tactics. Unfortunately, some ambitious militarists have copied Roman military tactics to try to build world empires made up of unwilling subjects.

Students of government learn from Roman history that citizens are more loyal than subjects, and that class warfare between rich and poor is suicide. They also learn how republics can be undermined and turned into empires ruled by dictators. Just as the Romans learned from the Persians, these students also learn from the Romans how empires are administered. Statesmen striving for world peace or world government might study the Pax Romana. There are lessons, too, in the

### TIME LINE FOR THE ANCIENT WORLD







Roman Peasants Pouring Liquids into Skins. This scene was painted on a wall in Pompeii.

A wealthy Roman vacationing at Pompeii<sup>3</sup> lived in a house of stone or brick with many rooms, including slave quarters, libraries, bathrooms, a kitchen, storerooms, and shops. In some homes heat was carried by pipes to various rooms. The main room had an opening in the roof for ventilation. Painted walls, mosaic floors and tables, rich carpets, and marble benches made it attractive. In one corner was a shrine to the household gods. In the open-air columned courtyard were a fountain, statues, a garden, and couches. Workers in Roman cities usually lived in crowded tenements sometimes seven stories high. These firetraps faced on narrow, garbage-strewn alleys. Often such dwellings collapsed, costing hundreds of lives. The tenements were so crudely furnished that most tenants slept on beds of straw.

## Roman Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture: Keys, Too

"Whoever wishes to see all the goods of the world must either journey throughout the world or stay in Rome." Thus one Roman boasted of the countless imports which were pouring into Rome in the first and second centuries A.D. From China came silks and drugs; from India, precious stones, spices, and slave dancers; from central Africa, wild beasts for the Colosseum; from Egypt, grain

and papyrus; from the barbarian north, slaves and furs; from Britain, tin, iron, and leather; from Greece, pottery and olive oil. Rome exported textiles, glass, wines, and metalware. But, as we have seen, Roman merchants imported more goods than their exports could pay for. And, in the long run, this contributed to the decline of the empire.

Nobles in Rome looked down upon industry. Manufacturing was therefore in the hands of slaves and the lower classes. Most goods were made in little shops, but Rome had a few big factories. The building trades and clothing industries employed many. Workers in special handicrafts were often organized into guilds. These were semireligious social clubs whose members preserved trade secrets. Every member was guaranteed a fancy funeral.

The Romans helped to make farming a science. They drained swamps, cleared forests, and irrigated deserts. To enrich their beloved soil, they used fertilizer and rotated crops. They grew fruits and vegetables out of season in greenhouses. In the early days of the Roman Republic, most farmers had their own little farms. On these they grew grains, vegetables, olives, and grapes. Later, as we know, under the empire, most of the small farms had been combined into big estates. The owners of these big estates, with their many slaves, found cattle raising more profitable than farming. Growing grapes for wine became a big business. One Roman writer, Juvenal, yearned for the good old days of the small independent farmer. Recommending a back-to-the-farm movement, he advised: "Live in love with your hoe!"

<sup>3</sup> Pompeii was the famous resort town of the Romans. In 79 A.D. the volcano Vesuvius erupted and buried Pompeii. Much has been learned about Roman life from archaeological excavations made there.

## Rome Sums Up the Ancient World

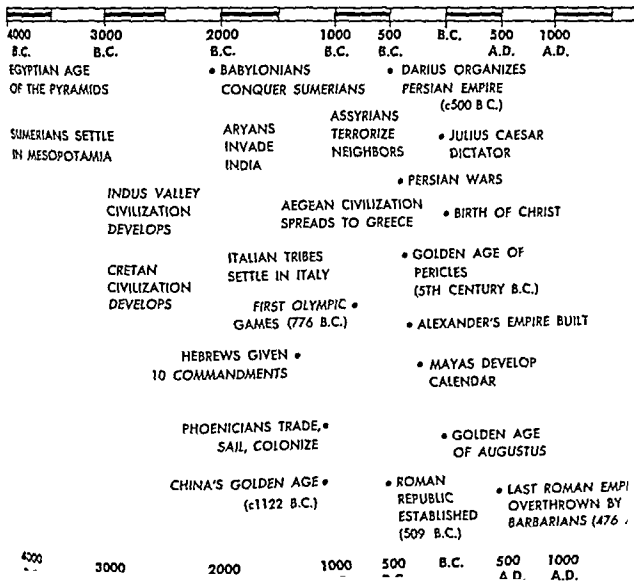
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### TIME LINE FOR THE ANCIENT WORLD



international law by which the Roman governed many peoples of different religions, and origins. In fact, Seneca speaking for many of the Romans when said: "The whole world is my native

land. Men study the development of religion from the polytheism of the Egyptians and Babylonians, through the philosophy of the Greeks, to the monotheism which came to Rome by way of the Hebrews and Christians. To the great Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the Romans added Lucretius, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius. And for centuries scholars have profited from the required study of Latin and from reading Cicero, Virgil, and Horace. Architects and

engineers can study in Roman ruins the accumulated building knowledge of many ancient peoples. For centuries doctors depended upon the medical knowledge of other ancient peoples which Roman doctors had collected. And even today's doctors find it interesting to study what the Romans did for public health.

Modern businessmen might well envy the freedom with which trade could be carried on in the Roman Empire at its height. Today international business is hindered by tariffs, passports, and differences in currency and laws. In Rome's one world, these obstacles did not exist. Finally, craftsmen, scientists, sailors, and farmers can also say: "Thank you, Rome!"

## MAPPING OUT THE MIDDLE AGES

The so-called fall of the Roman Empire marks the end of ancient times and the beginning of the Middle Ages in Europe. The Middle Ages themselves are often sliced in the middle, making (1) the early Middle Ages (the Dark Ages) (c500-c1000) and (2) the later Middle Ages (c1000-c1500). Of course, these time divisions are artificial. No period begins or ends on a given date. History, like a stream, flows on continuously. In fact, it would be difficult to divide the history of China, India, or early America into such historical periods as ancient times and Middle Ages. There is no indication that living conditions in these areas underwent any sharp changes about 500.

However, historians generally agree that Europe's history during the thousand years after the downfall of the Roman Empire was very different from Europe's history before this event. Certain characteristics identify the Middle Ages. Some of these characteristics were products of the past. Others pointed toward the beginnings of modern times.

How can one identify the early Middle Ages? By the disorder, despair, and despair which gave the period the name Dark Ages. By the growth of powerful religions and empires. By the spread of Christianity and Mohammedanism, both of which have much in common with Judaism.<sup>1</sup> By barbarian invasions. By a new arrangement of landholding based on military service, called *feudalism*. When the organized government of collapsed, civilization was dealt a heavy blow. Business without government protection was so risky that the business class practically disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> As we have already seen, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism were in the East at this time.

All but a few former merchants became farmers. Cities decayed and art, literature, and learning were at a standstill. At this time, however, China's culture under the Tangs was flourishing.

When the Christian Church and Mohammedanism became powerful, each cast rays of light and hope into this darkness and despair. In these Dark Ages, too, the torch of Greek and Roman learning was kept burning by the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire at Constantinople. In central Europe another empire, that of Charlemagne, tried to bring order out of chaos by reviving the idea of a united Roman Empire. These are some of the reasons why some say that the so-called Dark Ages were really not so dark! When Charlemagne's empire split up, feudalism and Christianity were the two controlling forces in European life. Of these, feudalism was a force for disunity, and Christianity was the one important force for unity in an age of conflict.

How can one identify the later Middle Ages? By an increase in business and the rise of a powerful business class. By the growth of towns and cities. By the decline of feudalism and the birth of nations. By an increasing interest in culture. By a conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism known as the *Crusades*. By a long-drawn-out struggle between Popes at the head of a religious organization and emperors at the head of a worldly empire.

to authority. This was very different from the ancient Greek spirit of skepticism and intellectual freedom for each individual. Medieval Europe believed almost unanimously that Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Galen had recorded the correct answers to most scientific problems. It was taught and believed by many that bodily comfort here on earth was relatively unimportant. Immortality in heaven, the goal of every good Christian, could be achieved only through the salvation of one's soul. Therefore, since faith was considered to be the road to salvation, most persons were suspicious of scientific experimentation. Democracy and freedom of expression, as we know them, did not exist. People were born into a class from which they could seldom rise. Scholars and workers were regarded as inferior to the warring nobility.

Yet all was not solemn and gloomy during the Middle Ages. The great emphasis on the afterlife did not prevent people from working hard, from playing games, from falling in love, from getting married, or from raising children. In this period of storm and stress, the Christian Church was a haven for all who sought its guidance. In the late Middle Ages, along with the improvement in business, national languages developed, literature flourished, and universities were founded. People began to forsake farm life for city life. Comforts increased. Europe was then on the threshold of modern times.

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Often the word *medieval* (pertaining to the Middle Ages) brings to mind *miracles and martyrs, knights in shining armor fighting for their ladies fair, castles with drawbridges, nobles hunting, and serfs toiling*. But the word *medieval* means much more. The medieval spirit meant faith and obedience to authority. This was very different from the ancient Greek spirit of skepticism and intellectual freedom for each individual. Medieval Europe believed almost unanimously that Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Galen had recorded the correct answers to most scientific problems. It was taught and believed by many that bodily comfort here on earth was relatively unimportant. Immortality in heaven, the goal of every good Christian, could be achieved only through the salvation of one's soul. Therefore, since faith was considered to be the road to salvation, most persons were suspicious of scientific experimentation. Democracy and freedom of expression, as we know them, did not exist. People were born into a class from which they could seldom rise. Scholars and workers were regarded as inferior to the warring nobility.

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# PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

## Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Romulus • a Pyrrhic victory • Punic Wars • Hannibal • Scipio • Cato • Cincinnatus • *divide and rule* • legion • consul • patrician • plebeian • tribune • Laws of the Twelve Tables • the Forum • proconsul • publican • *bread and circuses* • the Gracchi • Marius • Sulla • proscriptions • Julius Caesar • Pompey • "The die is cast" • Cleopatra • Augustus Caesar • Julian calendar • Mark Antony • Praetorian Guard • Nero • Seneca • Colosseum • Mar-

cus Aurelius • Pax Romana • catacombs • Constantine • Byzantium • *Sermon on the Mount* • Bethlehem • Messiah • Golden Rule • heresy • Apostles of Jesus • New Testament • *City of God* • scapegoat technique • Mars • Jupiter • Romance languages • Horace • Virgil • Cicero • Livy • Lucretius • gladiators • Pantheon • the Appian Way • Galen • toga

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. In what ways was nature kinder to Italy than to Greece?
2. What does the legend of Romulus and Remus tell us about the Romans?
3. Trace the steps by which Rome became master of Italy.
4. What were the causes, highlights, and results of the Punic Wars?
5. Mention three adjectives which would apply to Hannibal. Justify each.
6. Discuss: "In the long run, there were no fruits of victory in the Punic Wars."
7. What techniques did the Romans use to build and maintain an empire?
8. In what respects was the Roman Republic (a) like and (b) unlike ours?
9. List the complaints of the plebeians and show how some of their demands were met.
10. Discuss the danger signals for the Roman Republic about 100 B.C.
11. Some Romans felt that the methods used by other Romans to get rich were a threat to the Roman government. Discuss these methods.
12. Explain why rebellious Roman slaves would often fight to the death rather than surrender.
13. Slavery hurt not only the slave, but the free farmer and the city worker. Show how.
14. Discuss the proposals of the Gracchi.
15. In parallel columns point out similarities and differences in the careers of Marius and Sulla.
16. Some might call Julius Caesar a "good" dictator. What arguments might they give? What are the dangers of even the "best" dictator?

17. Prove that Augustus was a "master of psychology."
18. Write a one-sentence comment on each of Augustus's successors mentioned in this chapter.
19. Prove that Pax Romana came to an end with the death of Marcus Aurelius.
20. In parallel columns summarize the economic, social, and political reasons for the decline of the Roman Empire.
21. Discuss the good and bad features of Roman family life.
22. Show that the Romans borrowed many of their religious ideas from others.
23. Why has the life of Jesus been called "the greatest story ever told"?
24. Discuss the role played by the apostle Paul.
25. Prove that it required tremendous courage to become a Christian in the early Roman Empire.
26. Show that the early Christians were made scapegoats.
27. Discuss the reasons for the triumph of Christianity.
28. Point out similarities and differences between our schools and Roman schools.
29. "Practical," "patriotic," and "imitative" are all adjectives which might be applied to Roman literature and art. Prove by examples.
30. How do recreational activities and facilities in the modern world resemble those of ancient Rome?
31. Show that the Romans were interested in public health.
32. What were some of the fine features of

Roman law that deserve our admiration today?

33. What do the ruins at Pompeii reveal about Roman life?

34. Prove that Rome had its housing problems.

35. Point out the strength and weaknesses of Roman commerce, industry, and agriculture.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What are the purposes of the first three paragraphs in this chapter?

2. If you have ever had a Pyrrhic victory, tell about it.

3. Although Carthage looked strong on the surface, it was weak internally. Give evidence.

4. The legend of Cincinnatus might be a good subject for a modern civics lesson. Give reasons why.

5. To what extent was the Romans' attitude toward their conquered peoples one of enlightened selfishness?

6. What was undemocratic about both the Roman Senate and the Roman Assembly?

7. In what ways is our system of tax-collecting superior to that used by the Romans?

8. What might the Roman Republic have done about 100 B.C. to prevent the threatening civil war?

9. What lessons might the story of the Gracchi teach the modern world?

10. What specific information would you have given if Augustus had asked you: "Have I played my part well?"

11. Why might the reasons for the decline of the Roman Empire well be required reading throughout the world today?

12. The more early Christians were persecuted, the more converts Christianity won. Explain. What other examples can you give to prove that persecution frequently defeats itself?

13. To what extent do you agree with (a) Seneca's comment on Roman recreation and (b) Horace's advice, "moderation in all things"?

14. In spite of many errors, Pliny and Galen performed a useful service to science. Discuss.

15. One could almost write a history of Rome by studying the changes in the diet of wealthy Romans. Explain.

16. Roman clothing indicated that the Romans had a kind of caste system. How?

17. To what extent did Roman industry weaken Roman commerce?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map trace the boundaries of the Roman Empire in (a) 265 B.C., (b) 146 B.C., and (c) 100 A.D. In red pencil indicate what modern countries were eventually formed out of the Roman Empire.

2. Write an imaginary dialogue between Cato, who said "Carthage must be destroyed," and the Roman who said, "Carthage must stand."

3. In committee outline the scenes for a play on either Hannibal or Julius Caesar.

4. Write an essay entitled: *If Carthage Had Won*.

5. Write a letter to a movie studio telling why you think the struggle between Rome and Carthage would make a good movie. With the help of fellow students submit sketches of possible dramatic scenes.

6. Suppose you had been publicity man for the Gracchi. How would you have appealed to the

Roman people of their day for supporters?

7. Read *The Last Days of Pompeii* by Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. Report on how this reading has increased your knowledge of Roman housing, recreation, and customs in general.

8. Read and summarize from the New Testament, Matthew, Chapter 5 (the Sermon on the Mount) or Matthew, Chapter 22, Verses 37-40 inclusive.

9. With some classmates write an imaginary dialogue between two Christians about to be thrown to the lions in the Colosseum. One is frightened and the other explains why he need not have fear.

10. Read the article in the *Encyclopedia Americana* on the catacombs of Rome. Tell why a study of the catacombs should be of interest to (a) a history student, (b) an art student.

11. Read either Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* or



Wallace's *Ben Hur*. Report on how the book expresses the spirit of the early Christians.

12. From Stevenson's *Home Book of Bible Quotations* select three which you think are most worth memorizing. Explain why.

13. In *The Theater*, by Cheney, read the chapter

### Summing Up Ancient Rome

1. Select ten important events in Roman history from 509 B.C. to 476 A.D. Arrange these in what you consider the order of their importance, giving reasons for your first three choices.

### Summing Up the Entire Ancient World

1. Define *contemporaneous*. Using the time lines and text information on the ancient peoples, with some classmates make a chart entitled *The Most Important Contemporaneous Personalities and Events of the Ancient World*.

2. On an outline map locate ten important cities of the ancient world. On the back of the map list reasons why each of these cities was important. Indicate how important each is today.

3. On an outline map indicate in different colors the boundaries of the areas ruled by various ancient peoples at their greatest extent. Include dates.

4. In committee, make a chart on which you indi-

cated the most important achievements in the arts and sciences of various ancient peoples.

14. With some classmates make a survey of the structures in your community. Indicate which of them, if any, are based upon Roman models. List reasons why you think so.

2. Select the five illustrations in this chapter which you feel give the best picture of Roman life. In each case tell why.

5. Make sketches for the bulletin board of the type of dress worn by each of the ancient peoples. For additional information, see Evans's *Costume throughout the Ages*.

6. Start a picture collection of important buildings around the world. Indicate what characteristics of each may be traced to the ancient peoples.

7. For a class game, WHO AM I?, prepare ten questions on your favorite personality of the ancient world. Besides the text, see Langer's *An Encyclopedia of World History*.

### Recommended Reading for Unit Two

(Books preceded by an asterisk (\*) are easy to read.)

\*Anderson, *Pugnax the Gladiator*. A story of Roman life in Caesar's time.

Breasted, *Ancient Times*.

Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. A famous story of Roman life in the early days of Christianity.

Coles, *Great Caesar's Ghost*. A story from which much Roman history can be learned.

\*Davis, *A Day in Old Rome*. A vivid picture of Rome in 134 A.D.

Fling, *A Source Book of Greek History*.

\*Foster, *Augustus Caesar's World*. A sharply drawn picture of what was happening throughout the Roman Empire during its golden age.

Guerber, *The Story of the Greeks*.

Hagedorn, *The Book of Courage*. Exciting biographies of such men as Socrates are included.

Halliburton, *Glorious Adventure*. A modern man relives famous events in ancient Greek his-

tory, such as Pheidippides's run from Marathon to Athens.

\*Hopkinson, *Greek Leaders*.

\*Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*. How the Romans worshiped, played, dressed, and learned.

\*Lamb, *Alexander of Macedon*.

Miller, *Greece and the Greeks*. Valuable for oral reports on all phases of ancient Greece.

\*Mills, *Book of the Ancient Greeks and Book of the Ancient Romans*.

\*Quennell and Quennell, *Everyday Things in Classical Greece*.

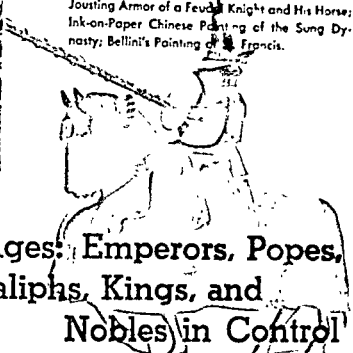
Sienkiewicz, *Quo Vadis; a Tale of the Time of Nero*. A dramatic picture of early Christian martyrs in pagan Rome.

Snedeker, *The Spartan*. The Battle of Thermopylae is highlighted in this story.

\*Tappan, *The Story of the Greek People and The Story of the Roman People*.

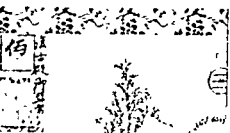


Jousting Armor of a Feudal Knight and His Horse;  
Ink-on-Paper Chinese Painting of the Sung Dy-  
nasty; Bellini's Painting of St. Francis.



## • UNIT THREE

# The Middle Ages: Emperors, Popes, Patriarchs, Caliphs, Kings, and Nobles in Control





## CHAPTER 6 . . . RELIGIONS AND EMPIRES: TWO HIGHLIGHTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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*The Christian Church Strongly Influences Medieval Europe • Moham-  
medanism Spreads in Asia and Africa • Barbarians Help to Break and Make  
Empires • The Byzantine Empire Preserves Greek, Roman, and Oriental  
Culture • Church and State Became Partners in Charlemagne's Empire •  
The Dream of a Roman Empire Lives On in the Holy Roman Empire • Chinese  
Empires Shine During Europe's Dark Ages • Mongol Empires Practice Toler-  
ation and Terror • Some Other Empires of the Middle Ages • Infant  
Kingdoms Arise in the Early Middle Ages*

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### The Christian Church Strongly Influences Medieval Europe

The Roman Catholic Church, seeking to establish an empire of God on earth, in many ways replaced the Roman Empire and retained much of its organization. Rome had been the capital of the Roman Empire. The Eternal City, as it is called, became the capital of the Roman Catholic Church. The head of each parish (smallest church district) was the priest. A higher official, the bishop, supervised many parishes united in a diocese. Superior to the bishop was the archbishop, who corresponded in rank to a Roman provincial governor. The Bishop of Rome in time became recognized as supreme in authority in the Roman Catholic Church. As such he was the religious leader of millions of Christians in many lands. He was called the Pope (Father).

*The Powers of the Pope.* Few emperors of ancient Rome had as much power as did the Pope during the Middle Ages. In Catholic belief, the Pope was God's chief agent on earth. Therefore, they felt, he had even the power to dethrone kings. He was both supreme lawgiver and supreme judge. In addition to bishops and archbishops, he appointed cardinals (advisory officials next in rank to himself). The College of Cardinals was in 1059 given power to elect Popes. Few persons or communities dared to challenge the Pope's power during the Middle Ages. Persons who disobeyed church rules might be *excommunicated*. Excommunication made an individual practically an outcast. He was barred from the Church. He often lost his property, and his friends were forbidden to have anything to do with him. If he died while excommunicated, he was refused a Christian burial. However, the Pope could

remove excommunication, if the sinner were sufficiently repentant. The Pope sometimes placed disobedient communities or countries under the *interdict*. The interdict deprived an entire community of the benefits of Church membership. It was imposed if the Church deemed that either the ruler or some of his subjects were guilty of very defiant behavior. In communities under the Pope's interdict, churches were closed and priests were not allowed to perform church functions.

#### **The Church Takes Over Worldly Duties.**

When the Roman Empire crumbled, there was no strong government to take its place. It was then that the growing Roman Catholic Church became a strong political as well as religious organization. Like a government, the Church had its own laws (*canon law*), courts, and prisons. It provided the only schools in existence. It cared for the sick, the poor, the widows, and the orphans. Over marriage, wills, and contracts the Church had exclusive control. By the thirteenth century, the Church had acquired great wealth. It owned twenty per cent of the lands of Europe. These lands were tilled by tenant farmers who paid rent to the Church. People who owned land paid the Church a tax called the *tithe*. In addition, many devout Christians gave gifts of land and money to the Church.

Just as any state punishes violators of its laws, so the Church punished heretics. A special system of church courts known as the *Inquisition* was established in the thirteenth

century to try heretics. On conviction, some heretics were even turned over to the king's officials to be burned at the stake. Tales of the Inquisition often shock modern persons accustomed to religious toleration. However, religious zeal in the Middle Ages was so intense that heretics were generally regarded as worse than modern traitors. They were considered guilty of treason to God. To reduce the amount of warfare so common in the Middle Ages (page 173), the Church forbade fighting from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week and during certain holy seasons. This was called the *Truce of God*.

A career in the Church had great appeal in the Middle Ages. Practically everyone in western Europe was a Christian. The clergy commanded prestige, power, and privilege. Few except the clergy could read and write. No wonder so many of them became influential teachers, writers, and advisers to kings! Churchmen were exempt from paying taxes to the state and from serving in the army. If they were accused of misdeeds, they had the privilege of trial in church courts rather than in state courts. This privilege was known as *benefit of clergy*.

**The Clergy Administer the Sacraments.** From the cradle to the grave, people looked to the clergy. The clergy conferred the seven *sacraments* (sacred ceremonies). Parents brought their infants to priests for the sacrament of *baptism*. They believed that by bap-

tism the child would be dedicated to a Christian life and cleansed from the original sin of Adam. Throughout their lives good Christians received other sacraments. Finally, just before death, every member of the Church was expected to receive the sacrament<sup>1</sup> of *extreme unction*, believed to give special graces to the dying. Priests and bishops who had daily contacts with the people were called the *secular* (worldly) clergy.

**The Work of Monks and Nuns.** Some members of the clergy lived in secluded, self-sufficient communities called *monasteries*. These men were called *monks* and their way of life *monasticism*. Because their lives were regulated by fixed rules, monks were called the *regular* clergy. (The Latin word for *rule* is *regula*.) Sometimes monks traveled among the people to educate and convert them. Women who, like the monks, gave up a worldly life were called *nuns*. They lived in communities called *nunneries* or *convents*.

Monasticism owes much to St. Benedict (450-543). Vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience were taken by monks in the monastery which he founded at Monte Cassino in southern Italy. Later monasteries also adopted this practice from the *Benedictine Rule*. The vow of poverty demanded that monks give up all their personal property. Their food, clothing, and shelter were provided. Monks were forbidden to marry. The head of the monastery, called the *abbot*, laid down strict rules which all monks were obliged to obey. Monks were instructed when to pray, when to go to bed, and when to be silent. Physically fit monks had to work long hours in the fields or workshops. The *Benedictine Rule* required that would-be monks serve a one-year trial period before their acceptance for lifetime service in the monastery.

Medieval monks and nuns helped to brighten the Dark Ages. Many a monk lost his life trying to bring Christianity to the barbarians. Many devoted their lives to copy-

<sup>1</sup> Other sacraments include penance, the Eucharist, confirmation, matrimony, and the ordination of priests.



Ever since the Middle Ages, monks have helped to add to the dignity of labor.

ing by hand the famous manuscripts of the ancient world. Most of the world's historical knowledge of the Middle Ages comes from the chronicles kept by monks (*Chronicles* were records of day-to-day events). Many a monastery served as a school for boys or as a hotel for tired travelers. Monks and nuns were often the only doctors and nurses. Slavery had caused many persons to lose their respect for labor. By the example of their own hard manual labor, monks helped to restore this respect. Fine work in agriculture, cattle breeding, and industry during the Middle Ages was performed by monks.

**The Work of Medieval Friars.** "As ye go, preach, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand.' Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give." So said Jesus to his



Painting of a Moslem Praying at a Mosque  
in India.

disciples. Many religious persons in the Middle Ages felt that these words were addressed to them personally. They looked upon the increasing wealth of the Church as a danger to true religion. They felt that it was not enough merely to worship on holy days. They wanted to take an active part in combating the heresies which were springing up in the Church. They believed that the Christian faith could better be spread by mingling with the people than by living isolated in monasteries. These devout men became mendicant friars (begging brothers). One of the noblest figures of the Middle Ages was the founder of the Franciscan Order of mendicant friars, Francis of Assisi (1182-1226).

St. Francis, as he was later called, had had a gay time in his youth. Then, during a long sickness, he began to think about his wasted years. Images of the hungry, the sick, and the sorrowful whom he had seen disturbed his thoughts. Once well, he determined to turn over a new leaf. He gave up his wealth, dressed himself in rags, and went among the

poor and sick. He washed the sores of lepers. Everywhere he preached his faith. He was stoned, hissed, and beaten. But Francis loved all God's creatures so well that nothing stopped him. Soon all Europe was listening to his followers, the Franciscan Friars. Living on charity, walking barefoot, clad in ragged robes bound at the waist by a rope, they intensified religious zeal. After Francis died, rich men bestowed great wealth on the Franciscan Order. In his honor magnificent churches and monasteries were built. Yet Francis had urged his followers to live always "a most holy life of poverty." Fervent followers even today remember his words.

Another group of mendicant friars were the Dominicans, followers of Dominic (1170-1221). Dominic trained his *Preaching Friars* to become experts in answering criticisms of church doctrine that heretics might make. Also, to combat heresy, the Dominicans conducted the Inquisition. Unlike the Franciscans, the Dominicans made their strongest appeal to the educated and wealthy. Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans established schools, became missionaries, and eventually acquired great wealth. Many mendicant friars became famous medieval scholars.

**The Importance of the Church in the Middle Ages.** Never before and never since has any organization wielded such widespread influence as did the medieval Church. The Church protected the weak and the helpless. It Christianized barbarians. It preserved the culture of the ancients. It tried to lessen the horrors of war. In a period of violence it stressed kindness and justice. In a period of privilege, anyone who professed and practiced the Christian faith was eligible to become an important church official. The Church gave religious unity to Europe where political unity had disappeared.

## Mohammedanism Spreads in Asia and Africa

From the *minarets* (towers) of their *mosques* (temples) church criers call faithful

Mohammedans to prayer five times every day. Religious Mohammedans, worshippers in one of the world's great monotheistic religions, no matter where they are, answer this call. They kneel, turn their faces toward the holy city of Mecca, and bow their heads to the ground. Solemnly each repeats: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." For one month each year, from sunrise to sunset, the faithful fast. One day each week, they worship in the mosque. Once in a lifetime, at least, those who are able must visit the city of Mecca.

Within the most sacred precincts of sacred Mecca is an enclosure called the *Kaaba*. Fixed in the wall of the Kaaba is an ancient black stone, probably a meteorite, the holiest of Mohammedan objects. After kissing the black stone, pilgrims to Mecca circle the Kaaba seven times. This is but part of an elaborate ritual. Pilgrims who complete this ritual wear a green ribbon around their native caps. The green symbolizes the garden-like heaven which is believed to be the reward of pilgrims to Mecca. But Mecca is a city for Moslems only. Unbelievers who trespass in its sacred precincts are severely punished. Mohammedans picture their heaven as a place where Allah reigns and peace prevails. The Mohammedan heaven is a man's heaven, where women are mainly servants. It is believed that there males wine and dine to their hearts' content without ever feeling any ill effects. But hell is the fate of the sinner who doubts Allah, refuses charity to the poor, or leads a dishonorable life. Mohammedans picture such sinners in hell as perpetually wrapped in a robe of fire, drinking loathsome liquids, scalding hot. It is easy to understand what terrible punishment this would seem to a thirsty camel driver on the Arabian Desert.

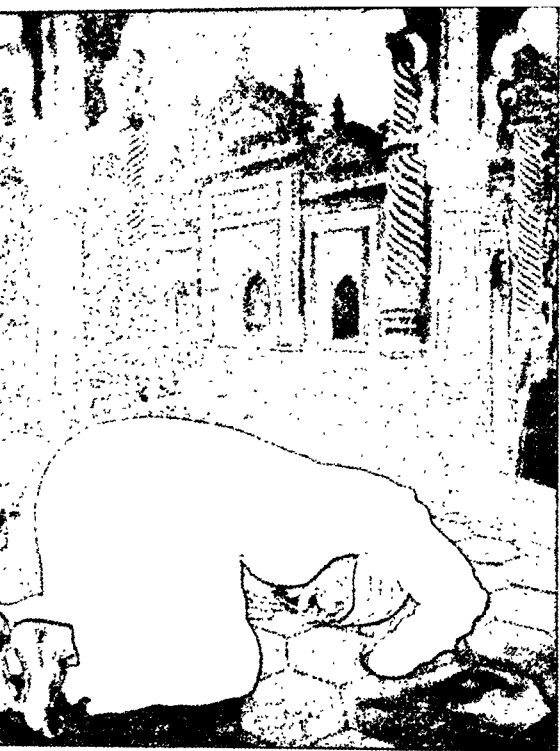
How did Mohammedanism get its start? What are its doctrines? How has its culture influenced the world? Why should we want answers to these questions? One out of every ten persons in the world today is a Mohammedan. The sacred book of the Mohammed-

dans, the *Koran*, is read daily in every Mohammedan school and mosque. Two hundred million Mohammedans worship in an area which extends from Morocco, North Africa, in the west to the Philippine Islands in the east. Daily Mohammedanism makes converts throughout Africa.

**The Birthplace of Mohammedanism.** Like Judaism and Christianity, Mohammedanism was born to the east of the Mediterranean. For centuries various tribes had wandered about the Arabian Desert making a living as shepherds and herdsmen. Other Arabs, along the fertile western and southern coasts of the Arabian peninsula, led the more civilized life of farmers and traders. Before the seventh century A.D. the Arabs (also called *Saracens*) had never had a centralized government. The poorer nomadic tribes were constantly making hit-and-run raids on the more prosperous coastal tribes. Feuds often caused one *sheik* (tribal chief) to lead his tribe against others. Some tribes had been influenced by Judaism, others, by Christianity. Each had its own primitive tribal gods. However, Mecca was a holy city to them all. They agreed to cease fighting for four months each year. During this period they headed for Mecca, the Kaaba, and the black stone. Mohammed built upon such religious foundations as these to give the world Mohammedanism.

**Mohammed: the Man and His Movement (c570-632).** Nearly fourteen centuries ago, under the starry Arabian sky, an orphan shepherd boy used to while away the lonely hours reflecting about God. Grown to manhood, this youth, Mohammed, became a camel driver and guide to caravans crossing the desert. On his return to Mecca from a business trip, he married his employer, a rich widow. As Mohammed approached middle age, he became even more religious than he had been. He would go off alone to the desert and return to tell of the visions he had seen. To his wife and friends he said that the angel Gabriel had come to him with God's message. He was to organize a new religion,





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based upon the idea that there was only one God, Allah, and that Mohammed was his prophet. Wrapping himself in a blanket, Mohammed would often go into a trance in order to receive more of God's messages. As messages flowed from the lips of Mohammed, his disciples would jot them down. Shortly after Mohammed's death, these words were collected in the Koran.

Like other sacred books, the Koran contains statements of religious belief and rules for the conduct of believers. Mohammed had called his religion *Islam*, meaning *submission to God*. Believers in Islam are called either Mohammedans or Moslems. In many ways Islam resembles Judaism and Christianity. Each worships one God. Each has its Sabbath (the Christians', Sunday; the Jews', Saturday; and the Moslems', Friday). Each has its symbol (the Christians', the cross; the Jews', the star of David; and the Moslems', the crescent). Mohammed claimed to be the last and greatest of God's messengers. Yet he considered Abraham, Moses, and Jesus also great religious prophets. The Koran, like the Bible, tells of the Creation, the Flood, and Judgment Day.

Islam, like other religions, stresses charity, hospitality, kindness to widows, orphans, and the sick, and respect for one's parents. Furthermore, Islam condemns gambling, drunkenness, filthiness, and the practice of killing off female infants. Like the Hebrews, Moslems may not eat pork. Islam has its Golden Rule, too: "Let no man treat his neighbor as he himself would dislike to be treated." Moslems proudly proclaim that there are no class distinctions among Moslems. In spite of the prayers, fasting, charity, and pilgrimages required of those faithful to Allah, Islam is a simple faith. In Moslem mosques there are no altars, images, or priests. Above all, Mohammed urged his followers to spread their faith, even by the sword if necessary. "The presence of one of you in line of battle is better than all sorts of extra prayers," he said.

**Islam Becomes a Religious Empire.** Mohammed's ideas at first alarmed many people

of Mecca. Businessmen were afraid that the Arabian tribes would stop coming to Mecca to worship the idols. Thus business would suffer. Priests of primitive tribes were also hostile because Mohammed was slowly winning converts away from them. Some of Mohammed's neighbors thought that he was crazy. His only disciples in the beginning were his family and some poor people. On hearing of plots against his life, he fled to the nearby town of Medina. Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 is called the *Hejira*. To Moslems the Hejira is so important that their calendar reckons time from it. To them 622 is the year 1.

Disunity among the tribes at Medina enabled Mohammed to make himself ruler of the city. There he made many converts. Those who resisted conversion lost their property, their freedom, or even their lives. As ruler of Medina, Mohammed ordered his followers to plunder the caravans of Mecca's merchants. These traders, to the Moslems, were idol-worshipping heretics. In 630, Mohammed's army conquered Mecca. Before Mohammed's death, two years later, practically all Arabia had been converted to Islam. Within one hundred years, the crescent of the conquering Arabs was waving over an empire larger than that of Rome.

From the Eastern Roman Empire at Byzantium, the Arabs seized Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. When they demanded the surrender of Persia, the Persian emperor was astounded. He asked how such a poverty-stricken and ignorant people dared to insult him thus. Undisturbed, the Moslem envoy replied: "All that you say was once true. . . . The Arabs buried their infant daughters alive; they . . . drank warm blood. All this is true no longer. God in his mercy has sent us a holy prophet who has given us a sacred volume which teaches us the only true faith." And Persia also fell to the Moslems.

When North Africa was conquered and converted, the nomadic tribes of this area swept on with the Arabs to conquer Spain. Across the Pyrenees Mountains and into





Leaf from the Manuscript of Dioscorides, a Greek Physician Who Accompanied the Roman Armies. It shows a recipe for cough medicine and a doctor preparing it. The Moslems had such high regard for his great knowledge that they preserved his work in their medical textbooks.

growth of Islam's empire. The Arab tribes of the arid desert looked enviously at the rich farm lands and wealthy cities of neighboring states. Non-Moslems who paid tribute were usually tolerated. They were permitted to retain their own schools, churches, languages, and sometimes even their own local governments. Millions eagerly accepted conversion because it meant that they no longer had to pay tribute. Furthermore, it made them eligible to hold government jobs. If they were slaves or serfs, they might thus win their freedom. In India, many Hindus and Buddhists were converted by force. But some were glad to be converted. Since Mohammedanism recognizes the equality of man instead of a caste system, it appealed to Hindus who were born in a low caste.

**Rival Caliphs Increase Disunity.** Various parts of the Moslems' empire eventually regarded themselves as independent nations. The successors of Mohammed had called themselves *caliphs*. Like Mohammed, they were absolute political as well as religious rulers. Shortly after Mohammed's death, the

Moslem capital was shifted from Medina to Damascus, and later to Baghdad. Civil wars between rival caliphs explain these shifts. Soon there were three capitals, the caliph of each claiming to be the true successor to Mohammed. One was at Baghdad on the Tigris River, another at Cordova in Spain, and the third at Cairo in Egypt. Eventually there was only spiritual cement, the Mohammedan faith, holding the empire together.

**Moslems Help to Brighten the Dark Ages.** In the Middle Ages, London and Paris were dirty and dismal, but Cordova and Baghdad sparkled with glamor. Danger lurked at night in the dark and muddy streets of European cities, but the paved avenues of Cordova glittered with thousands of lamps. Medieval European castles were drafty and forbidding at a time when luxurious Moslem palaces were comfortable and inviting. When Europeans paid little attention to personal cleanliness, Moslems were bathing, shaving, and changing their underwear daily. When even rich Europeans were illiterate, there were many schools for poor Moslems. When European doctors were attempting magic cures, Moslem medicine was surprisingly modern. Like that of Rome, this magnificent Arabic civilization had been built upon foundations laid by many ancient peoples. Tolerant caliphs invited learned men of many lands and religions to study at Moslem universities and libraries. In these centuries Moslem culture threw a powerful beam of light into the darkness of western Europe.

Many a Greek, Persian, Egyptian, and Jewish scholar was writing his manuscripts in Arabic. Among these was the outstanding Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages, Moses Maimonides (1135-1204). Physician to Sultan Saladin of the Middle East, talented Maimonides was also a jeweler, philosopher, and rabbi. His interpretations of Hebrew literature had great influence on the Christian philosophers of the Middle Ages.

**Women Held Inferior.** Moslem women seldom appeared in public, and then were heavily veiled. In the home they lived in

separate quarters, the harem. Rarely did they receive more than an elementary education. Rich Mohammedans often married more than the four wives permitted them by the Koran. But most could afford only one. Even in this man's world, some women asserted themselves. One Moslem poetess of the tenth century maintained: "The most shameful thing in the world is ignorance, and, if ignorance were a woman's passport to paradise, I would far rather that the Creator sent me to hell."

**The Influence of Moslem Literature and Language.** Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp, Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves! Who hasn't read about these characters in the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Arabian Nights*)? Whether these fascinating tales had their origin in China, India, or Persia, they all have the Arabian touch. The Oriental splendor of the Baghdad of Caliph Harun al-Rashid (765-807) is lavishly pictured in these stories.

The most famous poet of the Arab Empire, who was also an astronomer and mathematician, was Omar Khayyám (died 1123). Given an opportunity to amass great wealth, he preferred "to amass the riches of learning." "Enjoy life now," he gently advised his readers. But he also expressed man's hope for a happier world when he wrote:

"Ah Love! Could you and I with Him conspire  
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,  
Would not we shatter it to bits — and then  
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!"

As the turbaned horsemen of the Arabian Desert conquered vast areas, their language, Arabic, was bound to influence other languages. In Arabic the prefix "al" means "the." Many English words beginning with "al" are of Arabic origin, for example: *algebra* and *alcohol*. The words *zero*, *sofa*, and *candy*, among many others, come to us from the Arabs. The works of many Greek philosophers and scientists came to western Europe by way of Arabic translations. For example, Averroes in the twelfth century rediscovered and translated Aristotle and Ptolemy.

**Spreaders of Scientific Knowledge.** In the Moslem world a doctor diagnosed cancer

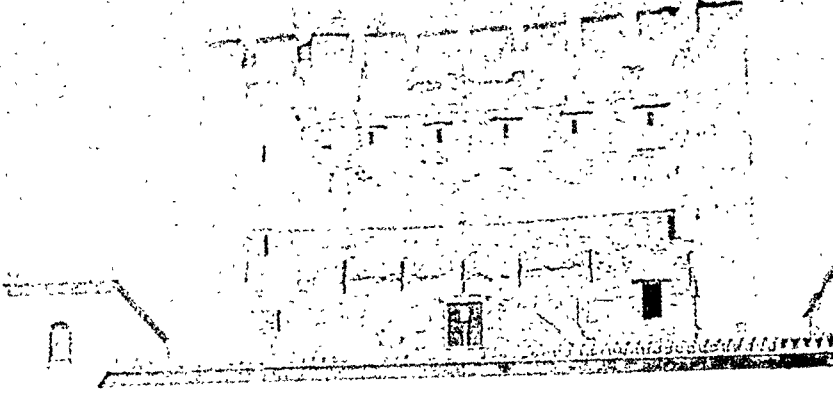


Cordova, Spain, still shows Moslem architectural influence. What influence?

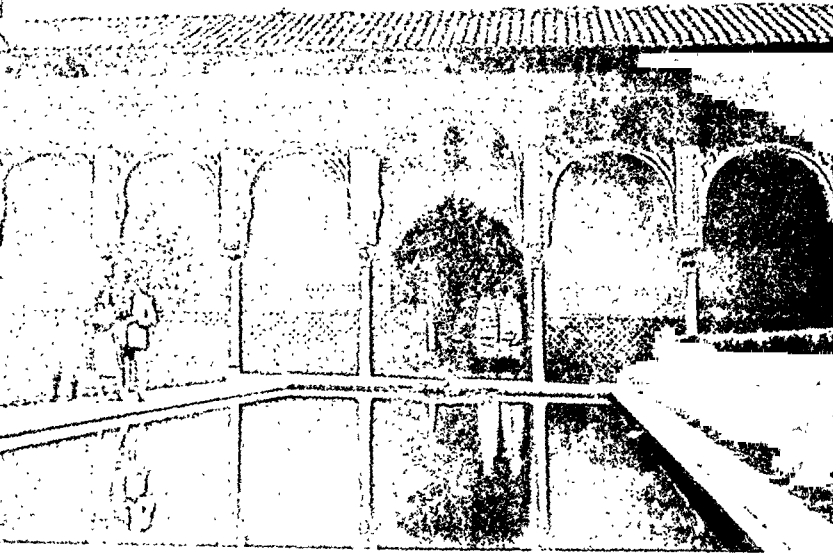
of the stomach. Progress was made in eye surgery. There were pharmacies in many Moslem cities. Government hospitals treated thousands. One doctor, Avicenna (c1000), wrote a medical textbook which was used by Europeans and Asiatics for centuries. He introduced Europe to the medical knowledge of Hippocrates and Galen. Frequently Avicenna refused fees from patients.

Moslem experimenters paved the way for the science of chemistry by practicing the false science of alchemy. Through alchemy it was hoped that a substance would be found which would enable men to live forever. Another dream of the alchemists was to find a way whereby cheap metals, such as lead, could be turned into gold. However, in these experiments the Arabs discovered how to make alcohol, nitric acid, and other chemical compounds. The Arabs are also credited with having imported from India the so-called Arabic numerals and the zero and from China, a knowledge of the compass.

**Art and Architecture:** Elaborate, Yet Delicate. An artist has said that Arabic ornamentation runs away with Arabic architecture. The interiors of many Moslem buildings are like a dazzling fairyland. Intricate designs in mosaics and marble add color to every inch of space. Since the Koran forbids



The Reflecting Pool in the Alhambra. Find out how the interior of this palace differs from its exterior.



human or animal images, Moslem artists and craftsmen worked out elaborate plant or geometric patterns, known as *arabesques*.

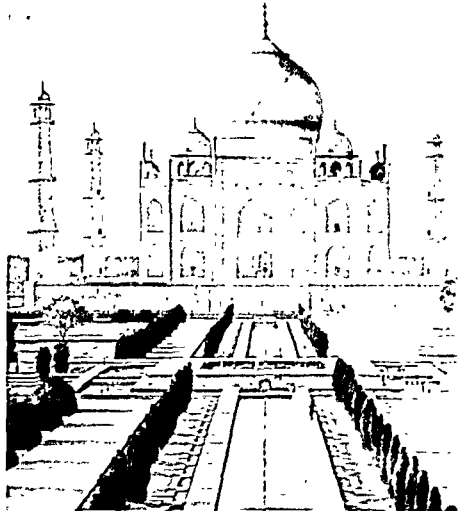
Arab architects borrowed from ancient peoples such architectural devices as the column, the arch, the dome, and the vaulted roof. Some or all of these appear, along with minarets, in the mosques of Cairo, Baghdad, and Cordova. The most famous of Moslem palaces is the Alhambra at Granada, Spain, which was built by the Moors (Spanish Moslems). This structure, with its many open courts and colonnades, is gigantic. Yet its delicate decorations are like the work of a master jeweler. Many of these Moslem architectural ideas reached Latin America and the United States through the Spaniards. As the Moslems conquered India, many Buddhist temples and Brahman monasteries were turned into Moslem mosques. The most fa-

mous Indian building, the *Taj Mahal* (meaning *Gem of Buildings*), is a blending of Hindu and Moslem art.

**Handicrafts, Trade, and Farming Thrive.** Cordovan and Moroccan leather, the swords and metalwork of Toledo and Damascus, the rugs and perfumes of Baghdad, and the paper of Samarkand were in demand throughout the known world. Moslem weavers made muslin, mohair, gauze, and damask (all Arabic words). Paper was manufactured in hundreds of Moslem mills. To Moslem lands came Chinese silks and porcelains, Indian gems and drugs, Malayan spices and fine woods, and Russian furs and slaves. Moslem farmers rotated crops, irrigated fields, and made use of fertilizer. They bred fine cattle and the best horses in the world.

**Some Moslem Problems Since the Middle Ages.** Millions of Moslems today live a

The Taj Mahal: a Beautiful Poem in Marble. Suggest other appropriate titles for this famous Indian memorial.



life of poverty, disease, and illiteracy. What explains this decline in Moslem progress? The Moslems had conquered a huge empire, but they colonized very little of it. Beginning in the eleventh century, much of the Arab world was successively conquered by the less civilized Seljuk and Ottoman Turks. Moslem rulers became increasingly despotic. Many were downright incompetent. Civil wars and tribal feuds disrupted Moslem unity. Foreign invasions and foreign control through the centuries have done much to sap the strength of the Moslem world.

### Barbarians Help to Break and Make Empires

When the Roman Empire crumbled, a virtual vacuum was created. Barbarians who had been gradually seeping into the empire

for centuries now rushed in with torrential force. Settling in its broken fragments, these barbarians mingled with the native populations. Their descendants helped to form great empires as well as infant nations such as England and France. It was these empires and nations which inherited the civilizations of Greece and Rome and passed them on to us. It was barbarian Germans, converted to Christianity, who stopped the further expansion of the Moslem Empire at the battle of Tours.

**Who These Barbarians Were.** Beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, wandering in a wide arc across central Europe from the North Sea to the Black Sea, were many German tribes speaking languages of Indo-European origin. As a group these Germans are also called *Teutons* or *Goths*. Fierce-eyed, reddish haired, huge-bodied, and hard-



drinking, these barbarians engaged in frequent warfare. Constantly pressuring the Germans were a beady-eyed, black-haired, small-bodied, ferocious tribe of non-German barbarians called *Huns*. The Huns were nomadic horsemen who had been driven out of Asia by the Han dynasty of China (page 59). Sandwiched in between the Huns on the east and the Germans on the west, in eastern Europe, lived other tribes of barbarians called *Slavs*. Actually we know little about any of these early barbarians. The unflattering portraits we do have of the Huns come to us from Roman writers, who had no reason to love their enemies.

The German public assemblies were a crude form of democracy. All free men except cowards participated in them. There were no court trials. If the hand of an accused person healed quickly after holding a fiery hot stone, the gods were believed to be upholding his innocence. This was known as *trial by ordeal*. Sometimes the accused and the accuser were permitted to fight it out in *trial by combat*. It was believed that the gods would make sure that right would triumph.

Death held no horror for the brave German warrior. He believed that an eternal life of wining and dining awaited him in *Valhalla*, the German warrior's heaven. The names of some of the German gods come down to us in the names of four days of our week: Tuesday named after *Tiu*, Wednesday after *Woden*, Thursday after *Thor*, and Friday after *Frigg*. Like most primitives, the German barbarians believed in witches, practiced divination, and sacrificed animals and even human beings. However, by the fourth century, many Germans had freed themselves from many of these superstitions by becoming Christians.

**Why German Tribes Invaded Rome.** From about 100 B.C. until about 400 A.D., Roman legions had been able to ward off attacks of German barbarians. Sometimes Roman gold was used to buy off barbarian chiefs. Some German barbarian tribes were hired by the Romans to fight other German bar-

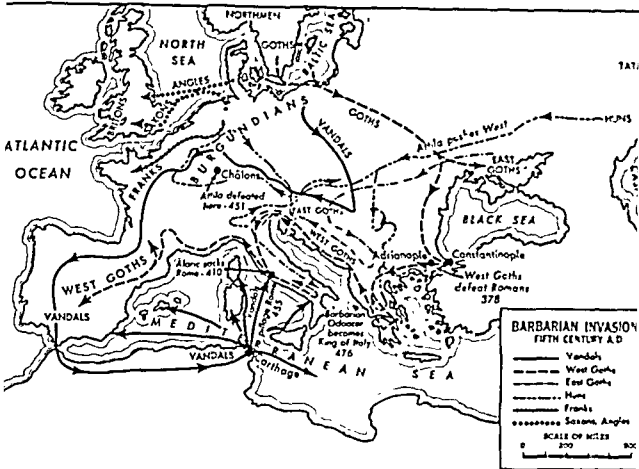
barian tribes. Some Roman emperors built walls and forts to stem the tide of German invasion. Yet in time the empire even invited the Germans to come in to become farmers or Roman soldiers. Some barbarians became government officials. Some even married Roman women.

If German immigration was as welcome as it would thus seem, why do historians speak of German *invasions*?<sup>2</sup> Between 378 and 476 a series of smashing attacks by German barbarians struck Rome. These invasions shattered the already crumbling Roman Empire. Why should the Germans, who were gradually being admitted to the Roman Empire anyway, suddenly use violence? They were terrified. Sweeping down upon them from the east were the barbarian Huns, clad in the skins of wild rats and practically living on horseback. They drove out the Germans, who, fleeing, sought refuge in the Roman Empire. Desire for adventure, a warlike spirit, and greed for land and plunder also explain the German invasions.

**The Role of the Barbarians in Shattering the Roman Empire.** Late in the fourth century, two hundred thousand Visigoths (West Goths) crossed the Danube River into the Roman Empire. Some in desperation even swam across. The Roman emperor had promised them a haven from the Huns if they became Roman soldiers. Soon, however, some Roman officials were selling to the immigrants vile foods at high prices. They even sold some children of the barbarians into slavery. The embittered barbarians rebelled. At the Battle of Adrianople in 378, they defeated the Romans. In doing so, the Visigoths welcomed the help of Huns, from whom they had previously fled.

Adrianople taught other barbarians that the Romans could be beaten. Henceforth, more and more barbarians were to pour into the empire. Mighty Rome itself fell to the Visigoths in 410. Their leader, Alaric, had

<sup>2</sup> Some say that it would be more fair to speak of German migrations rather than of German invasions.



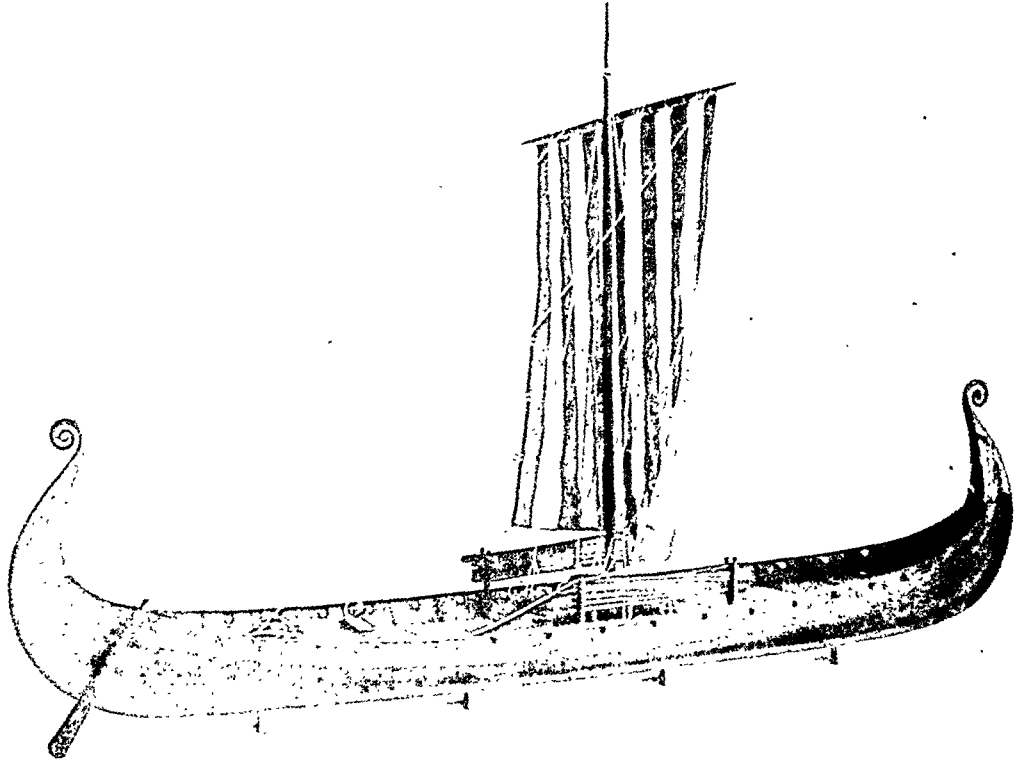
been warned that the entire city would resist invasion. He replied: "The thicker the hay, the easier to mow!" Alaric permitted his soldiers to plunder Rome. But, having become a Christian, he warned against unnecessary violence and attacks on churches. From Rome the Visigoths moved on to southern France and Spain. Their kingdom in Spain lasted until it was conquered by the Arabs in 711.

Other German tribes also helped to shatter the Roman Empire. But they fought among themselves as well. The Vandals, for example, fought the Visigoths in Spain, established a kingdom in North Africa, and pillaged Rome in 455. Now the Romans, who had enslaved others for centuries, found thousands of their own people being carried off to Africa as slaves! We inherit our word *candal* (a willfully destructive person) from these barbarians. However, the Vandals were probably no more destructive than others in this

period. In fact, many North Africans welcomed the Vandals as liberators from oppressive Roman governors, landlords, and moneylenders!

Many Frenchmen and Englishmen today have the blood of German barbarians in their veins. For the Burgundians and Franks settled in what is now France. And Jutes, Angles, and Saxons invaded England in the fifth century and eventually intermarried with the Celtic Britons.

Meanwhile, the Huns under Attila had built an empire which stretched from central Asia to the Rhine River. Attila's armies had plundered and destroyed many cities on a drive to take Constantinople. The Eastern emperor at Constantinople fearfully paid Attila tribute. Attila also attacked the Roman Empire in the West. At Châlons (today part of France), Attila's Huns were stopped in 451 by an army of Romans and German barbarians. Next Attila marched into northern



Model of a Viking Ship of the Eighth Century A.D. In ships like these, the Vikings ventured as far as the Black and Caspian sea areas and even across the Atlantic. Frail as they appear, such ships had their advantages for raiding purposes. What advantages?

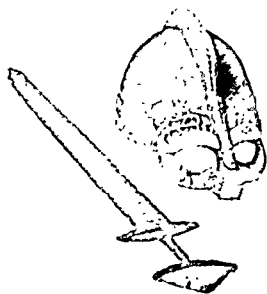
Italy. At the request of Pope Leo I, however, he spared Rome. His disease-ridden and famine-stricken army lost their leader shortly after. And history records little more about the Huns as a group. Probably many of them intermarried with various European peoples.

In 476, Odoacer, a German barbarian general, dethroned the last Roman emperor and made himself king of Italy. The date 476 usually signifies the formal ending of the Roman Empire in the West and a convenient breaking point between ancient and medieval times. Even after 476, however, ancient Italy breathed a last gasp of glory. About 500, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (East Goths) murdered Odoacer and took over Italy. As ruler, Theodoric was quite tolerant. Said he: "We cannot enforce religion, for no one is obliged to believe anything in spite of himself." Theodoric encouraged the Goths and Romans to intermarry, and he respected Roman customs. Poor and rich, Roman and

Goth, were treated with equal justice. Theodoric's policies bore fruit. Prosperity returned. Population increased. Numerous schools and churches were built. When Theodoric himself died in 526, the Eastern emperor at Constantinople controlled Italy for a short time. But in 568, another German tribe, the Lombards, invaded northern Italy (Lombardy today).

**Where the Northmen Spread.** Perhaps none of the European or Asiatic barbarian invaders have descendants living in so many different parts of the world as the Northmen. In the ninth and tenth centuries, these half-civilized Germanic tribes left their homeland, Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, and Denmark of today), and seemed to go practically everywhere. In Russia they carved out a kingdom. In England a tribe of Northmen called Danes made their leader king. In Ireland they founded many towns, including Dublin. In France, where they were called

**Normans**, they conquered what is now Normandy. In southern Italy they established a kingdom which included the island of Sicily. In Finland Northmen from Sweden held sway for seven centuries. These sea-roving Northmen, called **Vikings**, fearlessly sailed far into the Atlantic Ocean. Their boats were long and shallow with beaked prows. They founded colonies in Iceland and Greenland. Barren Greenland was so called to make it sound attractive to colonists! About the year 1000—five centuries before Columbus—under their leader Leif Ericsson, they reached the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. But they did not colonize there.



Bronze Helmet with Gilded Plates Found in a Viking Boat Grave of the Late Seventh Century. Sword with Beaten Threads of Silver on the Hilt Found in a Boat Grave of the Ninth Century.

**The Northmen Adapt Themselves Quickly.** Worshipers all over Europe used to pray fervently "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us!" No wonder! For these pagans gloried in brutal warfare, killing even women and children. They held back cultural progress by plundering monasteries and schools.

Yet the Northmen were not only pirates

and raiders, but traders, explorers, and colonists as well. They spread their knowledge of navigation everywhere. Their swords, shields, and armor were finely made. They also produced an original literature (page 201). Their prose stories, *sagas*, describe their history, their geography, and their way of life. Their poems, *eddas*, are legends of gods and heroes, of Viking voyages, and of struggles with sea monsters. The adaptable Northmen were quick to learn the ways of civilization, and they became devout Christians. They intermarried with native populations and absorbed native cultures. They built schools and churches. The governments they set up were efficiently run. Norway, Denmark, and Sweden today are among the most progressive countries in the world.

## The Byzantine Empire Preserves Greek, Roman, and Oriental Culture

In 523, the man who became the greatest of the Eastern emperors at Constantinople—Justinian—married a fifteen-year-old girl. His beautiful and brilliant bride, Theodora, had, in spite of her youth, been a sophisticated dancer and actress. Soon she became her husband's most trusted counselor. During a revolution, when Justinian was planning to flee, she stood firm, declaring: "Now every man must die once, and for a king death is better than dethronement and exile." Perhaps Theodora was as responsible as Justinian for his important place in history.

Another name for the Eastern Roman Empire at Constantinople is the *Byzantine Empire*. This empire was one of the great empires of the Middle Ages. It did not decline and fall about 500 as did the Western Roman Empire. Instead, its brilliant civilization sparkled when that of the West was dull. Long after the barbarians had established kingdoms in western Europe, the Eastern emperor kept up the idea of a Roman Empire.

**Justinian Tries to Revive the Old Roman Empire.** Emperor Justinian (c483-527)





Emperor Justinian, some of his advisers, and an archbishop. "Live honorably" and "injure no other man" were among the principles of Justinian's Code.

tried to reunite his Byzantine Empire and the Western Roman Empire. To do so, he promoted territorial expansion, one church, and a uniform code of laws. In Africa his army defeated the Vandals and in Italy, the Ostrogoths. From the Visigoths southern Spain was seized. Justinian's seeming success in restoring the old Roman Empire did not last long, however. In time, the Lombards pushed the Byzantine conquerors out of Italy. Beginning in the seventh century, the Arabs tore Syria, Egypt, and most of Asia Minor from Justinian's successors. Eventually all of North Africa and Spain became Moslem provinces (page 146). Slavic immigrants took possession of the Balkans. Thereafter, the Byzantine Empire tended to become less Roman and more Greek. However, Constantinople itself held out against all invaders until it fell in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks. The Turks still rule it.

Justinian took to himself the powers of a Pope as well as those of emperor. He issued

orders to the patriarch (highest ranking bishop) at Constantinople. He even tried to dictate to the Bishop at Rome. To spread Christianity, he built magnificent churches and sent missionaries into Russia, Arabia, and Africa. However, Justinian widened the gap between the Church at Rome and the Church at Constantinople. The Bishop of Rome was annoyed at Justinian's dictatorial policies. He defiantly declared that he was independent of any emperor. Later, disputes over religious doctrines caused the Eastern and Roman Churches to move still farther apart. In 1054, the Christian Church was split in two. Constantinople became the headquarters of the Greek Orthodox Church. Millions of persons in the countries of southeastern Europe and Russia today worship in this faith. Many of these countries have their own patriarchs and independent church organizations. Yet, some Eastern churches retained their ties to Rome, which remained the home of the Roman Catholic Church.



Interior of the Church of St. Sophia, Showing the Dome, Which Has Been Widely Imitated. Find out what changes the Moslems have made in this church. Discuss.

Justinian assigned experts to study all Roman laws and court decisions. These lawyers reduced the thousands of confusing and contradictory laws to a simple, uniform code for the entire empire. Justinian's Code is the backbone of the legal systems of most countries in Europe, of many Latin-American countries, and even of our own state of Louisiana.

**Life and Learning in the Byzantine Dictatorship.** Byzantine emperors dictated working conditions as well as religious practices. They even determined what business an individual might enter. They increased their personal wealth by taking over prosperous businesses, such as mining. Special monopolies were granted to privileged merchants

and nobles. In short, Byzantine emperors had the total control so typical of many Oriental empires.

For centuries after Justinian's death, the eyes of the world were on picturesque Constantinople, the seat of the Byzantine government. This neck of land, which is like a bridge between Europe and Asia, specialized in manufacturing luxury items, such as brocaded silks, stained glass, and perfumes. Byzantine merchants exchanged such products for the gems and spices of Arabia and the Far East, and for the fur, slaves, caviar, and grain of Russia. Byzantine ships carried much of the world's trade until the eleventh century.

Byzantine civilization was a kind of marriage between the Oriental and the Greek ways of life. Some Byzantines sponsored cruel gladiatorial contests where beasts vied with human beings. Many watched chariot-racing at the Hippodrome, a huge arena. Many lived gay and even immoral lives. Others contributed their wealth to building schools, museums, and theaters. Parks, playgrounds, hospitals, and public baths were numerous. Like those at Cordova and Baghdad, the streets of Constantinople were paved and were lighted at night. Discussions on science, philosophy, and religion and the reading of Greek classics occupied many. Yet, few Byzantines contributed anything original.

The Byzantines excelled in church architecture. Outside, their churches seemed fairly plain. Inside they sparkled. The Church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople is a gigantic, domed structure supported by many-colored walls and columns of marble. Through its numerous windows the sun streams in to dance upon the vividly colored tiles and mosaics. Delighted with it, Justinian exclaimed: "Glory to God who has found me worthy to complete so great a work and to excel thee, O Solomon!" Many later European church architects copied features from it. Many European craftsmen likewise copied the colorfully illustrated (*illuminated*) manuscripts, jeweled book covers, colored enamels, ivory



After holding out for centuries against attacks by barbarians, the Byzantine Empire finally falls when the Turks capture Constantinople in 1453.

carving, and ornate jewelry produced in Constantinople.

For a thousand years, until 1453, the Byzantine Empire prevented Arabs and Turks from overrunning Europe. It helped to keep commerce between East and West alive. The religion and many of the customs practiced in Russia and much of southeastern Europe today may be traced to the Byzantine Empire. It helped Europe out of the Dark Ages by combining Oriental, Greek, and Roman culture, seasoning the mixture with Christianity, and passing it on to the West.

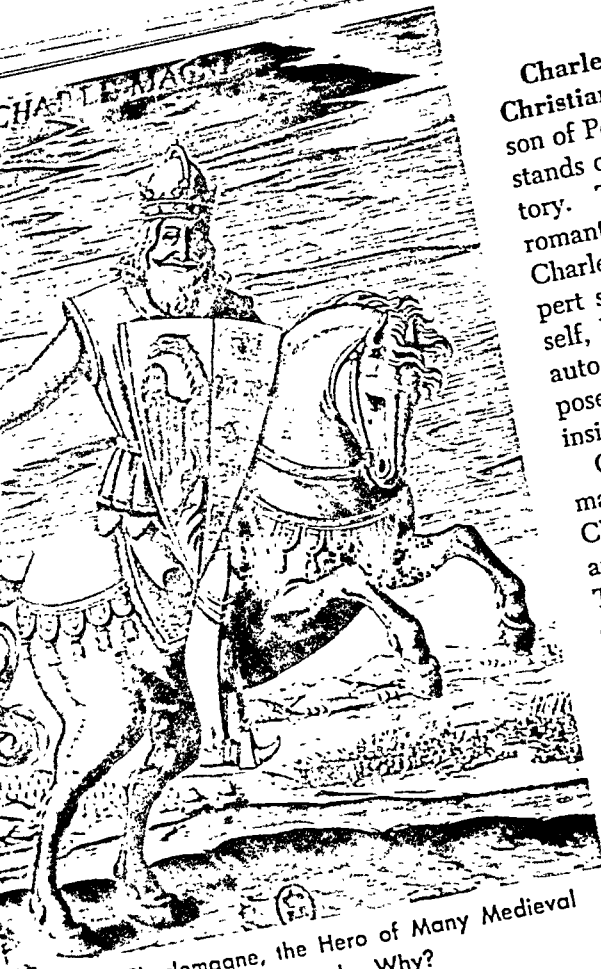
## Church and State Become Partners in Charlemagne's Empire

**Clovis Becomes a Christian.** One day in 496, a battle was in progress between the

Franks and another German barbarian tribe. Clovis, king of the Franks, was desperate. His army was about to retreat. Clovis was a pagan, his queen, a Christian. In this crisis he promised to become a Christian if victory were granted him. Clovis won, and he and his men became Christians. This conversion was to have tremendous influence on the history of Europe. It gave the Popes the support of the most powerful of the German tribes. It gave the Frankish rulers the support of the Pope and the loyalty of their Christian subjects.

**Charles Martel Defends Christianity.** Clovis fashioned a powerful kingdom in Gaul. But most of his descendants were weaklings. This gave officials called the *Mayors of the Palace* opportunities to take over the reins of government bit by bit. It was Charles





Charlemagne, the Hero of Many Medieval Legends. Why?

Martel, a Mayor of the Palace, whose army defeated the Moslems at the Battle of Tours in 732. This victory for Christianity strengthened the partnership between church and state begun by Clovis.

**Pepin Helps to Make the Pope a King.** Charles Martel's son, Pepin, decided that, since he was running the government anyway, he might as well be called king. Pepin secured the Pope's blessing, ousted the king, and assumed the throne. To show his gratitude to the Pope, Pepin handed over conquered Lombard lands as a gift to the Pope. These lands, together with later acquisitions, came to be known as the *Papal States*. The Papal States, with Rome as their capital, cut off the north of Italy from the south. In governing these states, the Popes became political rulers like kings as well as heads of the Church.

**Charlemagne Helps the Pope to Christianity.** The name of Charlemagne, son of Pepin and emperor of the Franks, still stands out as a beacon light in medieval history. This colorful character became the romantic hero of many songs and legends. Charlemagne was tall and husky and an expert swimmer and hunter. Temperate himself, he had no use for drunkards. Yet this autocrat was often brutal to those who opposed him. Sometimes immoral himself, he insisted that churchmen lead upright lives.

Charlemagne's goal was to revive the Roman Empire and to convert barbarians to Christianity. He hoped thus to bring peace and order out of the chaos of the Dark Ages. To achieve his goal, Charlemagne fought continuous wars. He fought the Moslems in Spain and the Slavs and Tatars in the East. His defeat of the Lombards in Italy saved the Pope's lands. He conquered the Saxons in Germany and forced them to become Christians. In time, Charlemagne's empire extended over an area which today would include France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, and Switzerland and parts of Germany, Spain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

Charlemagne wisely permitted much local self-government. Like the ancient Persian emperors, he had his "eyes of the king." The inspectors were sent out to see that local officials (bishops, dukes, or counts) were forcing the laws. They also held hearings to listen to the complaints of the people. So believe that this custom is the origin of the grand jury system. In Charlemagne's empire there was a close alliance between church and state. Most of his important officials were churchmen. Every effort was made to unite religious faith with loyalty.

**Charlemagne Encourages Education.** One day, on visiting a school, Charlemagne found that the aristocratic children were doing well. He scolded them thus: "You pretty and dainty little gentlemen, upon your birth and wealth . . .

wasted your time in games and idleness! . . . if you do not mend your ways, . . . you need never hope to get any favors from Charles!"

The only educated persons in Europe in these Dark Ages were churchmen, and some of them could not understand the Latin words in the church services which they read. To spread literacy, Charlemagne invited scholars from all over Europe to his capital, Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen). From England came the famous scholar Alcuin to head Charlemagne's *palace school* for children of nobles. For children throughout his realm, Charlemagne established schools in monasteries and cathedrals. Religion, arithmetic, grammar, and music were taught. But few, including Charlemagne, made much educational progress.

**The Crowning of Charlemagne.** It was Christmas Day in the year 800. Charlemagne was kneeling in prayer in St. Peter's Church in Rome. Dramatically the Pope placed a golden crown on the ruler's head. Enthusiastically the people cried out: "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, great peacegiving Roman emperor, crowned by God!" Reluctantly, it is said, Charlemagne accepted this honor. Perhaps he was reluctant to acknowledge the Pope as his superior. The crowning of Charlemagne was highly significant. It meant a temporary revival of the old Roman Empire in western Europe. Later, Popes were to claim that, since they had crowned emperors, they had the power to dethrone emperors. Also, Charlemagne's successors, insisting that they had inherited the old Roman Empire, often interfered with the Popes' territories in Italy. This conflict between emperors and Popes was for centuries to cause much bloodshed in Europe.

**Reasons for the Decline of Charlemagne's Empire.** Charlemagne's weak successors found the task of ruling an empire of many different peoples speaking different languages impossible. Ambitious nobles took advantage of the situation. And Northern and Arabs made frequent attacks on the empire.

By the Treaty of Verdun (843) Charlemagne's grandsons split the empire into three kingdoms. One grandson received the area which is today France. Another received what is roughly Germany and Austria. The third received land between France and Germany which stretched from northern Italy to the North Sea. Even in the past century this stretch of land has been an important cause of three bloody wars between France and Germany. Needless to say, the people were not consulted when this division of Charlemagne's empire was made!

## The Dream of a Roman Empire Lives on in the Holy Roman Empire

A second attempt to revive the glories of the Roman Empire was made by Otto, a German king. Otto had helped the Pope to crush the persistent Lombards in northern Italy. As a reward, in 962, the Pope crowned him Roman emperor. Otto's realm, which came to be called the *Holy Roman Empire*, included merely northern Italy and Germany.

The Holy Roman Empire, which lasted to 1806, was a weak organization. There was much truth in the statement that it was "neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire." Otto and his successors were often busy meddling in Italian politics. Therefore, many of the nobles in the empire were able to set up practically independent states. In time, there were over three hundred states pledging only mild allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor. In fact, the Holy Roman Emperor was elected by these nobles. The nobles, in complete defiance of the emperor, often engaged in warfare with one another and even with the emperor himself.

Otto and his successors sometimes dictated the choice of Popes. Popes and emperors struggled fiercely with each other to determine whether the church or the state was to have the final say in the Holy Roman Empire (page 183). Neither Italy nor Germany became a united country until the nineteenth century. The long struggle between the



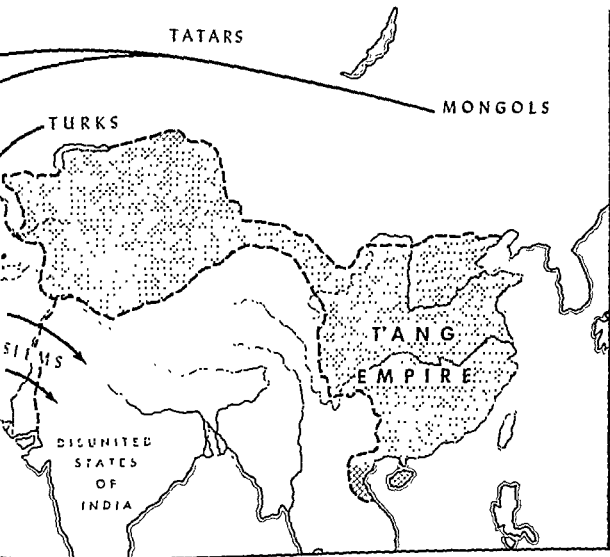
Popes in Italy and the emperors in Germany is an important reason why. Thus what began as an alliance between church and state under Clovis ended as a bitter conflict between the two.

### Chinese Empires Shine During Europe's Dark Ages

In contrast to Europe during the Dark Ages, China under the T'ang dynasty (618–907) was united, prosperous, and cultured. Tang emperors won control over the people of Tibet, Korea, Indo-China, and southern Manchuria. At this time Europe learned from China the secret of manufacturing silk. Many Asian traders traveled the caravan route

which passed through central Asia to India and the Middle East. Others sailed the sea route between China and India. The eyes of all Asia centered on China. Even isolated Japan now copied Chinese customs and ideas. Unfortunately, however, drunkenness, gambling, and the use of opium were common among the idle rich of the T'ang dynasty.

Ideas on education and the civil service were borrowed from the earlier Han emperors (page 59). The most typical of all Chinese art — delicate work in porcelain, gold, jade and bronze, and paintings on silk — were produced in this era. Poetry thrived. China's two most famous poets, Li Po and Tu Fu, lived during the T'ang dynasty. Tu Fu thought so highly of his own poetry that



recommended it as a cure for malaria. Li Po was so highly regarded that the emperor assigned court ladies to hold a screen of pink silk upon which he wrote his poems. The Chinese printed books five centuries before the western world had mastered the art of printing. One reason why the T'ang dynasty fell was the discontent among the poor with the heavy taxes shifted to them by rich government officials. This situation has been responsible for many Chinese revolts

Under the Sung dynasty (960-1280) education spread. More and more books were printed. Art collectors today prize the porcelain vases, unexcelled in shape and color, and the landscape paintings (page 64) of this period. One reformer, Wang An-sheh, unsuc-

cessfully tried to tax the people according to their wealth. Many objected on the grounds that Confucius had never recommended such an idea. The Sung dynasty, which was weakened by Tatar invaders, asked help from the Mongols. Genghis Khan, leader of the Mongols, conquered the Tatars. But his grandson, Kublai Khan, overthrew the Sung!

### Mongol Empires Practice Toleration and Terror

Genghis Khan (1162-1227) was fourteen years old when he became chief of many nomadic tribes in Mongolia (east central Asia). Like many conquerors, Genghis Khan maintained that it was God's will that he should

conquer the world. His barbarian Mongols,<sup>3</sup> mounted on wild horses, broke through the Great Wall of China and captured the city of Peking. Turning westward, they swept across all Asia, then into Europe as far as the Dnieper River in western Russia, founding the greatest connected empire in history. Genghis Khan's well-disciplined armies moved in battle with amazing speed. He is said to have been such an efficient administrator that one could travel in safety throughout his empire.

His grandson, Kublai Khan, founded the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty in the thirteenth century. He gave China a new capital at Peking, but China's influence on the Mongols was much greater than Mongol influence on China. Traders and Christian missionaries who were welcomed by Kublai Khan brought back to Europe tales of the luxurious court at Cathay, their name for China. They described how the government cared for the poor and the sick. They told of fine cities with excellent roads, bridges, and canals. The account of one Venetian visitor to China, Marco Polo, describes flawless rubies thick as a man's arm and palaces with floors and roofs of gold. Such tales excited businessmen all over Europe, inspiring them to search for new routes to capture the Chinese trade, especially the silks, tea, and fine handicrafts. In 1368, as will be shown, the Mongol dynasty was overthrown by the Mings, who governed China until 1644.

So long as conquered peoples paid tribute and taxes, the Mongols respected their customs and traditions. In an age of intolerance, they permitted their subjects religious freedom. Moreover, they enabled the peoples of Europe and Asia to get better acquainted. However, the Mongols and their Tatar allies waged war savagely. Genghis Khan's armies killed millions. A descendant of his, Tamerlane (died 1405), made walls by burying captives alive in cement.

<sup>3</sup> The Mongols were distant relatives of such other eastern peoples as the Tatars, the Magyars, the Seljuk Turks, and the Huns.

## Some Other Empires of the Middle Ages

The Seljuk Turks had in the eleventh and twelfth centuries controlled much of western Asia. Mongol invaders had greatly weakened the power of these kinsmen of theirs. This gave another tribe, the Ottoman Turks, an opportunity to begin building a powerful empire in the fifteenth century. From the Arabs these Ottoman Turks took their religion, much of their culture, and most of their lands. Until the twentieth century the Ottoman Empire controlled most of western Asia, northern Africa, and southeastern Europe (page 283). Although Japan, too, had an empire in the Middle Ages, it did not become powerful until modern times.

In none of the medieval empires did the individual count for much. He was expected to give absolute obedience to the government, in which he had no voice. He lived in poverty while the royalty and nobility lived in luxury. Nevertheless, many subjects were probably grateful to their emperors for preserving law and order and promoting culture.

## Infant Kingdoms Arise in the Early Middle Ages

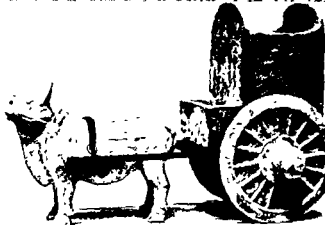
During the Middle Ages, while religions and empires were flourishing, a few infant kingdoms appeared in Europe. These were the seeds of modern nations such as England, France, and Spain.<sup>4</sup> From earliest times, the British Isles had been like a magnet to adventurous peoples. In the ninth century B.C. fighting Celts had crossed the channel from the continent and invaded first England, then Ireland. In 55 B.C., Julius Caesar's legions had invaded England. In the fifth century A.D., Germanic tribes of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes swarmed in. From the invading Angles England gets its name, *Angle-land*. Soon England was cut up into many so-called king-

<sup>4</sup> Other infant kingdoms of the Middle Ages include Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Hungary, Russia, and that of southern Italy.

ns. About 825, Egbert, a Saxon chief, led some of them. He was advised by a Council made up of nobles and bishops, called the *Witan* or *Witenagemot*. But wars continued. Still greater confusion came later in the ninth century with the invasion of Vikings from Denmark.

At this critical time, in 871, Alfred the Great became king. "My will was to live worthily as long as I lived, and, after my death, to leave to them that should come after, my memory in good works." So said Alfred. His mother had inspired him with a love of learning and a desire for service.

Much of our knowledge of early medieval England springs from Alfred. He personally translated many Latin books into English. He and others started writing the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a history of England. Alfred improved the laws, invited skilled workers from the continent to England, and established schools. He defeated the Danes and converted thousands of them to Christianity. After Alfred's death in 899, succeeding Saxon kings were too weak to stem the tide of renewed Danish attacks. One Danish invader,



Chinese Pottery Oxcart of the T'ang Dynasty Found in a Grave. Such tomb pottery reveals interesting information about the lives of the people. What does it tell?

Canute, was even able to interrupt the rule of Saxon kings for about twenty years. The last of the Saxon kings, Harold, was overthrown by a kinsman of the Danes, William the Conqueror, in 1066 (page 252).

What is now France had been part of Charlemagne's Empire. Not long after his death, various lords carved the kingdom up into many provinces. Normandy, the home of William the Conqueror, was one of these.





This scene from the Bayeux tapestry (page 252) shows Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, being defeated by William the Conqueror.

Burgundy and Brittany were others. These lords were constantly fighting for control of the French throne. Nor did the inhabitants of France consider themselves Frenchmen. Living there were the descendants of Celts, Romans, Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, and Normans — all speaking different languages and observing different customs. In 987 the Duke of Paris, Hugh Capet, was elected king of France by the other French nobles. The Capetian dynasty held the throne for over three centuries. This meant little. The kingdom of Hugh Capet was a weak one. Actually he ruled only Paris and the area around it. The other lords continued to govern their provinces as they liked. They made war against one another and even against Hugh. In time, however, the Capetians increased their control by marriages and wars (page 259).

In northern Spain during the Middle Ages

several independent Christian kingdoms arose: Navarre, Leon and Castile, and Aragon. To the west of these grew another Christian kingdom, Portugal. Jealousies kept the various Christian kingdoms divided for centuries. However, fear of the Moslems eventually caused the Christian kingdoms, except Portugal, to unite into one kingdom of Spain under King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. To Spaniards, 1492 is not only the year in which Columbus discovered America but also the year in which these rulers drove the Moslems from Spain.

Why were these infant kingdoms so weak? Why was there so little loyalty to the king? Why did not all the people of England consider themselves Englishmen and all the people of France consider themselves Frenchmen? Why were laws and customs not uniform throughout each kingdom? Our next chapter will help to answer these questions.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

College of Cardinals • excommunication • interdict • canon law • tithe • Truce of God • benefit of clergy • sacraments • monasticism • regular clergy • secular clergy • St. Benedict • Franciscans • Dominicans • Mohammed • Mecca • Koran • Islam • Hejira • Tours 732 • caliphs • Maimonides • *Thousand and One Nights* • Omar Khay-

yám • Avicenna • alchemy • arabesques • Alhambra • Taj Mahal • Arabic numerals • Moors • Goths • Huns • Slavs • trial by ordeal • trial by combat • Valhalla • Thor • Alaric • Vandals • Saxons • Attila • Châlons • 476 A.D. • Lombards • Northmen • Vikings • Leif Ericsson • eddas • sagas • Theodora • Byzantine Empire • patriarchs • Justin-

ian's Code • Hippodrome • Church of St. Sophia •  
Papal States • Charlemagne • Holy Roman Em-  
pire • T'ang dynasty • Li Po • Tu Fu • Sung dynasty

• Wang An-sheh • Genghis Khan • Kublai Khan •  
Marco Polo • Ottoman Turks • Witan • Alfred the  
Great • Ferdinand and Isabella

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Point out differences between the late and early Middle Ages.
2. Prove that the Church was a well-organized institution.
3. Show that the Pope was very powerful in the Middle Ages.
4. Indicate the many functions of the Church in the Middle Ages.
5. Compare the life of a monk with that of a secular priest.
6. Discuss the life and work of (a) Francis of Assisi and (b) Dominic.
7. Describe some of the religious obligations of Mohammedans.
8. On what religious foundations did Mohammed build?
9. List those events in Mohammed's life which you find most interesting. Tell why in each case.
10. What ideas in Islam sound familiar to you? Why?
11. What reasons explain Islam's successful spread?
12. Trace the steps in the rise and decline of the Moslem Empire.
13. Show how the Moslems helped to brighten the Dark Ages by their contributions in (a) sanitation, (b) medicine, (c) scholarship, (d) industries, and (e) agriculture.
14. Prove that Maimonides was a many-sided medieval man.
15. Why might a modern woman have been unhappy in the medieval world of the Moslems?
16. How did the Moslems enrich language and literature?
17. Arab architecture contained "something bor-

- rowed and something new." What was borrowed and what was new?
18. To what extent did democracy and religion play a part in the life of the German barbarians?
19. At first, barbarians trickled into the Roman Empire. Later, they poured in. Explain.
20. The Vikings were adventurous and courageous. Prove.
21. List the steps by which Justinian tried to revive the old Roman Empire.
22. In what respects was the Byzantine Empire glamorous, but a dictatorship nevertheless?
23. What aspects of Byzantine civilization interest you most? Why?
24. How did (a) Clovis, (b) Charles Martel, (c) Pepin, and (d) Charlemagne influence the history of western Europe?
25. What did Charlemagne do to (a) centralize his empire, (b) spread the Christian religion, and (c) encourage education?
26. Explain the caption: "The Dream of a Roman Empire Lives on in the Holy Roman Empire." Include specific facts.
27. What were the obstacles in the way of a strong Holy Roman Empire?
28. List ways in which Europe would have been better off if it had been in close touch with China during the T'ang dynasty.
29. What would you (a) praise, (b) condemn in Mongol rule?
30. For what good deeds does Alfred the Great deserve to be remembered?
31. The kingdom of France in the early Middle Ages could scarcely be called a nation. Give reasons.

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. A medieval monastery was like a little world in itself. Explain.
2. Medieval monks were preservers and transmitters of civilization. Explain.
3. Why should we in the United States, where

there are very few Moslems, see how the Moslems?

4. In the answer given by the medieval Persian *secret of Mohammed's success* *secret of Mohammed's success*



5. Comment on each of the methods used by the Romans before the fourth century A.D. to keep the Germans weak. What would you have done?
6. In a sense, the Romans deserved to lose the Battle of Adrianople. Discuss.
7. Point out similarities and differences in the lives of (a) Alaric, (b) Attila, (c) Theodoric, and (d) Asoka of India.
8. The Northmen were more civilized than they were barbaric. To what extent do you agree?
9. What characteristics usually associated with the Middle Ages were not present in the Byzantine Empire?
10. What do you consider the most important contribution of the Byzantine Empire? Why?
11. Do you think that history books should give more attention to such women as Theodora? Give reasons.
12. If you were shopping in a Byzantine market, what products would you like to buy?
13. Prove that western Europe as well as eastern Europe was in debt to the Eastern Byzantine Empire.

14. Was Charlemagne an ideal ruler for the Middle Ages? Discuss.
15. Knowing Charlemagne's educational policies, do you think he would make a good superintendent of schools today? Explain.
16. What plans might Charlemagne have made during his life to prevent his empire from being split up after his death?
17. Would the world have been better off if emperors such as Justinian and Charlemagne had not tried to revive old empires, such as the Roman? Discuss.
18. What dramatic features of the Mongols make them popular subjects in literature?
19. For what reasons do some persons admire men like Genghis Khan? How do you feel about such men? Why?
20. Name some leaders in the modern world who you feel live according to King Alfred's stated aim in life. Tell in each case why you think so.
21. Perhaps England ought to build a monument to Alfred's mother. Why?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. For a group research project, find out why some say that the so-called Dark Ages were not so dark.
2. Read about the Rule of St. Benedict in Ogg's *Source Book of Medieval History*. Select the information you would use in writing a play on monastery life.
3. On an outline map show (a) the Moslem Empire a century after Mohammed's death and (b) the leading Moslem cities.
4. Write an essay entitled: *I Lived in Baghdad When Harun al-Rashid Ruled*.
5. Write a brief biography of (a) Averroës, (b) Avicenna, (c) Maimonides, or (d) Omar Khayyám.
6. Read one of the tales in *The Thousand and One Nights*. With classmates adapt this story for a radio or television script.
7. Prepare a travelogue on places sacred to followers of the world's leading religions. Include reasons why these shrines inspire pilgrimages.
8. For the class bulletin board, collect illustrations or draw sketches of (a) an Egyptian pyramid, (b) a Babylonian ziggurat, (c) a Greek tem-

ple, (d) a Jewish synagogue, (e) a Moslem mosque, (f) a Buddhist temple, (g) a Byzantine Christian Church, and (h) a Christian cathedral of western Europe.

9. Read pages 443 to 455 in *The History of Western Civilization* by Barnes. What questions are raised about much information usually believed concerning the German barbarians?
10. For a committee research project, investigate one of the following: (a) Were the Huns as horrible as they are usually considered? (b) Were the Vandals any more vandalic (according to modern usage) than the other barbarians? (c) How barbaric was Alaric?
11. Using encyclopedia sources, report on any one of the following cities of the Middle Ages: Constantinople, Baghdad, Cordova, Samarkand, Rome, Paris.
12. Outline the highlights of either (a) recreation in the Hippodrome (see Munro and Sellery: *Medieval Civilization*) or (b) Byzantine art (see Reinach: *Apollon*).
13. Write an imaginary page in the diary of Theodora.

14. On an outline map indicate (a) the extent of Justinian's empire at its height and (b) the modern nations which occupy this territory. Do the same for Charlemagne's empire.

15. Imagine yourself one of Charlemagne's inspectors and make a report to your emperor. Use Robinson's *Readings in European History*, Volume 1, as your source.

### Summing Up

1. How do the illustrations in this chapter indicate that religions and empires were two of the highlights of the Middle Ages?

2. Prepare three broad essay-type questions testing the information in this chapter. Work out

16. Using Lucas's *Vast Horizons*, summarize each of the following chapters: "The Rise of the Mongols," "The Palas," and "The Decline of the Mongols."

17. From an anthology of world literature read poems by Li Po and Tu Fu. How do the style and content compare with those of Western poems?

with some of your classmates a model answer to one of them.

3. Make a list of the topics in this chapter that you think would make interesting subjects for oral reports. Tell why you think so.



## CHAPTER 7....VARIOUS MEDIEVAL CONTROLLING GROUPS CLASH

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**Feudalism Spreads As Great Empires Collapse and Infant Nations Remain Weak • What Vassals and Lords Owed Each Other • Feudalism Confusing and Complicated • Feudalism Glamorizes Militarism • The Feudal Lord: Master of the Manor • Feudal Justice Far from Just • The Castle: Fine Fortress, Uncomfortable Home • Ladies of the Castle: Glamor with Few Rights • Knighthood and Chivalry: Glamor without Much Substance • Recreation Mainly Military • The Manor a Miniature World • The Life of a Serf: Hard and Short • Why Feudalism Declined • The Crusades: Christianity and Mohammedanism in Conflict • A Worldly Empire in Conflict with a Religious Force: Emperors Versus Popes**

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### **Feudalism Spreads as Great Empires Collapse and Infant Nations Remain Weak**

Suppose that today in some agricultural country the central government were to become too weak to keep order and protect life and property. Suppose that roads went unrepaired. Suppose that savage invaders were constantly terrifying the people. Suppose that business was at a standstill. Then suppose that, because of the central government's weakness, there were throughout the land powerful landlords protected by armed guards. Under such circumstances, what would the average person do? Would he permit his family to be killed and his property destroyed? Not if he could help it! No doubt he would seek the protection of one of the powerful landlords. The landlord might then

say, "What do I get in return for my protection?" He would probably get Mr. Average Person's land and the land of hundreds of other average persons.

But cultivating so much land would be difficult for the landlord. He would doubtless say to these average persons: "Your lands now belong to me, but you may live on them, cultivate them, and give me a part of the produce each year." Without strong courts to enforce such agreements, both landlords and average persons would have to depend upon the word of honor of the other. Probably under all these circumstances powerful rival landlords would constantly be warring upon one another. One powerful landlord, in order to get the military aid of a lesser landlord, might give him some land. All this has happened many times in history when the central government has been too weak

to defend lives and protect property. Such an arrangement of society existed, for example, in ancient Egypt. From about 900 to about 1450 in western Europe, it was a dominant force in the life of practically everyone. This arrangement of landholding based upon military and other services is called *feudalism*.

**The Roots of Medieval Feudalism.** Medieval feudalism was neither a system, nor a scheme, nor a plan. Nor was it exactly the same in every area of Europe. It was a development out of necessity. When the Roman Empire began to crumble, many farmers turned over their lands to powerful landlords in exchange for protection (page 122). Many religious persons turned over their lands to the Church and were granted the right to cultivate them during their lifetime. Thus many bishops became feudal landlords.

Germans, too, influenced the development of feudalism. Conquering German chiefs often made grants of land to their followers in return for continued support. Just as barbarian German warriors swore allegiance to their fighting chiefs, so feudal warriors took sacred oaths to fight for their feudal lords. Medieval kings unable to protect their entire realms would sometimes request aid from certain powerful landlords. They would reward such landlords with tax exemption, land grants, or permission to run their own territories, without interference by the king. Finally, when Charlemagne's Empire was split up and when Europeans were made frantic with fear by invasions of Northmen and Moslems, feudalism took a strong hold over Europe.

**The Vocabulary of the Feudal Pyramid.** The feudal arrangement was basically a caste system where workers supported fighters. In theory, the position of the king, even if he were weak, was at the top of the feudal pyramid. Below the king were *overlords*, the most powerful lords. These overlords would sometimes grant a portion of their land, called a *fief*, to lesser lords, who thus became their *vassals*. Lesser lords, in the order of importance, were dukes, counts, barons, and knights.

Vassals might in turn grant portions of their land to other lords, making these *subvassals*. And subvassals could do the same. Churchmen might become lords, vassals, or both. The workers at the base of the feudal pyramid were mainly *serfs*. Serfs were bound to the land. Even if the land changed hands, they remained on it.

The transfer of a fief to a vassal was celebrated in a dramatic ceremony. The unarmed, bareheaded vassal knelt before the overlord, clasped his hand, and swore that he would be the overlord's "man." Since the Latin word for *man* is *homo*, this pledge was called *homage*. Next, the vassal swore on the Bible that he would fulfill his obligations to the overlord — his oath of *fealty*. By presenting the vassal with a twig or a lump of earth, the overlord indicated that the fief had been granted. Then he pledged the vassal protection and justice. This formal presentation of the fief to the vassal is called *investiture*.

**What Vassals and Lords Owed Each Other.** The major obligation of the vassal to his lord was military service. Vassals were often required to sit as judges in the lord's court, to provide the lord's eldest daughter with a dowry, and to pay for the ceremony at which his eldest son was knighted. Vassals were also required to raise ransom money if the lord were kidnapped. In time, fiefs came to be inherited by the vassal's eldest son. At such a time, the young vassal was required to pay a sum of money to the lord. Some obligations of certain vassals seem odd. For example, one vassal had the task of holding the king's head should he become seasick crossing the English Channel! All this he owed in return for the use of the fief and the overlord's protection!

**Feudalism Confusing and Complicated.** If every vassal had had just one lord, feudalism might have been simple. However, many a vassal had a hard time deciding just whose "man" he was. He might hold one fief from a lord, another from a bishop, and one even from the king himself. Suppose that there were a war between his lord and his feudal

bishop. Which should he support? Or suppose that the king himself were a vassal to either the lord or the bishop. Sometimes, by acquiring more lands, the vassal might become more powerful than his own lord or even than the king.

Confusing situations often arose when a bishop who was also a feudal vassal died. The Church would claim his fief and so would the overlord. Many a lord was angered at seeing a vassal turn over a part of his fief to a subvassal. This subvassal might be a perfect stranger or even the lord's enemy. The mutual obligations of vassals and lords were like contracts. Yet few of the thousands of feudal agreements were written down.

### Feudalism Glamorizes Militarism.

"Peace delights me not!  
War . . . be thou my lot."

These lines might well be the theme song of the feudal era. To the aristocracy of the Middle Ages, war was both a business and a hobby. Frequent wars were fought over whether the unwritten feudal contracts were being fulfilled. A strong lord might try to seize the lands of a weaker lord. Younger brothers might try to kill off an older brother in order to get the fief. When no wars were being fought, sham battles were staged.

Lords, protected by heavy armor, were seldom killed. In the long run, vassals passed on to serfs the costs of ransoming captured lords. The field that the serf toiled so hard to cultivate was often the battleground. The Church tried to curb the savagery and destruction of these private wars by its Truce of God (page 142). But few lords obeyed this decree.

**The Feudal Lord: Master of the Manor.** Even the government of the lord's estate, the manor, was organized with military efficiency. The lord alone made treaties with other feudal lords, declared war, levied taxes, and coined money. His own courts interpreted the laws which he made. He required his serfs and free peasants to produce enough food to supply his castle and his army. On



Discuss the offensive and defensive methods used in this scene of medieval warfare.

the battlefield as much as ninety pounds of armor might weigh him down. On the manor he wore a heavy chain necklace, handsome rings, long, pointed shoes, and a luxurious, fur-trimmed robe.

**Feudal Justice Far from Just.** Trials and punishments differed widely under feudalism, depending upon whether the accused was a serf, a noble, or a churchman. Each lord had power of life and death over the inhabitants of his manor. Feudal courts usually practiced trial by ordeal or trial by combat (page 152). Those found guilty were frequently subjected to public floggings, branding, hanging, or beheading. Burning was the fate of convicted witches and heretics. In the late Middle Ages, especially in England, feudal justice became more just with the introduction of trial by jury.

### Life and Customs of the Nobility.

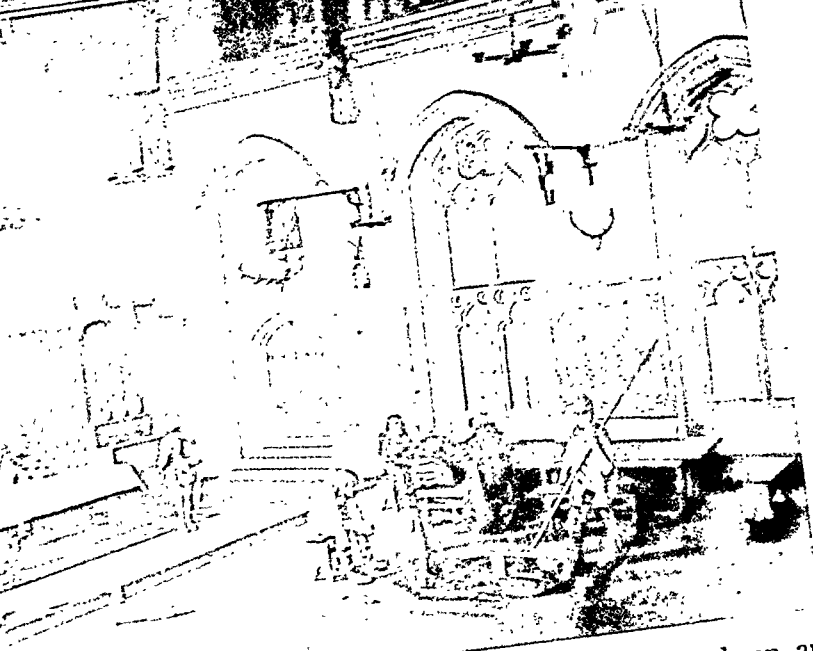
*The Castle. Fine Fortress, Uncomfortable Home*

"Hang out our banners on the outward walls,  
The cry is still, 'They come,' our castle's  
strength

Will laugh a siege to scorn"

—From *Macbeth*, by Shakespeare.

Every feudal lord wanted to build his castle so that it would "laugh a siege to scorn." For



Model of a Great Hall in a Medieval Castle. Here the castle folk dined, danced, played games, and listened to songs of wandering minstrels. The smoke from the fireplace in the middle of the floor escaped through the roof. Most castle floors were not as immaculate as the one in this model.

defense, castles were usually built of stone high on a steep cliff or on an island. In other areas builders would circle the heavy-walled castle with a wide, deep ditch filled with water, called a *moat*. When the watchman saw friends approaching, he would lower a drawbridge to enable them to cross the moat into the castle.

Under siege, the castle's defenders would hurl down rocks or hot lead or shoot arrows from a walk near the roof or from slits in the walls and towers. A major weapon of the besiegers was a movable tower manned with soldiers. It was rolled across the moat on a temporary drawbridge. Attackers also used scaling ladders, battering-rams, and a device for flinging rocks over the castle's defenses. Their main objective was the inner tower, called the *donjon*. In the donjon were the great hall, the lord's sleeping quarters, and, deep in the cellar, the gloomy prison. Attempts were also made to starve the castle out. But every castle had a storehouse bulging with food. In some castle courtyards were small villages, including a chapel, living quarters, and workshops.

The castle was a fine fortress. But by comparison with medieval Moslem palaces, it was a most uncomfortable home. Dirty,

drafty, damp, and dim, the castle was better suited for mice than for men. Scraps of food from the table were tossed to the many dogs and cats roaming the great hall. To kill the stench, roses or mintleaves were scattered on the straw-covered floor. At castle banquets as many as twelve courses of rich, highly spiced soups, meats, fish, and dessert were served. The lord, his family, and the most honored guests sat at the head table; the common people and servants, at some distance. Until the late Middle Ages, finger knives, and spoons, but neither forks nor napkins, were used. Bedrooms had tapestried walls and high four-poster beds closed by handsome curtains. Their occupants had little privacy, however, for bedrooms were often shared with maids, guests, and even with roving chickens!

*Ladies of the Castle: Glamor with Rights.* A marriage between an innocent thirteen-year-old girl and a hardened year-old man sounds shocking. Such things often occurred among medieval crats. If a vassal died and left a daughter, his lord hastened to marry her. He wanted to make sure that the new wife would be one who would give him hearty allegiance.

THE MIDDLE AGES

Write a paragraph describing what this picture from a Hollywood movie tells you about court life and customs of the late Middle Ages.



From the cradle a girl was instructed in the art of pleasing a future husband. To sweeten her breath, she nibbled on a fragrant seed. To keep slender, she dieted. To be a good sport, she accustomed herself to the rough talk of battle-scarred veterans and refrained from scolding. She was expected to sing, play a musical instrument, dance, and ride horseback. To be glamorous at tournaments and banquets, medieval ladies wore their richest, most elaborately embroidered gowns. Their slender figures were set off by brilliantly colored, tight-fitting robes. Some of the hat styles resembled butterflies; others, dunce caps. To make sure that, once her husband was won, she could hold him, the lady had to know how to weave and embroider well and to be a charming hostess. She was expected to manage the manor during the frequent absences of her husband. Yet women had few legal rights. The property which they inherited went to their husbands. Wife-beating was lawful and often practiced.

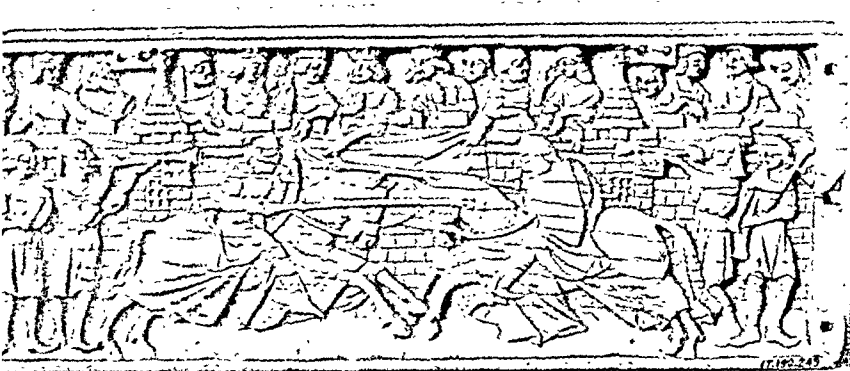
*Knighthood and Chivalry: Glamor without Much Substance.* Many medieval romances paint pictures of brave knights in gleaming armor astride spirited horses which are bedecked in colorful trappings. Such

tales usually describe an attempt by the knight to save some pure and beautiful maiden from a horrible fate. Although there is some truth to this picture, its idealism is greatly exaggerated.

To become a knight, a youth had to be of noble birth. Mastery in warfare and courtly manners were the goals of his education. At home, and later as a page and squire in the castle of some friendly lord, he was coached in chess, dancing, singing, and religion. He was taught to ride and hunt, and to use the battle-ax, lance, and sword. At twenty, he was ready for knighthood. The night before the ceremony he spent in prayer. Then in a colorful ritual in which his patron noble tapped him lightly with a sword, he was dubbed a knight. To prove his true knighthood, he might, weighed down by fifty pounds of armor, spring unaided upon his horse and later engage in some daring exploit. If defeated, the knight might be stripped of his expensive armor and left to die naked on the battlefield.

True knights were supposed to be guided by a code of honor and duty called *chivalry*. This code demanded that the knight be loyal to his lord, courageous, unselfish, courteous, and modest. He was expected to defend





A Fourteenth-Century Ivory Plaque Illustrating a Jousting Scene. How was the winner determined?

Christianity, to help the poor and oppressed, and to risk his life defending women. In chivalry the Church saw a wonderful opportunity to promote ideals and to refine manners. Some knights lived up to the high ideals of chivalry. The gallantry of chivalry was extended only to Christian women of the upper classes, however. Many knights had contempt for the lower classes in general. Knights often attacked and plundered merchants. Chivalry was also stained by the knight's love of bloodshed. In fact, the entire

feudal arrangement glorified the idea that a few military aristocrats were born to rule over the rest of the people.

*Recreation Mainly Military.* To relieve the boredom of peacetime, contests between heavily armored knights on horseback before crowds of spectators were arranged. In one type of contest called a *joust*, one knight would try to unseat another with thrusts of long and blunted lances. In a *tournament* two teams of knights, sometimes numbering thousands, engaged in a similar contest.



French Tapestry of About 1500 Showing a Howking Party. What seems to have been the equipment needed for such a hunting expedition?



*Marlius, Aprilis, Manus, sunt tempora seris - VER Purpure tempus l'ère Venus gaudet florentibus auris fertis*

The artist who made this engraving four hundred years ago called it "Spring." What signs of spring has he included?

Winning meant everything. No knight wished to disgrace his favorite lady's colors, which he wore on his lance and helmet, especially while the lady watched. Contestants knew that if they lost, they would have to give both horse and armor to the winner. How important could a knight be without his horse and armor?

Another popular pastime for nobles was the hunting party. Using hawks trained at great expense to pursue wild game, court ladies and gentlemen would ride out on their fine horses. The lord also entertained at elaborate banquets, at which his guests often ate and drank too much. Visiting jesters, jugglers, or minstrels would put on shows.

Poets would recite epics glorifying military heroes. Guests often played chess, checkers, or dice.

*The Manor a Miniature World.* During long periods of peace, nations or communities feel it unnecessary to produce all the goods they need. They can trade with other nations or communities to get needed goods. But in wartime or while preparing for war, communities try to produce everything they need. In short, they try to be self-sufficient. Constant warfare and obstacles to trade made the medieval manor strive for self-sufficiency. But complete self-sufficiency, then as now, was impossible. For example, people had to import salt and spices to preserve their food,

as well as iron they required to make tools.

On the manor, besides the castle, there were peasants' huts, a church, workshops, barns, and perhaps a mill. Stretching for miles around the castle were strips of neatly cultivated land looking like a checkerboard. The manor had its shoemakers and carpenters, millers and brewers, shepherds and swineherds. But over ninety per cent of the people were farmers. All work was done by serfs and free peasants, for it was considered a disgrace for a noble to do any manual labor.

Probably the Roman farmer of 100 A.D. used more advanced methods than did the serf of 1000 A.D. All manorial land capable of cultivation was divided into three large

fields. Each farmer was given strips of land, some good, some poor, scattered throughout the three fields. If one peasant neglected any of his strips, his weeds might grow over and spoil the crops on another man's strip. Land was wasted, however, on paths connecting the various strips. Medieval farmers had little knowledge of the value of fertilizer. Neither did they know how to use effectively the principle of rotation of crops. They thought that the best way to restore fertility was to leave one of their three fields uncultivated each year. Their wooden plows, sickles, and other tools were crude. No wonder the yield per acre was small! And there was no scientific breeding of farm animals. Because good and bad strains of cattle roamed at will in the common pasture, their offspring were often scrawny and puny.

#### **The Life of a Serf: Hard and Short.**

The majority of peasants were also scrawny and puny. A few peasants were free farmers who paid the lord rent, but most of them were serfs. A serf spent much of his time tilling the lord's fields without pay. And part of his own crop went to the lord in taxes.

Serfs were also required to repair roads, bridges, and buildings. The oven, the mill, and the wine press belonged to the lord. If a peasant wanted to use these, he had to pay a fee. If a peasant dared kill a deer devouring his crop, his punishment was swift and severe. Occasionally a group of peasants would rebel. Their corpses hanging from trees served as a warning to others. A medieval monk scolded lords thus: "Ye nobles are ravening wolves; . . . you . . . live on the blood and sweat of the poor."

Although the serf was not a slave, he had few freedoms. He was not allowed to leave the manor even temporarily without the lord's permission. He had to have the lord's approval of his prospective bride. Just as he was bound to the soil, so his mind was bound by superstition, ignorance, and illiteracy. He had no opportunity to get an education either by going to school or by exchanging ideas with persons in other communities.



Taking Some Time Off for Dancing in the Middle Ages. What other aspects of medieval life are pictured here?

On rare occasions, however, bright serfs were given scholarships to church schools.

The serf lived in a one-room hut with a thatched roof and a dirt floor. He shared it with domestic animals. His drably dressed wife prepared coarse meals of cheese, black bread, and, sometimes, salt pork. The hut was dark and smoke-filled, for the only opening besides the door was a small hole in the roof. The serf slept on a bundle of straw in his long, soiled blouse and loose woolen trousers, and perhaps even in his wooden clogs or leather boots, if he had any. All this and frequent epidemics made the serf's span of life short. Yet he was never unemployed. He could not be evicted. Barring famine, he was pretty sure of a meal. The Church gave him spiritual guidance. Sometimes he played games with others on the village green. His life even had some exciting moments, such as Christmas and May Day celebrations.

**Why Feudalism Declined.** A society which in every way favors the few over the many, which is inefficient, and which fails to adapt itself to new conditions is doomed. Such a society is bound to make enemies. Feudalism soon made enemies of businessmen, kings, the Church, serfs, and even of many lords. Soon after 1200 feudalism slowly began to decline. Towns were beginning to grow. Businessmen in these towns and merchants in general were annoyed at the constant feudal warfare which interfered with business. It was hard to get more customers so long as each *manor continued to be self-sufficient*. The more workers there were in the towns, the lower the wages employers would have to pay. Therefore, businessmen even encouraged serfs to run away to the towns. Once off the manor for a year and a day, a serf automatically became a free man. Moreover, as business increased with the growth of towns, more money became available. Some serfs were able to sell their crops for money, with which they bought their freedom.

Feudal lords had been a constant challenge to kings. However, royal power increased

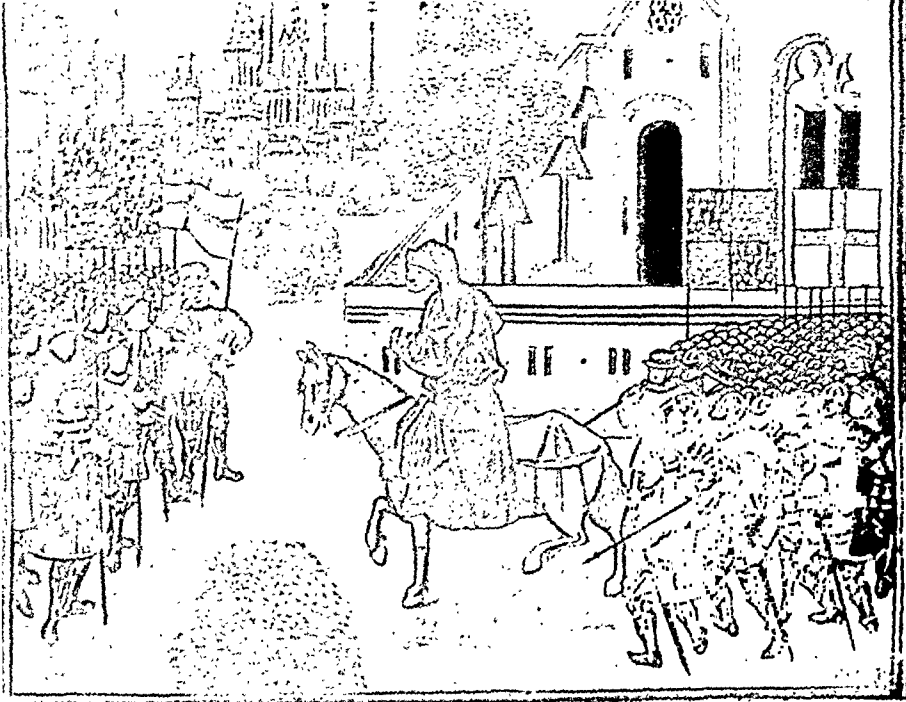


An important reason for the decline of feudalism is pictured here. Discuss this reason. Mention three other bits of historical information one could get from a study of this picture.

when many lords were killed in feudal wars and in the Crusades (page 183). Businessmen supported the kings against the nobles because they felt that a strong central government would be good for business. With the money they contributed, the king could hire soldiers. Thus he was no longer dependent upon the military service of feudal lords and knights. The introduction of gunpowder in western Europe at this time enabled kings to blast feudal castles and kill armored knights.

The Church also helped to destroy feudalism. The Pope urged feudal lords to stop fighting other Christian nobles in the West and to go on Crusades to fight Moslems in the East. Thousands of serfs became crusaders because the Pope promised them their freedom.

By the fourteenth century many serfs were no longer willing to accept their inferior position. A terrible epidemic, called the *Black Death*, in 1348 wiped out nearly half the



Revolting Serfs on the March Under Wat Tyler. Why should serfs in the fourteenth century have wanted to revolt?

population of Europe. So few free peasants survived that they were able to get higher wages. Some serfs demanded and received wages for their work and even the right to leave the land. Soon, however, these rights were revoked.

This threat to the peasants was denounced thus by an English priest, John Ball: "Why should we be kept thus in bondage? We be all come from one father and mother, Adam and Eve . . . we have the pain . . . and by that that come from our labors they [the lords] keep and maintain their estates . . . Unless we do readily their service, we be beaten."

Such speeches stirred thousands of English peasants to rebel in 1381 under Wat Tyler. A still more widespread revolt occurred among French peasants at about the same time (the uprising of the Jacquerie). These and other violent peasant rebellions were violently suppressed. John Ball was hanged and Wat Tyler was stabbed to death. But the peasants' love of liberty did not die.

Why should feudal lords become enemies of feudalism? Some of them discovered that free labor working for wages produced more than the forced labor of the serf. Many

lords, eager for money, were quite willing to let serfs buy their freedom or pay their rent in money instead of services. Still other lords preferred town life or living at the king's court to the monotony of their manors. Thus changing conditions led to the decline of feudalism by the fifteenth century. It had outlived its usefulness.

Medieval feudalism performed some services. Its thousands of local governments maintained some law and order following the breakup of Charlemagne's empire. Each person in the feudal pyramid had definite rights which in theory could not be taken away. Some feudal traditions still exist, such as titles of nobility and family coats of arms. In fact feudalism itself exists in certain forms in some countries today, as we shall see.

### The Crusades: Two Religious Forces, Christianity and Mohammedanism, in Conflict

"God wills it! God wills it!" This was the cry which resounded throughout Europe for two centuries, beginning in 1095. With this cry on their lips, with a red cross on their

"God Wills It." Peter the Hermit Recruiting for the First Crusade.



breasts, thousands of Christians set out on foot, on horseback, or on board ship for the holiest city in the Holy Land — Jerusalem. Knights in armor, serfs in rags, men seeking salvation, men seeking plunder, women and children, criminals and debtors — all these were crusaders. A crusader was one who "took the cross" (from *crux*, Latin for *cross*). The Crusades were armed pilgrimages taken to recover the Holy Land from the Moslems.

**Reasons for the Crusades.** A huge throng gathered on a plain in Clermont, France, in 1095 to hear Pope Urban II make one of the most influential speeches in history. Eloquently he urged his listeners to drop whatever they were doing and journey to Jerusalem. He preached a holy war against the Moslems there: "... Fight for Jerusalem. Every spot there is hallowed by the words Christ spake, by the miracles He performed." With thunderous enthusiasm the crowd responded: "God wills it!" Without delay thousands left family and farm to become crusaders.

The Pope had suddenly called for armed pilgrimages because the long-standing Moslem toleration of Christian pilgrims in Jerus-

alem had ceased. After four centuries of rule, the fairly tolerant Arabs had been expelled from the Holy Land by the intolerant, half-civilized Seljuk Turks who had become Moslems. It looked as though the Seljuk Turks would soon conquer the Byzantine Empire also. In desperation the Eastern emperor appealed to the Pope as a fellow Christian to come to Constantinople's defense. The fire of faith in Christianity burned in the breasts of most medieval Europeans. Many Christians were convinced that suffering on earth would profit them in the hereafter. Moreover, the Pope had promised forgiveness of sins to sincere crusaders. The Crusades appeared as a golden opportunity to unite the Eastern branch of the Christian Church at Constantinople with the Church at Rome.

Intense religious zeal was the main reason for the Crusades, but it was not the only reason. Stories of the great riches of the East excited the poverty-stricken peasants of the West. Businessmen saw opportunities to increase their trade with the East. Some nobles dreamed of establishing kingdoms in the East. Kings encouraged such nobles, for

they would no longer have to compete with them for power at home. Knights could indulge their fondness for fighting. And, as in every migration in history, the restless and the romantic joined in.

**Highlights of the Crusades.** In the same year that Pope Urban II addressed the Council at Clermont, a monk, *Peter the Hermit*, traveled throughout Europe urging his listeners to join the Holy War. Barefoot and sunken-cheeked, Peter traveled astride a donkey. He wore a long, shabby robe tied with a rope and carried a huge cross. Under the leadership of Peter and a poor knight, *Walter without a Penny*, thousands of poor, impatient people began the long, hard trip to Jerusalem. Lacking sufficient supplies, they plundered as they went along. Sickness, starvation, and slavery were the lot of most of these premature crusaders. The few who reached the Holy Land were massacred by the Turks.

In the meantime, nobles were organizing the first official Crusade. Made up of experienced and equipped fighters, this Crusade was successful in capturing Jerusalem in 1099. Thousands of Moslems were routed from their mosques and thousands perished. The streets of the city flowed with blood. Throughout Palestine and Syria crusading lords carved feudal states for themselves.

Fifty years later, in response to appeals for help against the Moslems from these feudal states, a Second Crusade set out. It failed miserably. Not long afterward, in 1187, all Europe was horrified. Jerusalem was again in Moslem hands. Its conqueror, Saladin, was a deeply religious Moslem. Even European writers later praised his bravery, toleration, and justice. At the time, however, rumors were spread in Europe that he ate Christian children for breakfast.

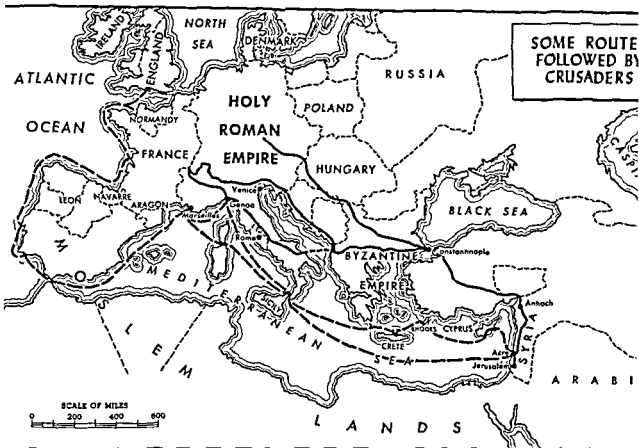
To recover Jerusalem, rulers Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I of England (called the *Lionhearted*) set out on the Third Crusade. The Third Crusade was a failure, too. Poor old Emperor Frederick fell into a river and

drowned. Philip Augustus faked illness and went home. Richard was left to fight it out with Saladin. These two learned to respect each other. When Richard fell ill, chivalrous Saladin sent him snow to cool his fevered brow. Without capturing Jerusalem, Richard finally won Saladin's permission for Christians to worship there.

The Fourth Crusade was organized by the merchants of Venice. To destroy Byzantine business competition and to increase their trade with the Moslems, these merchants financed a briefly successful Crusade, not against the Moslems in Jerusalem, but against their fellow Christians of Constantinople. Among the several later Crusades, the Children's Crusade of 1212 was the saddest. Groups of innocent children set out to do what armies of worldly knights had failed to do. Many perished. The rest were captured and enslaved. By 1300 only ruined castles remained of the feudal states which had been established by crusading knights in Syria and Palestine.

**Results of the Crusades.** The Crusades failed to win the Holy Land, but they succeeded in helping to make a new Europe. Crusaders had discovered that others had much to teach them. They had been amazed at the magnificent civilization of Moslem and Byzantine cities. They were shamed by their own filth when they saw how clean the Moslems were. Moslem and Byzantine achievements in medicine, science, philosophy, and art stimulated Europe. Now European sailors began to use the compass. More European ladies began to wear gowns of velvet, silk, muslin, calico, and damask. At castle banquets appeared more foods seasoned with Oriental spices and such rare fruits as peaches, watermelons, dates, and lemons. In castle rooms Oriental rugs and tapestries became more common. Some of these new products came directly from the Moslems. Others came by way of the Moslems from the Far East.

All Europe wanted to raise its standard of living by importing goods from the East.



Merchants in Italian cities grew rich building ships for and selling supplies to crusaders on their way to the Holy Land. London, Paris, Cologne, and Hamburg became great cities, largely because of increased trade. Many Europeans began to manufacture goods with which they could buy Oriental products. Increased trade led to the development of banking (page 193). Because of this growth of cities, increase in trade and manufacturing, and development of banking, a powerful business class sprang up. By weakening feudalism, the Crusades strengthened the power of kings (page 179). Powerful kings, with the backing of the powerful business class, were eventually to weaken the political power of the Pope. Some historians say, however, that such so-called results of the Crusades would have come about even without the Crusades. Inevitably, they say, West would have met

East through trade and travel. The Crusades merely speeded up this meeting.

### A Worldly Empire in Conflict with a Religious Force: Emperors versus Popes

For three long days in the freezing winter of 1077 a humble man stood in the snow before a castle at Canossa, Italy. Barefooted and bareheaded, clad only in rough sackcloth, this penitent figure was the king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV. Within was Pope Gregory VII, who had excommunicated Henry and ordered him dethroned. Henry had come to beg the Pope's forgiveness. At the end of the third day, the Pope pardoned Henry. This incident, which so humiliated a powerful emperor, is considered one of the high-water marks of papal power.



**Causes of the Conflict Between Church and State.** As we have seen, when the Roman Empire crumbled, the Church assumed many governmental powers. In time, emperors and kings wanted to take back these powers. Some ambitious emperors plotted to restore the glories of the ancient Roman Empire. To do so, they felt that they would have to strip the Pope of his political power in Italy.

Rulers resented the fact that the Church owned extensive lands, collected huge sums in taxes, and had its own laws and courts. Church officials insisted that feudal law was often unjust and that churchmen should alone have the right to try churchmen. The Church further maintained that it was better to spend tax money on churches, monasteries, and public welfare than on bloody feudal wars. Feudalism aggravated the quarrels between Church and state. Many bishops were also feudal lords. Some were vassals of kings; some, of other feudal lords. Since every bishop was also a subordinate of the Pope, the question arose as to who was to have first claim on a bishop's loyalty, dues, and services. When he died, what was to happen to his fief? Sometimes the overlord or king would turn over the fief to another vassal for a sum of money. He would even hand over to the vassal the power and the symbols, the ring and staff, of a bishop. This practice, called *lay investiture*, was attacked by the Church as an interference with religious matters. Many religious persons considered lay investiture responsible for the buying and selling of Church jobs, a practice called *simony*. They also blamed lay investiture for the many worldly bishops who married in violation of Church rule and who fought like any feudal lord.

**The Investiture Struggle.** The man who became Pope Gregory VII was a poor peasant's son, weak in body but strong in mind. He was determined to purify the Church and stop lay investiture. As Pope, Gregory insisted that he had the right "to depose emperors" and "to absolve the subjects of unjust

rulers from their oath of fidelity." Said he "The Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes."

Emperor Henry IV had disobeyed Gregory's order to give up lay investiture. When Henry had been excommunicated, his people had turned against him. The feudal lord whom he had subdued sided with the Pope to check Henry's power. This explains the trip to Canossa. Although Henry was pardoned at Canossa, he persisted in appointing bishops and was again excommunicated. But this time, instead of going on his knees to the Pope, he marched on Rome with his army and ousted Gregory.

Later emperors and Popes continued to quarrel over lay investiture. Finally in 1122 by an agreement, the *Concordat of Worms* made in the city of Worms in Germany, a compromise was reached. The Church gained the right to elect bishops and abbots but the worldly obligations of bishops and feudal vassals were still owed to the emperor.

**German Emperors Strive for a Stronger Holy Roman Empire.** The feud between Church and state became even more bitter however, when Frederick Barbarossa was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1152. Frederick asserted that it was God's will that he be absolute ruler in both Germany and Italy. But he soon found armies marching against him. Merchants in the cities of northern Italy had been frightened because he threatened the independence of their cities and taxed their wealth. With the support of the Pope, these Italian armies defeated the emperor. Again and again, too, feudal lords in the German states took advantage of Frederick's absence to rebel. Both Frederick and his successors failed to revive the glories of the ancient Roman Empire.

**Papal Power at Its Height: Pope Innocent III.** The most powerful figure in all Europe in the early thirteenth century was a brilliant Pope, Innocent III (1161-1216). Like Gregory VII, Innocent believed that Popes had supreme authority over emperors and kings. He exercised that authority. He

What makes this scene of Henry IV at Canossa one of the most dramatic and significant events in medieval history?



made the king of England his vassal, and England his fief. He excommunicated the king of France and placed his kingdom under an interdict until the king took back his divorced wife. Most of Italy acknowledged Innocent as political ruler as well as Pope. Thus in Pope Innocent's day it looked as though the Popes had won out over emperors and kings in the struggle between Church and state.

**Results of the Conflict Between Church and State.** The long-drawn-out conflict between Popes and emperors so weakened both Germany and Italy that neither became a united country until 1870. For centuries Germany was broken up into hundreds of independent states ruled by dukes, counts, barons, and bishops. Seven of these rulers came to be called *electors* because they had the right to elect the Holy Roman Emperor.

Actually, the Holy Roman Emperors had prestige, but little power. Like Germany, Italy remained hopelessly divided. Such cities as Florence, Genoa, and Venice became powerful states, completely independent of the Holy Roman Empire. French and Spanish influence became strong in southern Italy. In central Italy the Pope continued to govern the Papal States.

In general, however, after Innocent III, the papacy declined in power. Its struggle with emperors had weakened it. Heresies threatened Church unity. The failure of the German emperors to build a powerful Holy Roman Empire had encouraged the growth of some strong national states. A few of these, such as England, France, and Holland, began to challenge the Pope's power. Thus, in the long run, neither Popes nor emperors won the conflict between Church and state.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

feudalism • overlord • fief • vassal • serf • homage • investiture • manor • moat • knight • chivalry • joust • tournament • the Black Death • Wat Tyler • the uprising of the Jacquerie • Crusades • Holy Land • Pope Urban II • Peter the Hermit •

Council at Clermont • Saladin • Richard the Lion-hearted • Children's Crusade • Canossa • Pope Gregory VII • Concordat of Worms • Frederick Barbarossa • Pope Innocent III • electors of the Holy Roman Empire

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Show that (a) politics, (b) economics, (c) religion, and (d) warfare all contributed to the rise of feudalism.
2. Tell in your own words how feudalism developed.
3. Show that the obligations owed by vassals and lords were designed to help each.
4. For what reasons was feudalism frequently confusing?
5. Show why feudal contracts often led to wars.
6. To the feudal aristocrat, war often meant pleasure. To the serf, it usually meant pain. Explain.
7. Show in what ways the feudal lord was all-powerful.
8. Describe living conditions in a medieval castle.
9. Trace the steps by which a medieval boy became a knight.
10. In what ways was a medieval castle equipped to "laugh a siege to scorn"?
11. Describe the life of a medieval girl in a castle.
12. Which aspects of chivalry do you: (a) admire; (b) disapprove of?
13. To what extent was the manor self-sufficient?
14. Prove that the medieval farmer was more backward than the Roman farmer of 100 A.D.
15. What conditions caused the average serf to die young?
16. Mention the groups which helped to destroy feudalism and tell why in each case.
17. Give (a) reasons for the Crusades and (b) reasons why various people became crusaders.
18. Mention one highlight of each of the Crusades discussed in this chapter.
19. To what extent were the Crusades: (a) a failure; (b) a success?
20. Show that the Crusades helped to make Europe more civilized.
21. Give three causes for the conflict between Church and state.
22. Discuss the quarrel between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV as to (a) causes, (b) events, and (c) results.
23. Why was Frederick Barbarossa unable to revive the glories of the ancient Roman Empire?
24. What were some of the political and religious results of the conflict between Church and state?

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. How might *feudalism* have been defined by: (a) a feudal lord; (b) a serf? What is your definition of *feudalism*?
2. Feudalism frequently develops when the many are weak and the few strong. Explain and illustrate.
3. The modern world seems to be moving in the direction of larger and larger political and economic units. Feudalism means smaller and smaller political and economic units. Explain and illustrate these two sentences. Which trend do you think is better for the world? List your reasons.
4. In what respects is modern justice in a democracy superior to feudal justice?
5. Which do you think had the advantage in a struggle for a medieval castle: the offense or the defense? Discuss.
6. In what ways is even a modest American home today superior to a medieval castle?
7. What might the average American girl dislike about the education of an aristocratic girl in the Middle Ages?
8. In committee compare the attitude toward women in the Middle Ages with the attitude toward women in (a) ancient Egypt, (b) ancient China, (c) ancient India, (d) ancient Greece, (e) ancient Rome, and (f) the medieval Moslem world.
9. In the Middle Ages, most persons were serfs. Why, then, is medieval literature so full of stories about knights? Discuss fully.
10. For what reasons was the manor practically forced to become self-sufficient? To what extent might it have been better if each manor had specialized in certain products and exchanged these for the products of other manors?
11. Arrange the reasons for the decline of feudalism in what you think is the order of their importance.

12. What evidence can you give from your reading of newspapers and magazines that feudal conditions exist in the world today?

13. Classify the reasons for the Crusades under the headings *Political*, *Social*, and *Economic*.

14. The Crusades taught mankind many lessons. List some of these.

15. Show how the phrase "going to Canossa" might be applied to non-religious incidents even today.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. In the mutual obligations of vassals and lords lie plots for many stories, some comic, some tragic. With some collaborators, outline one such imaginary plot.

2. Assuming that illiteracy was not so widespread in the Middle Ages, write an essay entitled (a) *How I Became a Knight*, (b) *My Life As a Lady of a Feudal Castle*, or (c) *My Life As a Serf*. Use as sources Davis's *Life on a Medieval Barony*, Hartman's *Medieval Days and Ways*, and Tappan's *When Knights Were Bold*. Exchange your essay with those of other committee members for criticism.

3. Prepare an oral report on *The Impact of the Black Death from Medieval Reader*, by Ross and McLaughlin (editors).

4. Write a brief character sketch of (a) Peter

the Hermit, (b) Saladin, or (c) Richard the Lionhearted.

5. Read the speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont in Thatcher and McNeal's *Source Book for Medieval History*. Write an essay explaining why you think this appeal was so effective.

6. Write an answer to the *Account of His Journey through Syria* by Ibn Jubair (a Moslem) recorded in Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*.

7. Opinions differ as to the influence of the Crusades on Europe. As a committee member, investigate this and write up your conclusions.

8. Write a short poem such as a crusader might have written upon his arrival in Jerusalem.

9. For a class newspaper, write an imaginary newspaper report on the incident at Canossa.

### Summing Up

1. Compose five newspaper headlines which highlight the information in this chapter.

2. Make a list of five questions on this chapter on which you would like to have further class discussion.

3. Write your own caption for each of the illustrations in this chapter in your notebook.

4. Show the many connections between the topics of *feudalism*, the *Crusades*, and the *struggle between Church and state*.



Medieval Dinkelsbuehl, Germany, probably looked something, but not entirely, like this. Why?

## CHAPTER 8 . . . . TOWNS, TRADE, AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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Medieval Towns and Trade Promote Progress • The Hazards of Medieval Town Life • Reasons for the Rise of Towns and Cities • How Medieval Towns Were Governed • Problems of Medieval Businessmen • Medieval Guilds: Craft and Merchant Monopolies • Medieval Fairs: Peoples Meet and Progress Results • Asiatic Trade Routes Monopolized by Moslems • The Merchants of Venice Mainly Middlemen • The Hanseatic League: Powerful Trading Monopoly • Medieval Culture Influenced by Religion and Feudalism • Medieval Universities and Philosophers • Obstacles to and Progress of Science in the Middle Ages • The Printing Press Speeds Progress • The Compass, World-Revealing; Gunpowder, World-Shaking • Modern Languages Develop in the Middle Ages • Medieval Literature: Religious and Romantic • Music: Hymns and Folk Songs • Artists Harmonize Their Talents in Gothic Cathedrals

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### Medieval Towns and Trade Promote Progress

"Picturesque," "quaint," "fascinating" — these are adjectives often used by tourists in Europe to describe a town which looks much as it did in the Middle Ages. They are intrigued by the narrow, crooked streets leading who knows where, and by the intimacy of the closely packed, high-peaked houses with their carved exteriors. So far do the upper stories of these houses jut out over the narrow streets that a long-legged person could almost step from the window of one to that of one opposite. Outside many of these combined shops and homes still swing charming little signs with symbols indicating the business of the shopowner. Symbols were used because most persons in the Middle Ages could not

read. The symbol of the tavern keeper was a boar's head, that of the shoemaker was a big boot. The pawnbroker's sign, even today, is three golden balls, and the barber's a white pole with red stripes.

What tourist would not be impressed by the majestic cathedral with its spires pointing heavenward, the ornate guild halls, and the town hall with its towering belfry? These structures usually face on a large, open market place. How much more attractive the town must have looked to the medieval serf fleeing from his monotonous manor! He could understand why in this warring age the fortresslike town was surrounded with a huge wall, why he would have to cross the moat by way of a drawbridge to enter the towering gate. How he must have sighed with relief as the gate closed behind him and he remem-

bered that "city air is free air" (page 179)!

In the town, the escaped serf met people from different places, with different backgrounds and different ideas, and engaged in a wide variety of occupations. Here, unlike on the manor, an intelligent serf was bound to become more broad-minded; an ambitious serf had many opportunities to better himself. He might learn a trade or even become an important official. He could, perhaps, attend a university and worship in a great cathedral. If he became a member of the prosperous business class, he might buy undreamed-of luxuries imported from far-off places. He might watch or even participate in plays, pageants, and processions. Habit, custom, backwardness — this had been the manor. Novelty, variety, progress — this was the town.

**The Hazards of Medieval Town Life.** Nevertheless, the life span of the average medieval town dweller was not long. Whether water came from private wells or was bought from a water seller, it was often polluted. Garbage, mud, and slime cluttered the usually unpaved streets. Generally the only street cleaners were such scavengers as roving hogs, dogs, and cats. The walls which encircled the town prevented the population from spreading out. Thus, even though few towns had more than ten thousand inhabitants, the congestion was so great that epidemics sometimes wiped out the entire population. Robbers and murderers might prowl the unlighted streets at night. Bitter quarrels among groups of townsmen also threatened life. So did invasions from outside. Frequent fires cost many lives, for the wooden houses, huddled together, were a fire menace. A menace to all his neighbors was the careless citizen who fell asleep while on *night watch* duty. Then, as now, good citizenship was vital.

**Reasons for the Rise of Towns and Cities.** Beginning in the eleventh century, many old Roman towns and cities which had decayed during the Dark Ages awakened from their long sleep, and many new cities

were born. The revival of trade with the East resulting from the Crusades speeded up this growth of towns and cities. Certain Italian cities grew rich as a result of breaking the Moslem monopoly on Mediterranean trade. Furthermore, European merchants and manufacturers felt more secure and had greater incentive to go into business as the barbarians became Christianized and governments became more stable. As population increased and serfdom declined, there were more laborers for the city shops as well as more customers. As trade and industry increased, more money was accumulated. Increased wealth encouraged the growth of towns and cities.

As fiefs, most medieval towns owed dues and services to overlords. As towns increased in wealth and population, they either bought their freedom from the overlord or fought him for it. Sometimes they were supported by kings who wanted to weaken rival overlords or, as in northern Italy, by Popes who wanted to weaken powerful emperors (page 184).

**How Medieval Towns Were Governed.** Free towns received charters guaranteeing them certain governing powers. Many towns had a mayor, called a *burgomaster*, and a council to pass laws. In general, the laws and courts of the town were much fairer than those of the manor. Yet the new class of wealthy businessmen — merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and professional men — practically ran the town governments. This new class was called the *bourgeoisie*: from *bourg*, meaning *city*. Thus, Williamsburg really means *William's City*. The bourgeoisie were the *middle* class. This means that they were neither *upper*, like the nobility and clergy, nor *lower*, like peasants and serfs. Money, the source of wealth of the bourgeoisie, was to become more important than land, the source of wealth of the nobility. In time, the bourgeoisie were to become so powerful that they would dominate countries and dictate to kings. Lords who had once looked down on businessmen were now eager to marry off



Carcassonne, France, a Medieval Walled Town. Show how such towns were both emblems and enemies of the feudal system.

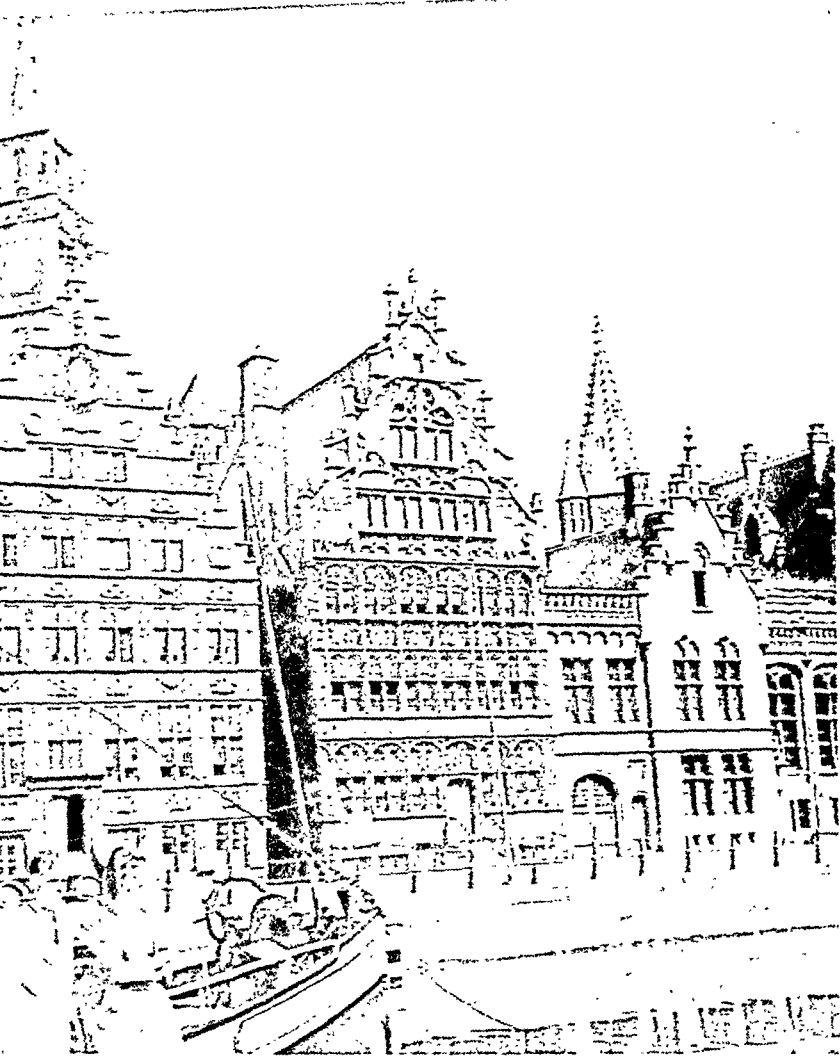
their daughters to them. Town governments placed many limits on personal freedom, limiting, for example, the amount of money to be spent on funerals and the number of trees to be planted in a garden.

**Problems of Medieval Businessmen.** Some modern businessmen feel that the government interferes too much with business, but many medieval businessmen longed for a government strong enough to regulate and protect business. A strong government would have rid the highways of bandits and the seas of pirates. It might have reduced the countless fees charged by feudal nobles every time a cargo crossed a bridge or border. A strong government would have set up uniform systems of tolls, weights, measures, and coinage. Insufficient money and an inadequate system of credit and banking made it difficult to carry on much business. The

Church forbade Christians to give or accept interest on loans. Today we mean by *usury* excessive interest rates only. But then, even moderate interest was called usury. Businessmen were also hindered by too few bridges, poor roads, and frail ships.

**Medieval Guilds: Craft and Merchant Monopolies.** Because medieval businessmen had no strong government to protect business, they considered it necessary to take matters into their own hands. Associations, known as *guilds*, which they set up, practically controlled town governments. They laid down rigid rules for the conduct of business. Guilds also served as a kind of social club. They were really monopolies created for the mutual benefit of members. Guilds were strong in China, India, and Japan, too, at this time. In China, when feudal lords levied heavy taxes, guilds went on strike.





Guild Halls on the Canal in Ghent, Belgium. List the buildings in your community which have borrowed from this style of architecture, including the particular architectural characteristics they have borrowed.

All the bakers in a medieval town would organize into a bakers' craft guild. And the goldsmiths, weavers, shoemakers, and other manufacturers would organize into guilds for their respective crafts. Unlike modern labor unions, therefore, the medieval guild was composed of owners as well as workers. Each craft guild was made up of *apprentices*, *journeymen*, and *masters*. The young apprentice worked for a period of years without pay. He received from his employer, a master, food, clothing, shelter, and religious as well as vocational education. Once skilled, he was considered a *journeyman* and earned wages. Then he might change to other masters from whom he might learn more. Finally, when he could show guild examiners that he could produce a fine piece of work,

known as a *masterpiece*, he became a master. Then, if he had enough money, he could open his own shop. Many fathers apprenticed their sons in their own craft so that they could pass on their trade secrets to the next generation.

Guild standards were so high that a guild member could be proud of his product. A worker on an assembly line in a modern factory can never feel such a sense of creativeness. Also, a medieval craftsman did not have to worry about competition from outside the town, because imports were limited. Competition within the town was curbed by limits on the number of apprentices. Thus there would be fairly few masters. Guild members were guaranteed aid in time of sickness, accident, and old age, and burials and care for their widows and orphans. Joy-

ous occasions in the life of a guild member were the plays, religious festivals, and banquets sponsored by the guilds.

Guild membership, however, carried with it responsibilities as well as privileges. A member could be expelled for failing to produce a good article, for violating the rules fixing wages and hours, for overcharging customers, or for scandalous behavior. One wine merchant, for instance, who sold impure wine was required to drink a gobletful himself. The rest was poured over his head, and he was forbidden forever to sell wine. Prices were fixed by the guild, not by supply and demand. The fixed price was supposed to cover the cost of materials and labor and give the producer a fair profit. This was called the *just price*. To sum up, the master combined the services of a manufacturer, a worker, a middleman, and a retail seller. And the guild was a combined chamber of commerce, labor union, school, fraternity, and insurance society.

About 1500, craft guilds began to decline. Why? A newcomer without family connections had almost no chance to get into a guild. High initiation fees discouraged many would-be members. Because the guilds also discouraged new methods, little progress could be made. Furthermore, as demand for products increased greatly, the guilds were unable to fill orders. Thus guilds began to outlive their usefulness. The deathblow to most guilds was to come in the eighteenth century, when many new machines were invented.

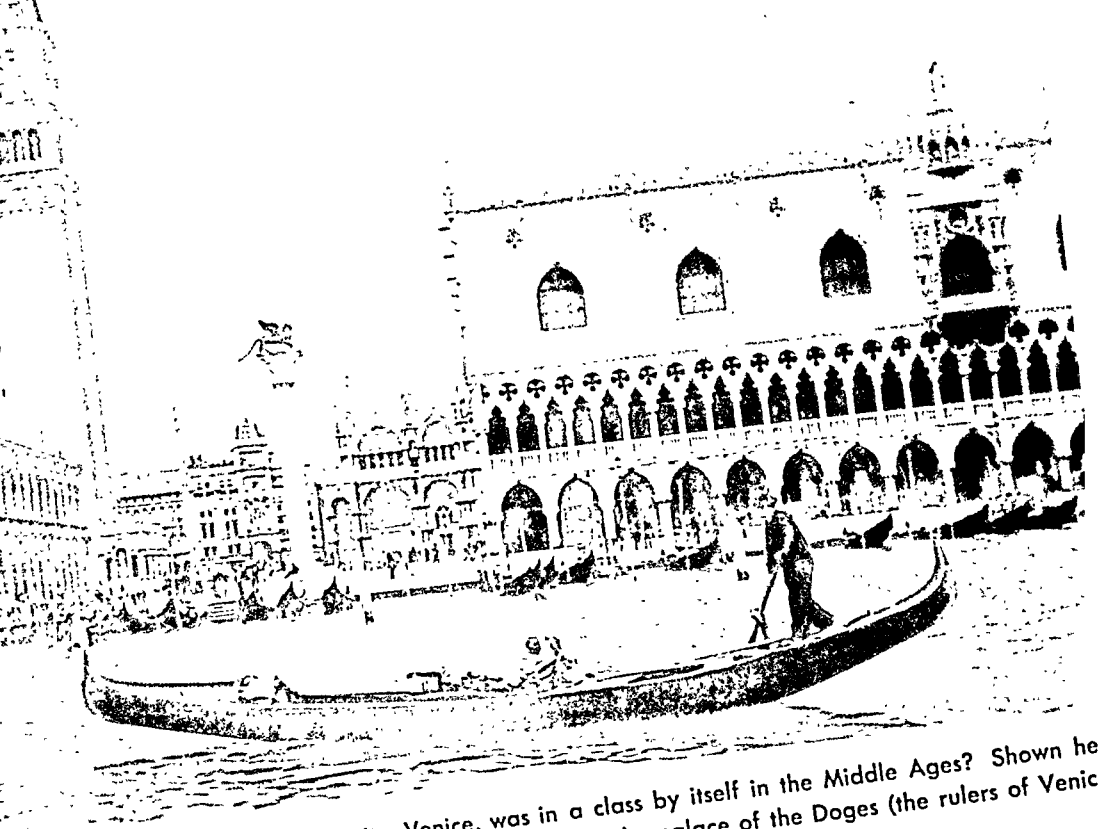
Merchant guilds wanted all trading within the town to be in the hands of their own members. To increase the profits of their members, they strictly regulated trade with other towns or even countries. To prevent one member from taking advantage of another, the guilds fixed prices and punished merchants who cheated customers. Practices such as *cornering the market*—buying up practically the entire supply of a product in order to sell the product at a higher price—were forbidden. Like modern governments, the merchant guilds built docks, customs

houses, and warehouses. Some of the most powerful of the guilds maintained armed guards to patrol roads and hired sailors to patrol the seas.

**Medieval Fairs: Peoples Meet and Progress Results.** At medieval fairs jesters and jugglers, clowns and minstrels, dancers and actors entertained. At such famous fairs as St. Ives (England), Novgorod (Russia), and Champagne (France), English wool, Russian furs, Spanish wine, Flemish linen, and the spices and silks which Italians had imported from the East were exchanged. Merchants would pay feudal lords fees for protection and for the right to market their wares at these fairs.

All these traders had different currencies. Therefore, money-changers were needed to figure out how much one currency was worth in terms of another. Some of these money-changers became moneylenders. Since merchants would leave large sums with them for safekeeping, they were able to lend money and charge interest. They knew that not all these merchants would demand their money at the same time. Thus, money-changers became moneylenders, and moneylenders in turn became bankers. The advent of bankers made it unnecessary for traveling merchants to carry large sums with them. Arrangements were made with bankers in other towns to issue money to these merchants when they presented orders. By about 1500, banks were issuing paper money. The first moneylenders in medieval Europe were Jews, since Jews were not bound by the rules of the Christian Church to refrain from taking interest. As intolerance barred Jews from guilds, banking was one of the few occupations open to them. Many lords and kings used religious prejudice as an excuse for not paying back loans to Jewish bankers. Later, Italians, especially in the Lombard cities, became the leading bankers.

Medieval fairs gave the humblest farmer or craftsman an incentive to increase production. He knew that once or twice each year, for several weeks, he could find customers



Why might it be said that this city, Venice, was in a class by itself in the Middle Ages? Shown here are the Grand Canal, the bell tower, and, at the right, the palace of the Doges (the rulers of Venice).

from all over Europe at the fair. The fairs introduced a kind of commercial law from which ultimately trade-marks, patents, and some modern bookkeeping methods developed. Also, as a result of the fairs, many people acquired a broader appreciation of the talents and ideas of other peoples. So today it is said that if obstacles to international trade were removed, greater international toleration and co-operation would result.

**Asiatic Trade Routes Monopolized by Moslems.** Moslem merchants monopolized much of medieval trade. Bazaars at Baghdad, Mecca, Damascus, and Alexandria fairly burst with beautiful porcelain, silks, and lacquer imported from China, and with rare drugs, gems, and spices imported from India and the Asiatic islands. And the three leading trade lanes between the Mediterranean Sea and the Far East were traveled mainly by Moslem merchants.

The most popular of the Asiatic routes was by water from India across the Persian Gulf, thence by camel along the Tigris-Euphrates River valley to Baghdad, and on to Antioch or Alexandria. The northern overland route ran through strange lands with treacherous mountain passes and stretches of blistering desert. It traversed China to the north of India, and thence followed the shores of the Caspian Sea to the ports of the Black Sea. The most dangerous of all three Asiatic trade routes lay the farthest south. Today ships leaving the East Indies, formerly called the Spice Islands, can travel without difficulty along the southern coasts of India and Arab into the Red Sea and through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean. But in the Middle Ages, there was no Suez Canal. Therefore cargoes had to be unloaded at an African port on the Red Sea and transported by caravan to Alexandria.

THE MIDDLE AGES

**The Merchants of Venice Mainly Middlemen.** In the fifth century, some terrified Italians fled from the fury of Attila the Hun to some swampy islands near the north coast of the Adriatic Sea. There they built themselves some fishermen's huts. By the fourteenth century, this fishermen's hamlet had become the richest city in Europe. The former swamps had become picturesque canals, the modest fishing boats, romantic gondolas, and the fishermen's huts, magnificent palaces. The simple market place had become the Rialto, probably the world's leading trading center. For many of the descendants of the fifth-century refugees had become the prosperous merchants of Venice. The most famous of these merchants was Marco Polo (page 164)

What explains this success story? During the Crusades, because of their geographical position, Venice and other Italian cities enjoyed a business boom. At Moslem ports

Venetian and other Italian merchant fleets picked up cargoes of Far Eastern luxuries. By way of Venice they eventually reached Flemish and German cities. Of the cities in Flanders, Bruges — in Belgium today — became the Venice of the north. Bruges was well situated to be the distributing center for goods going to English, German, and Scandinavian ports. Using English raw wool, Flemish weavers became famous for their excellent craftsmanship. In time, German cities achieved commercial supremacy over both Venice and Bruges.

**The Hanseatic League: Powerful Trading Monopoly.** Eighty-odd German cities in the region of the Baltic and North Seas formed a powerful league for promoting trade and providing protection to ships. It had trading posts from Novgorod, Russia, to London, England. Its powerful fleet made war on Denmark and England for interfering with its trade. German cities on the Baltic sea-



Painting of the Medieval Swedish Town of Visby. Visby's merchants were members of the Hanseatic League. Find out what imports and exports such ships might have carried to and from this port.

coast, such as Hamburg and Bremen, became the most prosperous members of the Hanseatic League. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the League carried ideas as well as goods from civilized towns to backward areas. Yet in 1601 it was said of the German cities: "Most of their teeth have fallen out, the rest sit but loosely in their head." For just as the Italian and Flemish cities had lost trade supremacy, so had they. World trade had shifted to Atlantic seaports. Powerful nations, such as England, France, and Spain, had risen, to give their merchants aid and protection.

## Medieval Culture Influenced by Religion and Feudalism

Teachers were few and soldiers were many in western Europe during the early Middle Ages. What a threat to civilization! Schools, libraries, and books were so scarce that ignorance and superstition were widespread. Church schools in monasteries and cathedrals were mainly for boys preparing to be monks and priests. Charlemagne was an active partner of the Church in extending education to other boys (page 160). By the year 1000, church schools were teaching religion, Latin grammar, and church music, and also some arithmetic, astronomy, and philosophy. Later, guilds and wealthy persons founded a few schools. Yet, besides churchmen, few persons could read and write.

**Medieval Universities: an Educational Revival.** One room with a straw-covered floor, a schedule that provided a smattering of subjects, one professor, and a score of students made up the earliest medieval university. Yet suddenly, in the twelfth century, universities were attracting thousands of students and scores of professors. Why? With the rise of cities and the increase in business, more people had more money, and many had more time to spend on study. Europeans had made contacts with scholarly Moslems, Jews, and Byzantines during the Crusades. These contacts inspired an educational revival in

Europe. Students, thirsty for knowledge, flocked to cities to drink in the learning of brilliant lecturers. Thus, universities were not planned. Some of them sprang from the old cathedral schools. As the numbers of students and professors increased, they realized that it would be to their advantage to organize. Their organization was called a *university*, meaning *guild* or *corporation*.

Soon many medieval universities were specializing in some field of learning. The University of Paris,<sup>1</sup> founded about 1200, specialized in the study of religion, and the University of Salerno, Italy, in medicine. Dissatisfied students would sometimes leave one university for another. They would go, for example, from Oxford to Cambridge in England. The most famous of the German universities, Heidelberg, was established later, in the fourteenth century.

Some medieval universities did not specialize. They taught the arts, theology (the study of religion), law, and medicine. In the arts course, students studied grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. A Bachelor of Arts degree (B. A.) was awarded to those who fulfilled the requirements in these subjects. This degree entitled holders to teach elementary subjects. Those who continued graduate work in theology, law, or medicine might win the Master of Arts degree (M. A.). This degree made them professors.

Life was no bed of roses for the medieval university student. He had to sit all day on a hard bench in a cold lecture hall. Mastery of Latin was absolutely necessary. Students did not investigate or experiment, but had to memorize the works of ancient authorities. Theological students memorized passages from the Bible; medical students, the works of Hippocrates and Galen. And all studied Aristotle. Pupils had to take notes feverishly, for there were few textbooks.<sup>2</sup> Teach-

<sup>1</sup> The University of Paris is known as *the mother of universities*.

<sup>2</sup> Printing was practically unknown in Europe until the fifteenth century.

ing was by the lecture method with an occasional debate. Those who were too poor to pay their professors sometimes received permission from the town to beg.

Yet students and teachers were privileged persons. They were tax-exempt. They could be tried in the more lenient church courts. Businessmen granted special privileges to students in order to keep universities from moving to other towns. And kings warned officials to arrest students only for serious crimes.

Then as now, students sometimes thought more of having a good time than of studying. They wandered to other countries and to other universities singing jolly verses, such as this one from *Gaudeamus Igitur*:

"Let us live, then, and be glad  
While young life's before us!  
After youthful pastime had,  
After old age hard and sad,  
Earth will slumber o'er us."

Student activities sometimes included fights with townspeople, fencing, and hunting. Upperclassmen tormented freshmen by treating them roughly and assigning them ridiculous tasks.

**Medieval Philosophers Stress Scholasticism.** "Can two angels occupy the same place at the same time?" Such questions were discussed for hours in medieval universities. Logic or reason was used to try to find answers to such questions relating to religion. Since religion was the dominant influence in the Middle Ages, theology was considered the most important subject. Professors used the logic of Aristotle to prove the truth of Church doctrines. This use of Aristotelian logic was important in the school of philosophy called *scholasticism*.

A follower of scholasticism was called a *schoolman*. One of the most popular schoolmen was the brilliant and tragic monk Peter Abelard (1079-1142). Because students in Paris left their classes to listen to the lectures of their fellow student, Abelard, he is considered the founder of the University of Paris. Like Socrates, Abelard tried to make his thou-



**Modern University Students in Paris Reviving Some of the Pranks of Medieval Students.** How does this compare with certain aspects of American university life today?

sands of pupils think by asking them challenging questions. In his book, *Sic et Non*, meaning "Yes and No," he listed arguments for and against various church doctrines which seemed to contradict one another. For each argument he quoted Church authorities. He encouraged the reader to figure out for himself which were the correct answers. He taught, "By doubting, we are led to inquiry, and from inquiry we perceive the truth." Abelard's encouragement of this spirit of inquiry antagonized many religious leaders. They maintained that some beliefs should be based on faith alone. Many condemned Abelard as a heretic. An unhappy love affair with lovely Héloïse added to his troubles. The love letters of Héloïse and Abelard are literary treasures.

About 1200, writings on Aristotle by the Moslem scholar Averroes (page 149) began to filter into Europe. Many churchmen feared



The Surgeon Dentist of the Sixteenth Century. Compare the above scene with your own experiences in a dental chair.

that the writings of the pagan Aristotle, especially when interpreted by a Mohammedan, might cause Christians to question their own religion. A scholarly Dominican priest, Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), wrote a book called *Summa Theologica* to quiet these fears. In it, using Aristotelian logic, this schoolman attempted to show that the Christian religion could stand the test of reason.

**Obstacles to Science in the Middle Ages.** Ships sailing the seas with every member of the crew dead; villages deserted by all but corpses; babies wailing for their dead mothers . . . This was the Black Death which destroyed millions in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the fourteenth century. And the greatest doctor in all Europe explained the cause of

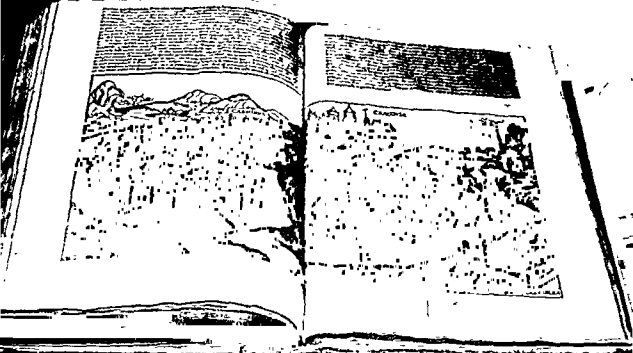
this plague as "the grand conjunction of the three superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, in the sign of Aquarius!"

Only the most ignorant and superstitious individual would give such an explanation today. However, in the Middle Ages most persons believed in the false science of astrology (page 35). Farmers planting crops, kings planning battles, and girls scheduling weddings all consulted the stars and planets to determine the luckiest date for the undertaking. Alchemists (page 149) continued the hopeless search for ways to turn cheaper metals into gold, and to make life eternal.

"Swallow these worms." "Wear a charm around your neck with the word 'Abracadabra' on it." Such were the prescriptions of many medieval doctors. During the Middle Ages and for centuries after, superstition was so powerful that many helpless women were burned, drowned, or hanged as witches in league with the Devil.

Religion and philosophy, not sciences of man and nature, were considered fit subjects for study. Man and nature were God's creatures. It was believed to be irreverent for human beings to analyze them scientifically. Science was hindered because the word of such ancient authorities as Aristotle and Galen was generally accepted as final. To find out how many teeth a horse has, medieval men consulted these authorities, instead of getting the information straight from the horse's mouth!

**Progress of Science in the Middle Ages.** It would be unfair to think of the medieval world exclusively in terms of demons, dragons, witches, magic, and unscientific scholarship. Some men, especially in the Moslem world, conducted many scientific investigations. One English monk and scientist, Roger Bacon (1214-1294), advised scientists to rely less on ancient scholars and more on their own observation and experimentation. He predicted that such scientific techniques would eventually give the world horseless carriages, airplanes, and ships needing neither oars nor sails. But Roger Bacon himself was not e



Book Printed in Nuremberg in 1493. The book is opened at the map of old Kraków in Poland. The benefits of such books must have been limited to very few for a long time. Why?

tirely free from the superstition of his age. He maintained that "no education which man can give will bestow such wisdom as does the eating of the flesh of dragons."

A few medieval doctors learned anatomy, not from ancient books, but by courageously dissecting corpses. Indirectly, alchemists helped to develop chemistry, and astrologists to develop astronomy. Glass windows, eyeglasses, mechanical clocks, and lead plumbing were medieval inventions. And it was in the Middle Ages that Europe began to use the compass, gunpowder, and the printing press.

**The Printing Press Speeds Progress.** People who lived hundreds of years ago are giving advice and information to millions of persons alive today. Without the printing press, this advice and information would be available to few. As early as the first century B.C., the Chinese were familiar with printing. In the fifteenth century A.D., a few Europeans learned to carve or cast single letters on metal or wooden blocks, which could be used to set up whole pages for printing. This device was called *movable type*. Most historians believe

that John Gutenberg made the first printing press using movable type. About 1450, Gutenberg printed by this means an edition of the Bible in Mainz, Germany.

Democracy owes a great debt to the invention of printing. Through printing, more accurate books could be produced in great quantities at low prices. Knowing that they could thus reach the common people, more authors were to write on popular subjects in language that the people could understand. Today many countries strive to educate everybody. This would be impossible under the medieval system of lectures with few textbooks or libraries. Newspapers and magazines can keep people informed on current events. However, some governments have used the printing press to destroy democracy. By printing only what they want the people to know, they discourage the people from doing their own thinking.

**The Compass, World-Revealing; Gunpowder, World-Shaking.** In the past four centuries, man has learned more about the peoples, lands, and resources of this earth than in all the centuries before. The com-



pass deserves much credit for revealing this knowledge. Guided by a compass, sailors can sail in the right direction even at night far from any seacoast, and in cloudy and stormy weather. Many ancient peoples, including the Chinese, knew that a freely suspended magnet would always turn to the north.

The Chinese had also known about gunpowder for centuries. It began to be used in Europe in the fourteenth century. Soon it was weakening feudalism and strengthening monarchies. For, as we have seen, feudal lords could not stand up against monarchs who could afford to equip large armies with guns and cannons. And we know well the world-shaking effects of gunpowder in our times.

**Modern Languages Develop in the Middle Ages.** Language is a living thing. Like people, some words and phrases are constantly being born and others dying. For example, courting a girl has always been a popular activity. But the popular name for the activity keeps changing. Some have "kept company"; some have "sparked"; and some have "gone steady." When a word or phrase continues to be used, it may become part of the language. Like Indians, we sometimes "bury the hatchet." This coining of new words to make language simpler and more expressive makes language flexible but sometimes puzzling. Englishmen visiting the United States are puzzled by many expressions. Even within the United States, Northerners and Southerners frequently bewilder each other.

But until the fifteenth century, most educated persons in western Europe did not face this language problem. Latin was the international language of churchmen, lawyers, diplomats, writers, and students. Yet Latin, like Greek, is a "dead" language today. Most Europeans had never mastered the classical Latin of Caesar, Cicero, and Horace. Lacking education, they spoke a vulgar form of Latin. Many barbarians pouring into the Roman Empire spoke only their own languages.

In time, the people of each geographic area

began to speak their own language, based on the vulgar Latin or the language of the barbarians. New words and phrases and simpler grammar developed. On the other hand, scholars who wrote in classical Latin jealously guarded much of the ancient vocabulary and difficult grammar. However, even their written Latin was not so pure as that of the writers of ancient Rome. By the thirteenth century it was clear that the spoken language of the people would triumph over the written language of the scholars.

These spoken languages of the people, called *vernacular*, now began to be written down. From Latin, the language of the Romans, developed the *Romance* languages (page 128). These became national languages. So did other vernacular languages, called *Teutonic*, which grew out of the speech of the German barbarians. This group includes German, Dutch, English, Flemish, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. Vernacular speech in eastern Europe developed into the *Slavic* group of languages. Among the Slavic national languages are Polish, Russian, and Bulgarian. The people of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland long spoke vernacular languages belonging to the *Celtic* group.

Many words in all European languages, and even in certain Asiatic languages, have similar spelling, sound, and meaning. All these members of the Indo-European language family (page 55) have taken words from one another. The Latin *pater* (*father*) is related to the German *vater* and the Persian *pidar*. And all the Indo-European languages have borrowed words from other language families, such as the Semitic. Semitic Arabic has given English such words as *henna* and *caliber*.

With the development of vernacular languages, the common people could eventually express in literature their hopes and fears. Learning, once a monopoly of the few (aristocrats and churchmen), was slowly beginning to filter into the lives of the many.

**Medieval Literature: Religious and Romantic.** Medieval historians often used his-

tory either to prove religious doctrines or to praise heroes. In general, they failed to examine causes, to interpret the meaning of events, or to analyze the problems of the common people. In fact, most medieval literature ignores the daily life of the common people. It concentrates instead on the adventures of noble knights, the romances of court ladies, and stories for religious inspiration and moral guidance. But late in the Middle Ages, an Englishman, William Langland, wrote a poem, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*. Its characters include beggars, serfs, and hermits as well as aristocratic ladies and haughty nobles. The poem stresses such ideas as the equality of men, the dignity of labor, and contempt for hypocrisy. Thus, for the Middle Ages, it was a revolutionary poem.

**Epics Praise Daring Knights.** Medieval wandering minstrels were heartily welcomed in village, castle, and town. They would chant long epic poems of kings and knights, of battles and victories. *Beowulf*, one of the earliest epics, was first sung and later written in Anglo-Saxon. Its Viking hero, *Beowulf*, braves the watery den of a fierce dragon and, after a terrible struggle, slays the monster. A more familiar English epic is made up of all the legends of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. These legends tell much of feudal warfare and chivalry. The German epic, *Nibelungenlied*, has been made immortal in the operas of Richard Wagner. Its hero, Siegfried, like *Beowulf*, kills a dragon. He then wades through a ring of fire to rescue a sleeping beauty. Spain's national epic is *Le Cid*. Its hero, filled with the Christian spirit and the ideals of chivalry, fought the Moors. Some say that he fought for either Christians or Moors, depending upon which paid him more. The most famous French epic is the *Song of Roland*. Roland was a noble of Charlemagne's court who died heroically fighting the Moors in Spain. The poem breathes the spirit of chivalry, Christianity, and patriotism.

**Romances—Love Stories of the Nobles** "All the world loves a lover." At least in the Mid-



A Scene from the Oberammergau Passion Play — Christ before Pilate. A modern version of a medieval play.

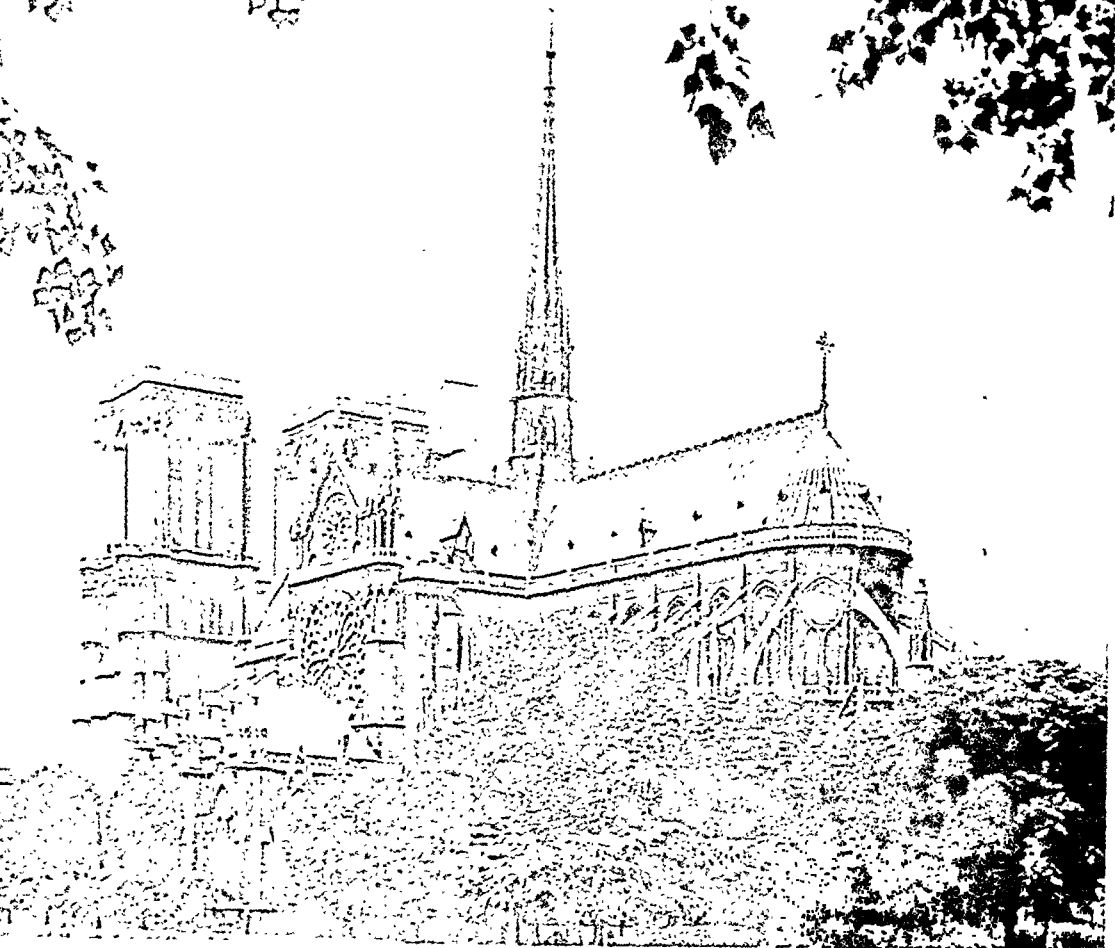
dle Ages, everybody loved to hear the troubadours of France and the minnesingers of Germany sing about lovers. Most medieval love stories have as their heroes hot-blooded knights who go through fire and water to win their loves. The slim heroines have hearts of ice. They spurn the lover, but finally yield to his ardor. A famous French medieval romance, *Romance of the Rose*, ends thus:

"And Nature laughs, it seems to me,  
When joined at last are He and She."

Happy, also, is the ending to the tender French tale *Aucassin and Nicolette*. A medieval love story told in many lands which ends less happily is *Tristan and Isolde*. By mistake Tristan and Isolde drink a magic mixture which dooms them to love each other forever. But fate has given each another mate.

**Dramas Teach Religion and Morals.** Pagan festivals were picturesque and dramatic. In the Middle Ages, in order to make its religious ceremonies more colorful, the Church introduced religious dramas. These were *mystery plays*, plays based on Bible stories<sup>3</sup>, *miracle plays*, based on legends of saints, and *morality plays*, based on such themes as justice, greed, and sin. In the morality plays, virtues and vices appeared as characters in order to teach lessons. Types of literature in which spiritual ideas are thus given concrete

<sup>3</sup> The passion play held every ten years at Oberammergau, Germany, is a modern survival of the medieval mystery play.



The Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. What characteristics of a Gothic cathedral can you find in this picture?

form are called *allegories*. The most famous of the morality plays is *Everyman*. In it, good and evil struggle to win control over a man's soul.

*Fabliaux* *Ridicule Aristocrats*. Very different from the religious dramas were the French *fabliaux*, comical short stories told in verse. Other countries had tales similar to the *fabliaux*. Often using indecent language, these tales poked fun at nobles, clergy, and love. In the towns the *fabliaux* were especially popular with merchants, whose growing power made them bold enough to laugh at feudal privileges and ideals. Some of the tales, such as *Reynard the Fox*, are about animals who behave like human beings. They ridicule such traits as pride, stupidity, greed, and hypocrisy. But some tales seem to up-

hold cunning and deceit as roads to success.

**Medieval Music: Hymns and Folk Songs.** Through music the people of the Middle Ages revealed their intense religious feeling. The chanting of masses by priests had begun in the Eastern Church at Constantinople. This practice spread rapidly throughout the western world. Then choirs took up chanting hymns composed by monks. One such hymn, *Dies Irae*, expresses the terror with which Judgment Day was regarded in the Middle Ages. The soothing tones of another, *Jerusalem the Golden*, bring comfort to the Christian. Hymns of joy, *carols*, sung at Christmas or Easter, were especially popular.

The Middle Ages had some worldly music, too. Students wrote medieval history with

their drinking songs; farmers, with their harvest songs; and minstrels, with their songs of love and war. Such simple songs of the common people, *folk songs*, have been handed down through the centuries by word of mouth.

In the main, medieval music did not merge independent voice parts in harmony or combine many instruments in orchestration. When hurdy-gurdies, drums, bagpipes, trumpets, and lutes played together, it was usually for the purpose of making the music louder, not sweeter!

**Artists Harmonize Their Talents in Gothic Cathedrals.** Medieval men sang God's praises in music. But nothing in medieval music compares with the magnificent architecture of the cathedrals which the Middle Ages created for the glory of God. These cathedrals were like beautiful symphonies in stone. Building a cathedral was a voluntary co-operative enterprise which sometimes took centuries. Popes, kings, and merchants spent fortunes on cathedral construction. The poor gave their pennies. Workers generously pooled their strength and skills.

The architectural style of medieval cathedrals was either *Romanesque* or *Gothic*. Both had floor plans in the form of a Latin cross. The earliest cathedrals were called *Romanesque*, meaning *Roman-like*, because they looked like the ancient Roman courthouses. Thick walls had to be constructed to support the massive stone roof of a Romanesque cathedral. Windows were few and small to avoid weakening the walls. Consequently, the interiors were dark. The many rounded arches over doors and windows help to identify a Romanesque cathedral.

In the twelfth century, architects began designing Gothic cathedrals. These were lofty, light, and graceful, yet just as durable as the Romanesque. The architects discovered a way to make thick walls unnecessary, and thus made it possible to build tall cathedrals with many large windows. By redistributing the weight of the roof, they could prevent it from pushing the walls outward. First,



Twelfth-Century Ivory Carving

the roof was made steeper by the substitution of pointed arches for rounded ones. Thus, more of the roof's weight pressed downward instead of outward. Furthermore, some of these pointed arches rested on slender pillars inside the cathedral. Second, wherever the outward pressure of the roof was heaviest, the builders reinforced or buttressed the wall by thickening it. Finally, outside the walls, they built arches leaning against the top of the walls to act as an additional brace. These slender arches are called *flying buttresses*.

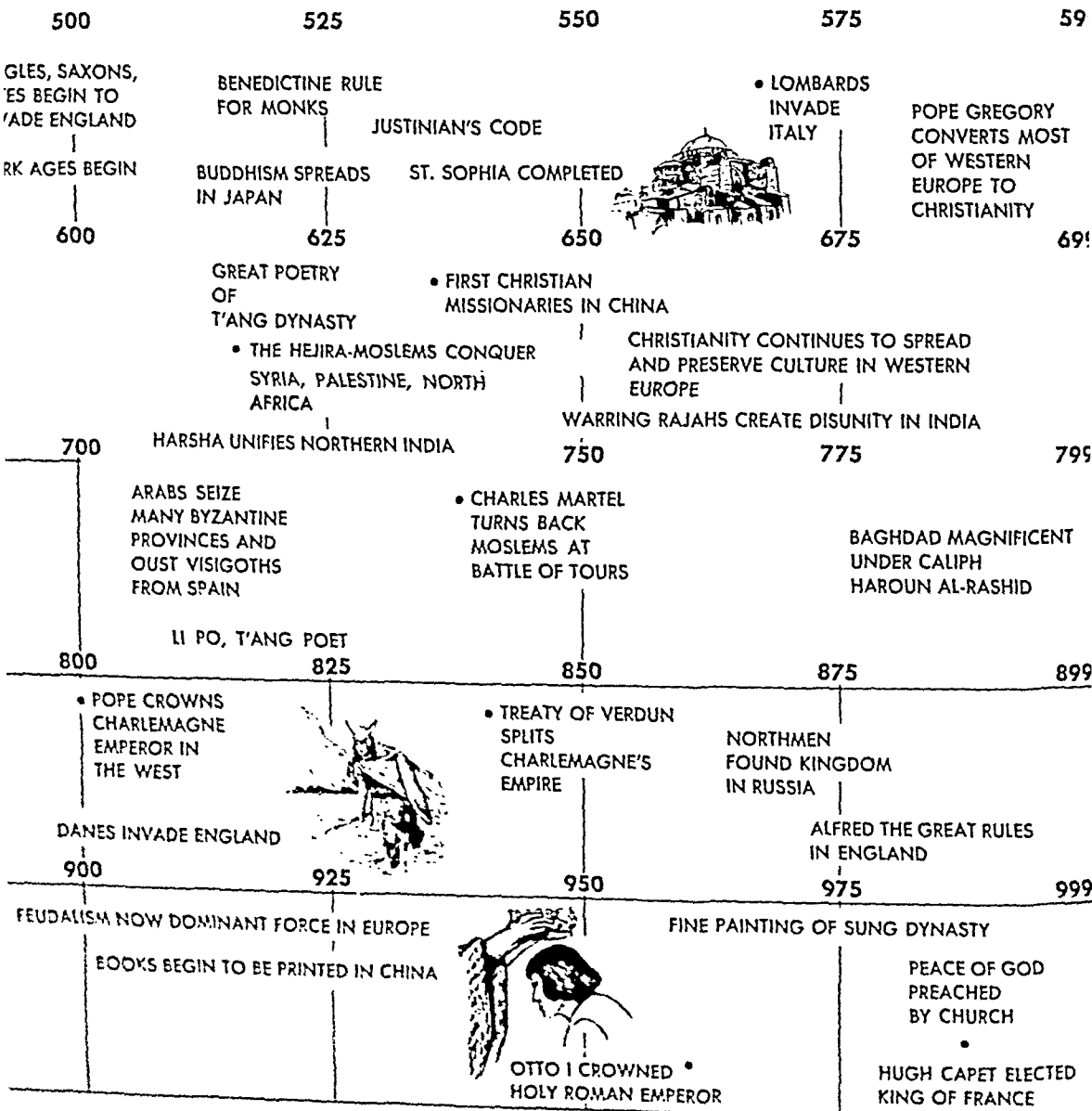
Everyone who performs in a symphony must play his part in harmony with other performers. So it was with the artists who created these Gothic symphonies in stone. Glassworkers carefully selected hundreds of bits of gorgeously colored glass and arranged

them in intricate patterns to give the cathedrals their famous stained-glass windows. Sculptors carved the reliefs and statues from the same stone as the cathedral, and thus the sculpture is in harmony with the architecture. Nearly two thousand statues of saints, angels, prophets, and biblical characters adorn the inside and outside of Chartres Cathedral in France. But cathedral sculptors also portrayed farmers, craftsmen, animals, and flowers. Failure to include such creatures of God would be like omitting some notes in the symphony. Some craftsmen produced delicate woodcarving on pulpits and altars.

Others wrought handsome bronze or iron grillwork on gates. Still others embroidered tapestries for the walls. Skillful jewelers made altars sparkle. Working in harmony with the rest were those diligent men who produced the illuminated manuscripts of religious books often found on cathedral altars.

Any tourist could stand outside Westminster Abbey, Notre Dame, Cologne, or Milan cathedrals and admire the lofty spires and pointed arches reaching toward heaven. Outside Notre Dame Cathedral the tourist might be amused at the queer stone animal or human heads, called *gargoyles*, which project

## TIME LINE FOR THE MEDIEVAL



from the gutters to act as rainpouts. Stepping inside, he might admire the jewel-like effect of the sun streaming in through the stained-glass windows. But it takes a tourist who knows the history of the Middle Ages to appreciate fully a Gothic cathedral.

## A Glance Back at the Middle Ages

In many ways the Gothic cathedral sums up the late Middle Ages. It would have been impossible to build cathedrals if the barbarian invasions and feudal warfare had not

been curbed. Tapestries, ivory carvings, and colorful mosaics in many cathedrals show the influence of Byzantine and Moslem contacts brought about by the Crusades. The fact that hundreds of Gothic cathedrals were constructed was a sign of growing wealth and strength. It was increased wealth from increased trade which led to the growth of cities. Civic pride inspired contributions for financing the cathedrals. Guilds furnished the workers. Above all, the Gothic cathedral stands as testimony to how many persons in the Middle Ages concentrated their hopes and dreams on the next world.

## WORLD BY CENTURIES

1000	1025	1050	1075	1100
REVIVAL OF MAYAN CULTURE AVICENNA'S MEDICAL TEXTBOOK • LEIF ERICSSON DISCOVERS VINLAND CHURCH SCHOOLS EXPAND CURRICULUM		TRUCE OF GOD PREACHED BY CHURCH • SELJUK TURKS CONQUER PERSIA	NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND SPLIT BETWEEN EASTERN ORTHODOX AND WESTERN ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES HENRY IV DOES PENANCE AT CANOSSA	POPE URBAN CALLS FOR CRUSADE
TOWNS AND TRADE EXPAND OMAR KHAYYAM'S POEMS INCAS FLOURISH IN PERU VERNACULAR LANGUAGES DEVELOP COMPROMISE ON INVESTITURE AT CONCORDAT AT WORMS	GRAND JURY SYSTEM BEGINS IN ENGLAND (CHAP. 10)	CONSTRUCTION OF CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME BEGUN GENGHIS KHAN LEADS MONGOLS	FEUDALISM SPREADS IN JAPAN (CHAP. 15) MOSLEM AVERROES SPREADS ARISTOTLE'S LEARNING TO EUROPE	
UNIVERSITY OF PARIS FOUNDED • MAGNA CARTA (CHAP. 10) ST FRANCIS PREACHES PAPACY AT HEIGHT UNDER POPE INNOCENT III MEDIEVAL FAIRS FLOURISH MOSLEM EMPIRE ESTABLISHED IN INDIA CRUSADERS BRING BACK MOSLEM LEARNING	THOMAS AQUINAS, A LEADER IN SCHOLASTICISM	HANSEATIC LEAGUE BEGINS TO FORM MARCO POLO VISITS CHINA RUDDOLPH, FIRST HABSBURG ELECTED HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR ITALIAN CITY-STATES FLOURISH FROM MOSLEM TRADE	ROGER BACON RECOMMENDS EXPERIMENTATION EDWARD I'S MODEL PARLIAMENT (CHAP. 10)	
RENAISSANCE BEGINS (CHAP. 9) DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY • FIRST FRENCH ESTATES-GENERAL (CHAP. 10)	HUNDRED YEARS' WAR BEGINS (CHAP. 10) THE BLACK DEATH	UPRISING OF THE JACQUERIE MING DYNASTY PRACTICES ISOLATION • PEASANTS' REVOLUTED BY WAT TYLER CHAUCER'S CANTERBURY TALES (CHAP. 9)		
JOHN HUSS EXECUTED AS HERETIC (CHAP. 9)	JOAN OF ARC BURNED AT STAKE (CHAP. 10)	PRINTING PRESS FIRST USED IN EUROPE EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES BEGIN (CHAP. 9)	MOSLEMS AND JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN (CHAP. 10)	
	CONSTANTINOPLE FALLS		GUILDS BEGIN TO DECLINE	

## USHERING IN MODERN TIMES

Picture an imaginary sleepyhead who fell asleep in Europe in 1500 and did not wake up until 1750. Would he have found living conditions very much changed? Probably not. But suppose this easily fatigued individual fell into another deep slumber about 1751 and has just awakened. What breath-taking changes he would find this time! For in the last two hundred years, mankind has made more political, social, and scientific progress than in the whole history of civilization before.

Why, then, do not most history books date modern times from 1750 instead of from 1500? Because no great changes occur overnight. There is always a time of transition between periods of history when old ideas are dying and new ideas are being born. A period of transition is like a bridge. The bridge between medieval and modern times is roughly the period between 1500 and 1750. The pillars which hold up this bridge are a series of world-shaking developments, some of which began developing even much earlier than 1500. These developments include the *Renaissance*, the *Scientific Revolution*, the *Commercial Revolution*, the *Rise of Capitalism*, the *Protestant Reformation*, and the *Rise of National States*.

The pillars holding up the bridge to modern times were sunk deep in the Middle Ages. As feudalism was dying in the late Middle Ages, infant national states were growing up. Some medieval thinkers were so far ahead of their time that their contributions might almost be studied as part of modern history. None of the pillars supporting the bridge to modern times stands alone. Each is linked to the others by numerous crossbeams. The explorations and discoveries of the Commercial Revolution contributed to the Scientific Revolution by increasing scientific knowledge. So, too, increased scientific knowledge made possible more explorations and discoveries. In fact, the pillars supporting the bridge to modern times are so closely connected that they sometimes appear to be one solid foundation.

But what is meant by "modern times"? Modern times means more than a time period. It is an attitude of mind also. Its spirit is optimism, a belief that mankind can build a better world, as opposed to pessimism, the belief that mankind is doomed. The attitude of modern times is scientific, not superstitious. It holds all society responsible for helping the sick, the poor, and the oppressed. It recognizes the right of an individual to improve himself without being bound by the rules of a caste system. It stresses education for all. It is the freedom of the individual to speak for himself instead of having church and state speak for him. It expects creative writers and artists to deal with worldly as well as religious problems. It upholds the privilege of the individual to worship according to his own conscience. It is the pleasure of living comfortably here on earth, and not only looking forward to a better life in heaven. It is an allegiance to one's nation rather than to a feudal lord,

and a belief that one can be a good citizen of the world as well as of his country. It is a recognition that no one race, nationality, or religion has a monopoly on the talents that benefit all mankind.

There are people who live in modern times whose point of view is medieval, just as there were medieval men whose point of view was modern. For there are always men "born before their time" and men who long for "the good old days." Most persons today probably prefer modern times. Yet there are those who sigh for the Middle Ages when there was a deeper religious feeling — when practically everybody's place in life seemed fixed. They point out that medieval men in general were not so driven by ambition as to take advantage of their fellow men. In the Middle Ages, the threat of world-wide depressions did not hang over men. Nor were men terrorized by the threat of flame throwers and atomic bombs.

There is a little of the medieval in all of us, but some are thoroughly medieval-minded (page 135). Such persons believe in omens, magic, and fortune-telling. They say that men today have too many freedoms. They

the same way as man did in the Middle Ages. In this period of transition to modern times, the medieval point of view and the modern point of view were in constant conflict, as we shall now see. In fact, even today serious differences frequently arise between the medieval-minded and those who have the spirit of modern times.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

bourgeoisie • usury • craft guilds • apprentice • masterpiece • just price • merchant guild • cornering the market • money-changers • Spice Islands • Rialto • Hanseatic League • theology • scholasticism • Abelard • Thomas Aquinas • Roger Bacon • Gutenberg • Teutonic languages • vernacular • Slavic languages • Celtic languages • Indo-European languages • The Vision of Piers

Plowman • Beowulf • Nibelungenlied • Le Cid • Song of Roland • troubadour • Romance of the Rose • Tristan and Isolde • mystery plays • miracle plays • morality plays • Everyman • fabliaux • Dies irae • carols • folk songs • Romanesque cathedrals • Gothic cathedrals • flying buttresses • stained-glass windows • gargoyles • movable type

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Compare a medieval town with your home town.
2. Show that modern merchants, like medieval ones, adopt symbols to indicate their businesses.
3. Medieval towns were like magnets to run-away serfs. For what reasons?
4. In what ways was one's life constantly in danger in a medieval town?
5. How do you account for the rise of towns and cities in the Middle Ages?
6. What was (a) democratic and (b) undemocratic in the government of medieval towns?



7. Discuss the headaches of the medieval businessman.
8. Compare the (a) aims and (b) practices of craft and merchant guilds.
9. Trace the process by which a boy might become a master.
10. Show that guild members had (a) privileges and (b) responsibilities.
11. Give reasons for the decline of the craft guilds.
12. Business and pleasure were mixed at medieval fairs. Discuss.
13. Show how medieval fairs speeded up progress.
14. Prove that a merchant had to have a good deal of courage no matter what route he took between Europe and Asia in the Middle Ages.
15. Tell how Venice developed from humble beginnings.
16. Why did it pay for a merchant to belong to the Hanseatic League?
17. Discuss the most important reason for the rise of the medieval universities.
18. In what ways was life in a medieval university (a) similar to and (b) different from life in a modern university?

19. Why was Abelard, a religious man, attacked by many as irreligious?
20. What is important to remember about Thomas Aquinas? Why?
21. What was the most serious obstacle to science in the Middle Ages? Discuss.
22. Prove that science was not at a standstill in the Middle Ages.
23. Vernacular languages grew out of other languages and local conditions. Explain fully.
24. Give proof that most modern languages are descended from a common ancestor.
25. In what ways did the development of the vernacular help the development of democracy?
26. Prove that the medieval epics express the spirit of the Middle Ages.
27. Show by examples that love was the major theme of the medieval romances.
28. Point out the similarities and differences among the mystery, miracle, and morality plays.
29. What contributions did the Middle Ages make to music?
30. Give proof that the medieval cathedral was the work of all the people.
31. How is a Gothic cathedral different from a Romanesque cathedral?

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What adjectives would you add to the list of adjectives in this chapter describing a medieval town?
2. The exterior of a medieval town gives many clues to its interior. What clues?
3. In what ways did the growth of towns show that man was making progress?
4. To what extent are the hazards of modern town life even greater than those of medieval town life?
5. The rise of towns was an indication that the bourgeoisie would eventually supplant the aristocracy as the most powerful group in society. Why?
6. How might a strong central government have been a great help to the medieval businessman?
7. How practical would it be to adopt a guild system for modern industry? Give reasons.
8. Show by examples that in a sense there are still craft guilds and merchant guilds.

9. Which do you think were greater: the responsibilities or the privileges of guild membership? Explain fully.
10. In your opinion, what were the good and bad features of (a) the craft guilds and (b) the merchant guilds?
11. Why might the medieval fair have meant more to people then than the most spectacular event to us today?
12. Necessity was the mother of banking. Prove.
13. Just as the medieval university course of study was in keeping with the Middle Ages, so modern university courses of study reflect modern needs. Discuss, giving examples.
14. Write your impressions of Abelard's statement: "By doubting we are led to inquiry and from inquiry we perceive the truth."
15. Give reasons why it is surprising that science made as much progress as it did in the Middle Ages.

16. In what ways were the printing press, the compass, and gunpowder keys to modern times?
17. In general, how do the themes of modern literature differ from the themes of medieval epics?
18. For what reasons were the fabliaux so popular? How do you explain their use of animals instead of human beings?

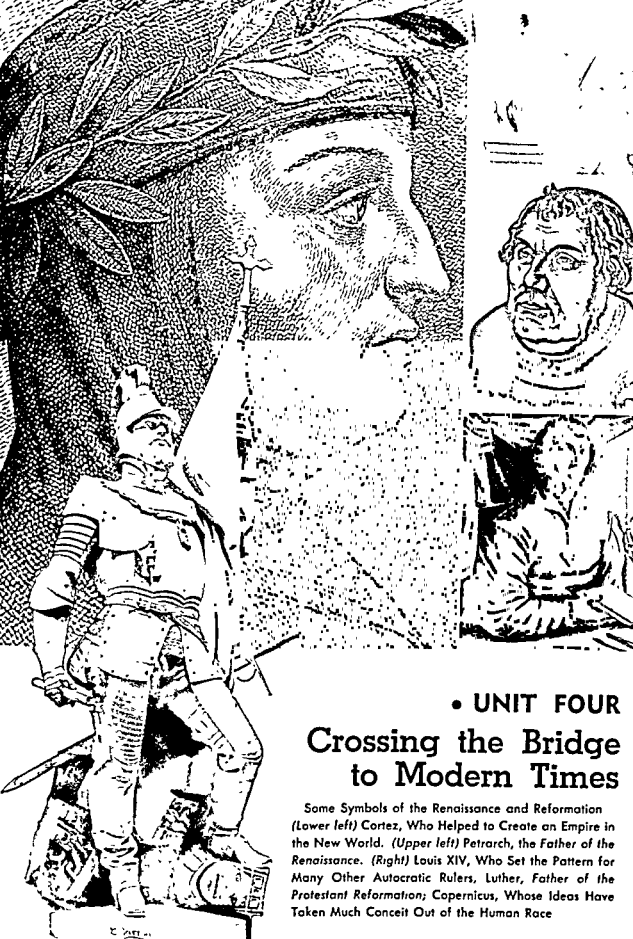
19. What medieval history might a student learn from a study of a medieval Gothic cathedral?
20. How does a knowledge of medieval history give a person a deeper appreciation of a medieval cathedral?
21. Prove that the section headed "A Glance Back at The Middle Ages" is also a look forward to modern times.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. For the class bulletin board, draw a sketch of any aspect of medieval town life. Get ideas from *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* or Miller and Baum's *My Book of History*, Volume III.
2. Write an imaginary letter from a medieval craftsman who has just become a master, advising an ambitious young friend as to how he, too, can rise from apprenticeship.
3. Interview a member of a labor union to obtain information for a committee report comparing a modern union with a medieval craft guild.
4. Write an essay entitled, "I Was a Merchant in the Hanseatic League." Consult Baldwin's *Business in the Middle Ages*.
5. For the class newspaper, write a column made up of interesting bits of information on (a) medieval trade and (b) medieval city life. See *Readings in Medieval History* by Scott, Hyma, and Noyes.
6. Locate on an outline map of the world the following important medieval cities: Baghdad, Bruges, Cuzco, Mexico City, Mecca, Samarkand, Constantinople, Ghent, Damascus, Cordova, Peking, Marseilles, Paris, London, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, Delhi. Indicate why any five of these were important. Which of these cities are far less important now than then?
7. In committee prepare for the bulletin board a large map on which you locate the most important medieval trade routes. By means of simple symbols indicate the means of transportation, the products exchanged, and such obstacles as pirates and bandits. Consult Day's *A History of Commerce*.
8. As a committee research project, find out what a visitor to a medieval fair at Champagne or Novgorod could learn about (a) the products of various areas, (b) the clothing worn by various peoples, (c) varied customs, and (d) medieval

- business practices. List your sources of information.
9. Draw a sketch of your impression of what a medieval fair must have looked like. Tell what you have done to try to make your sketch as accurate as possible.
10. Consult an atlas to compare the leading modern trade routes with the leading medieval ones. What conclusions do you draw?
11. From the library card catalog select a book on Marco Polo. Report on how his travels stimulated trade between East and West.
12. Prepare an oral report on methods used to punish guild members who gave short weight or adulterated their products.
13. Read *Advice to a Norwegian Merchant in Medieval Reader*, edited by Ross and McLaughlin. Make a list of the warnings given which might well be heeded by merchants today.
14. Read the selections from *Vision of Piers Plowman in The Poetry of Freedom*, edited by Benet and Cousins. What picture does this paint of certain aspects of medieval life?
15. Using Haskins's *The Rise of the Universities* or Rait's *Life in the Medieval University*, write an article for the class newspaper on (a) medieval professors, (b) medieval students, (c) medieval classroom activities, and (d) medieval extra-curricular activities.
16. Using the morality play *Everyman* as your model, with collaborators outline the scenes for a morality play on modern times. Include (a) your cast of characters and (b) some sample dialogue.
17. Imagine yourself a medieval troubadour. Write a verse to be sung to a lovely lady. See Robinson's *Readings in European History*, Volume I, for troubadour verse forms.





## • UNIT FOUR

# Crossing the Bridge to Modern Times

Some Symbols of the Renaissance and Reformation  
(Lower left) Cortez, Who Helped to Create an Empire in  
the New World. (Upper left) Petrarch, the Father of the  
Renaissance. (Right) Louis XIV, Who Set the Pattern for  
Many Other Autocratic Rulers, Luther, Father of the  
Protestant Reformation; Copernicus, Whose Ideas Have  
Taken Much Conceit Out of the Human Race



## CHAPTER 9 . . . THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

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**The Renaissance Revives Interest in Man, His Achievements, and His World**  
 • The Renaissance Produces Literary Masterpieces and Artistic Geniuses •  
 How the Renaissance Influenced the World • The Scientific Revolution  
 Encourages the Spirit of Inquiry • Scientific Method: Truth-Seeking in  
 Action • Some Scientists Seek Truth and Find Trouble • Pioneers of  
 Modern Medicine • The Expansion of Europe Brings About the Commercial  
 Revolution • How the Commercial Revolution Helped to Make the Modern  
 World • The Development of Capitalism • How Early Capitalism Changed  
 Industry and Agriculture and Influenced Government • The Protestant  
 Reformation • Luther Introduces Protestantism • The Catholic Counter  
 Reformation • Jesuits Spread Catholicism • How the Reformation Reflected  
 the Times

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### The Renaissance Revives Interest in Man, His Achievements, and His World

A dagger in the back, poison slipped into a cup, a strangled corpse dropped into the canal at midnight! These were some of the devices used by politicians to win and hold power in the Italian cities in the late Middle Ages and early modern times. Some of the Italian city-states called themselves republics. Yet practically all of them were ruled autocratically by a clique of wealthy businessmen, a few nobles, a political boss, or a tyrant. Feuds, rebellions, civil wars, and trade wars with rival cities kept Venice, Genoa, Florence, Milan, and other Italian cities in almost constant turmoil. Yet these cities became the cultural school of modern Europe as ancient

Athens had once been the school of Greece.

From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, there occurred in these cities a glorious revival of enthusiasm for the learning, art, and literature of the ancient Greeks and Romans. This revival, called the *Renaissance* (French for *rebirth*), spread throughout Europe. Scholars feverishly searched libraries, castles, and the ruins of ancient cities for Greek and Roman literary and art treasures. (The Renaissance stressed the study of man and his achievements. People gradually grew less interested in the next world and more curious about this one. (In fact, the Renaissance was a broad cultural movement which paved the way for great changes in science, business, religion, and government.) That is why we shall study in this chapter the Renaissance, the Scien-



The Bridge of Sighs. This connects the palace of the Doges of Venice with the prison. During the reign of the Doges (in the late Middle Ages), prisoners were often tortured in the prison and then dragged across this bridge to appear before the Doges. People passing in gondolas below could hear the cries of the tortured prisoners. Hence the name: the Bridge of Sighs.

tific Revolution, the Commercial Revolution, the Rise of Capitalism, and the Protestant Reformation.

The Middle Ages had also used the learning of the ancient Greeks and Romans. For example, scholars had studied Aristotle for

practical purposes. But during the Renaissance it was the fashion almost to worship classical civilization — not so much for practical information, as for its beauty, interest, style, and happy spirit. This worship of classical culture blinded many to the vi-

CROSSING THE BRIDGE TO MODERN TIMES

of medieval culture. Yet Renaissance artists did not imitate classical models slavishly. Like that of the pagan Greek and Roman artists, Renaissance art was creative, natural, and lifelike. The subject matter, however, was still Christian. In the late Renaissance, some artists portrayed more worldly subjects.

**Why the Renaissance Began in the Italian Cities.** Large museums, great public libraries, and theaters are part of the cultural life of rich cities like New York, Paris, and London. Rural hamlets cannot afford such institutions. During the Middle Ages, Italian cities which had grown rich from trade with the East could afford to encourage culture. Their newly prosperous merchants now had leisure to devote to fine living. They dressed themselves in rich brocades, gave extravagant banquets, staged colorful carnivals, and sought to bring not only comfort but also beauty into their homes. Fine palaces were constructed. Artists were encouraged to beautify these with paintings and statues. Returning merchants and crusaders, bringing much of the superior civilization of Byzantines and Moslems, had to stop off at the Italian cities. Moreover, when Moslems attacked Constantinople in the fifteenth century, many Greek scholars fled to Italy, bringing ancient Greek and Roman manuscripts.

When most European towns decayed in the so-called Dark Ages, the Italian cities lived on. When most European nobles were living on isolated manors, rich Italians in these cities were exchanging ideas. We have already seen how, in the late Middle Ages, as business prospered, many of the Italian cities won independence from the Holy Roman Emperor. Wealthy bankers, merchants, and churchmen began to support artists and writers. Many of them, proud of living in the home of ancient Roman culture, hoped to revive its glories.

Members of one wealthy banking and merchant family, the Medici, successfully challenged the power of the nobles and set themselves up as the political bosses of the city of

Florence. Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in 1492, a member of this family, used methods similar to those of the tyrants of ancient Athens. He bribed voters and fixed elections. However, he also had fine public buildings constructed and generously supported sculptors, writers, and painters. To him belongs much of the credit for making Florence "the heart of the Renaissance." Credit belongs, too, to the Florentine people, who were either creative artists or filled with artistic appreciation. Certain Popes, filled with the Renaissance spirit, brought great scholars and artists to Rome and had Greek manuscripts translated into Latin. One of these, Pope Nicholas V, founded the Vatican Library and planned the new St. Peter's Church. Under him, Rome was practically rebuilt. Yet, like many other Renaissance personalities, Nicholas V kept one foot in the Middle Ages. Even after Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, he tried to organize a Crusade.

**The Renaissance Spreads Throughout Europe.** It was no accident that the Renaissance spread in the fifteenth century to the rich cities of the Netherlands and Germany. Bruges, Antwerp, Lubeck, and Cologne had also prospered from medieval trade. Traveling businessmen had become acquainted with Italian culture. Civic pride inspired wealthy merchants to support artists and writers. As world trade shifted from the Mediterranean and Baltic seaports to Atlantic seaports, merchants in Spain, France, and England prospered. Thus it was that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these countries enjoyed their Renaissance.

**The New Learning of the Renaissance: Humanism.** "I can't read Cicero on Old Age, on Friendship (etc.) . . . without kissing the book. . . . And, on the contrary, when I read some of our [scholastic] authors, treating of Politics, Economics, and Ethics, good God! How cold they are in comparison with these!"

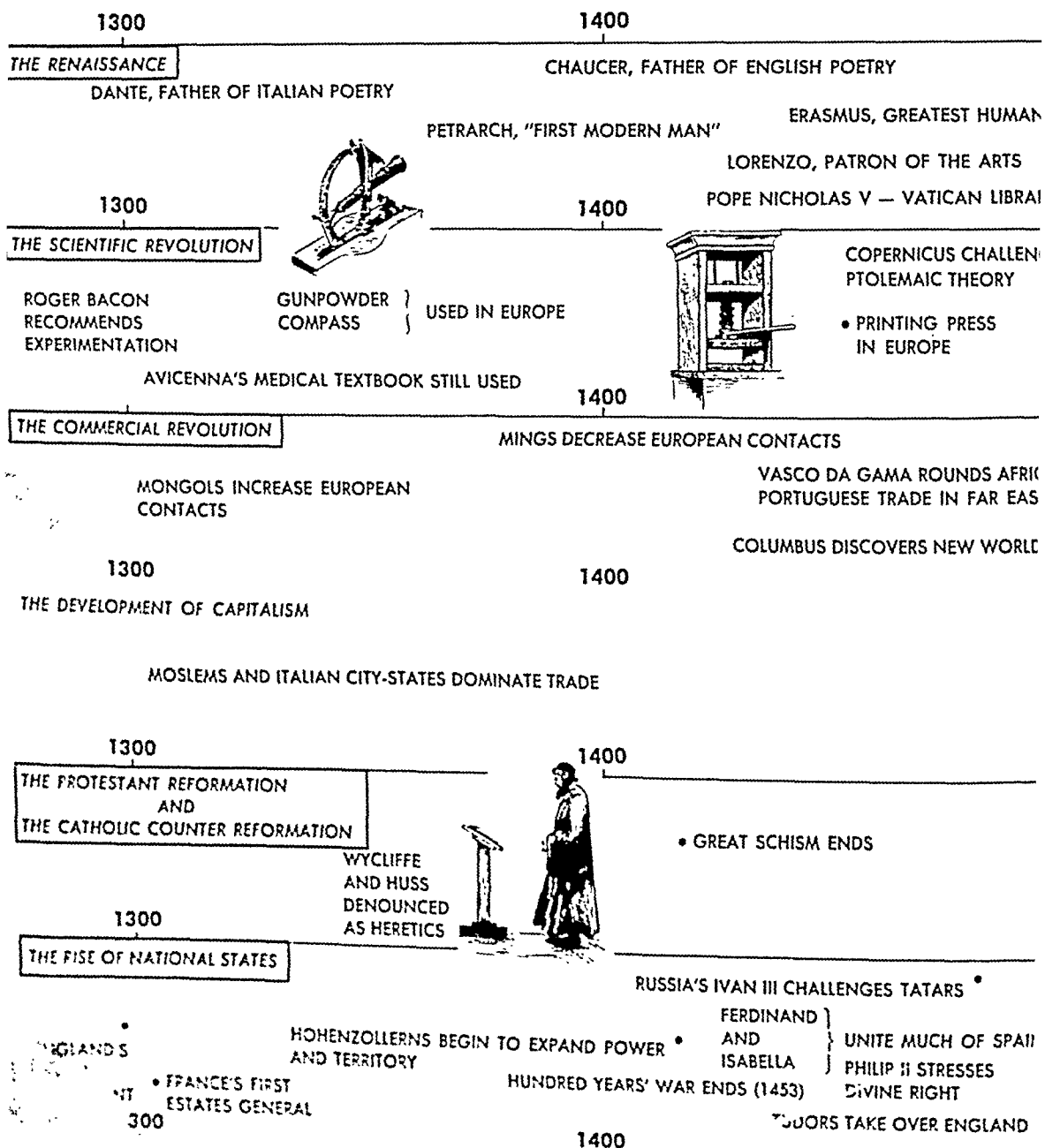
"A wise man, however, despises money, and what is the consequence? Everyone despises him!"



These quotations are from a Renaissance scholar, Erasmus (c1466-1536). They express the spirit of Renaissance learning, which is called *humanism*. Humanists had enthusiasm for Greek and Roman literature and contempt for scholasticism. Their worldly attitude was based on a deep interest in man and nature. The humanistic spirit was both contagious and lasting. Until fairly recently, no person was considered truly cultured unless he had studied Greek or Latin.

Erasmus, the most brilliant humanist of them all, was born in Holland. But he became a kind of citizen of the world. Erasmus was an active enemy of superstition, intolerance, and ignorance. He advocated world peace and criticized tyrannical rulers. His witty book, *Praise of Folly*, points out that religion should be more than routine prayers and pilgrimages. Erasmus never questioned the doctrines of the Church. Yet he often mocked ignorant churchmen and impractical

## HIGHLIGHTS IN CROSSING T



schoolmen. His research in Greek and Latin made him a great admirer of learned pagans

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Dante's blissful portrayal of Paradise concludes: "It is Love which moves the sun and other stars." The soul is guided through Paradise by Beatrice, who represents religion. This girl was Dante's lifelong inspiration. Yet he scarcely knew her. She became the wife of another.

Dante was medieval in his religious zeal. Yet he had many Renaissance traits. It is a Latin poet, Virgil, representing reason, who acts as guide of the soul in the Inferno. More-

## BRIDGE TO MODERN TIMES

500

1600

1700



LEONARDO DA VINCI  
MICHELANGELO } MANY-SIDED GENIUSES

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

• MORE'S UTOPIA

• MACHIAVELLI'S PRINCE

PALESTRINA'S MASSES

ORATORIO — RELIGIOUS THEMES

PROTESTANT HYMN-SINGING

1600

OPERA — WORLDLY THEMES

• CERVANTES SATIRIZES CHIVALRY

RUBENS

REMBRANDT

HALS

EARTHY PAINTINGS

1700

GALILEO'S DISCOVERIES

PARACELSUS — MODERN PHARMACY

VESALIUS — MODERN ANATOMY

FRANCIS BACON URGES RESEARCH FOUNDATIONS

DESCARTES STRESSES REASON

NEWTON

MAKES SCIENCE

MORE ACCEPTABLE

PARE — MODERN SURGERY

HARVEY — CIRCULATION OF BLOOD

LEEUEWENHOEK

INVENTS THE MICROSCOPE

500

1600

BABER CREATES MOGUL EMPIRE

MERCATOR'S MAPS

• FIRST OF THIRTEEN COLONIES SETTLED

• DEFEAT OF SPANISH ARMADA (1588)

TRADE SHIFTS FROM MEDITERRANEAN TO OCEANS

• MAGELLAN ROUNDS WORLD

• CORTEZ CONQUERS AZTECS (1519)

• BRITISH AND DUTCH

EAST INDIA COMPANIES FOUNDED

TRADING POSTS EXPANDED

IN CANADA AND INDIA

500

AKBAR TOLERATES CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN INDIA

1700



SHARP DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

GUILDS LOSING MONOPOLIES

NEW NATIONAL STATES ENCOURAGE BUSINESS

MERCANTILISM

DEVELOPS

COMMERCIAL CAPITALISM GROWS WITH MATERIALS

AND LABOR FROM NEW WORLD, ASIA, AFRICA

GROWTH OF TRADE CENTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE

DOMESTIC SYSTEM

EXPANDS

BANK OF ENGLAND •

CHARTERED

FIRST MODERN •

STOCK EXCHANGE

• LLOYD'S OF LONDON

INSURES SHIPPERS'

CARGOES (1720)

• LUTHER POSTS  
95 THESES (1517)

• JESUIT ORDER FOUNDED

CALVIN / SPREAD

KNOX

PROTESTANTISM

HENRY VIII BREAKS

WITH THE CHURCH

• PEACE OF AUGSBURG RECOGNIZES LUTHERANISM



• EDICT OF NANTES

• THIRTY YEARS' WAR ENDS (1648)



1700

HABSBURGS GOVERN MANY DIFFERENT PEOPLES

SULEIMAN RULES TURKEY

ENGLAND'S BALANCE-OF-POWER POLICY BEGUN

PATRIOTISM SOARS UNDER ELIZABETH

1600

• SCOTLAND / ENGLAND } UNITED

• SPANISH ARMADA DEFEATED

RICHELIEU SEEKS

FRANCE'S "NATURAL BOUNDARIES"

GROTIUS, FATHER OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (CHAP 21)

PETER THE GREAT WESTERNIZATION PROGRAM

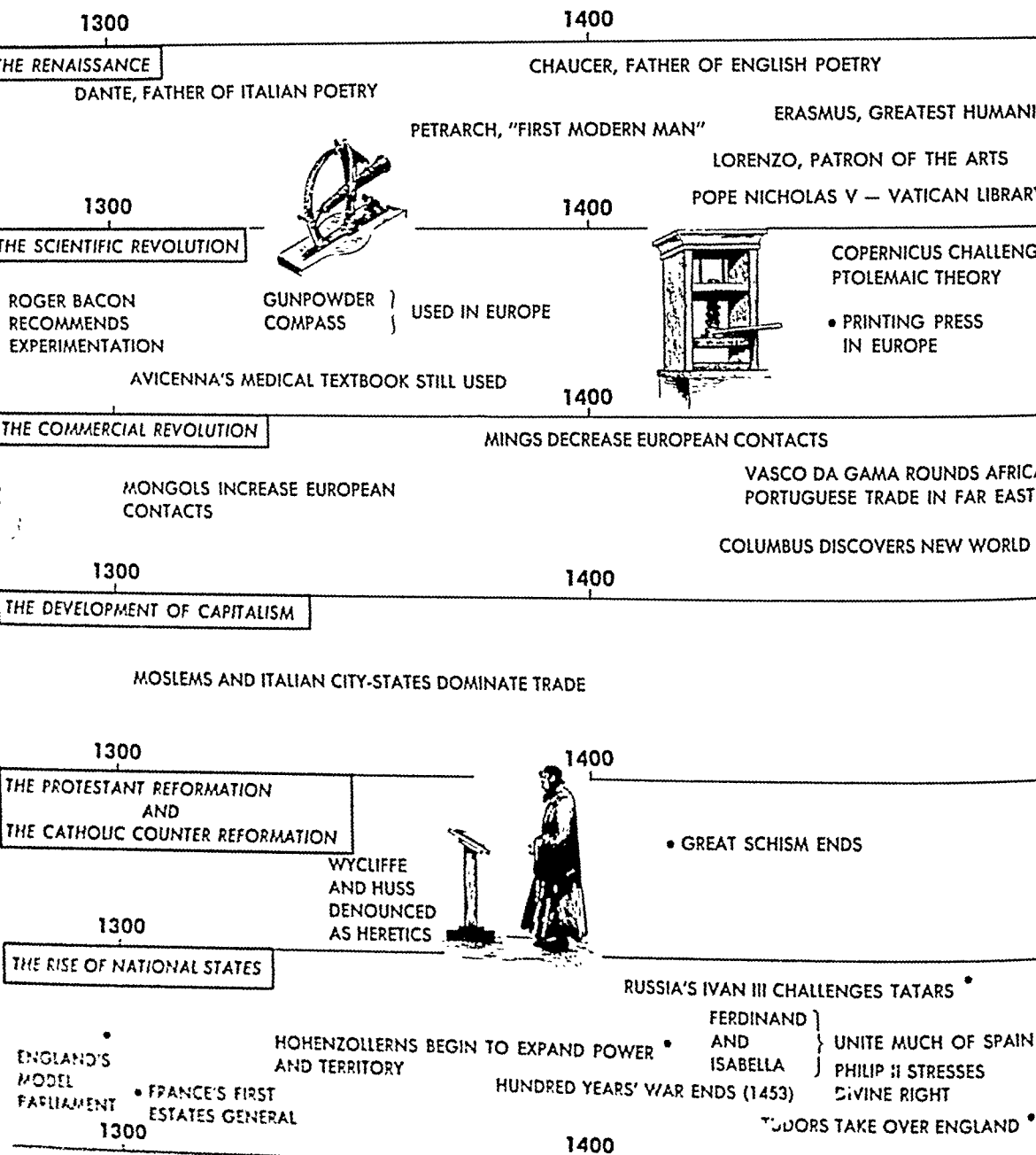
LOUIS XIV STRESSES DIVINE FI

500

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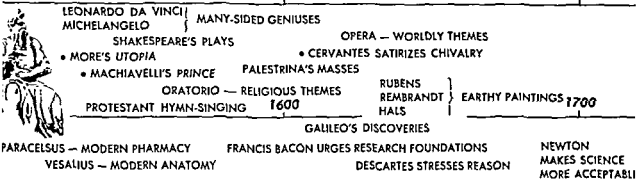
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## RIDGE TO MODERN TIMES

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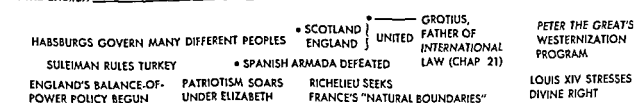
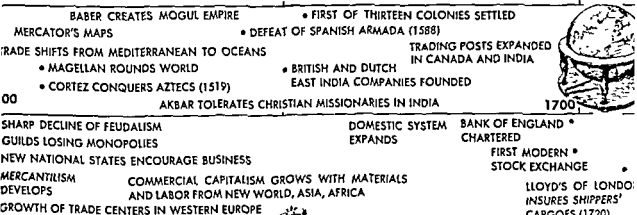
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Cervantes

Many popular expressions we use daily come from the pen of this man, Cervantes. Here are a few: "Every dog has his day," "The proof of the pudding is in the eating," "Birds of a feather flock together."

over, Dante, the *father of Italian poetry*, wrote in Italian, his native language — and use of the vernacular was a Renaissance trait.

To Dante's fellow Italian, Petrarch, medieval universities were "nests of gloomy ignorance." Petrarch was less concerned with saints and sinners than he was with describing nature and human joys and sorrows. Like Dante, he had a one-sided love affair. His sonnets to his beloved Laura, written in Italian, are world-famous. Petrarch collected Latin and Greek manuscripts and encouraged the humanistic spirit throughout Europe. Therefore he is sometimes called the *first modern man* or the *father of the Renaissance*.

The *father of Italian prose* was Petrarch's friend, Boccaccio. His collection of short stories, the *Decameron*, laughs, often coarsely, sometimes unfairly, at the morals and ideals of ordinary people, nobles, and even churchmen. Yet there is also great love and tolerance for the human race in Boccaccio.

"It were well, if a prince could be both

loved and feared, but, as this is difficult, it is necessary that he should be feared." So wrote Machiavelli (1469–1527) in his book, *The Prince*, which advises rulers on how to run their governments. He cynically warns them that only success counts and that might makes right. Thus, to be called "Machiavellian" today implies that one is cunning, cruel, and treacherous. But some historians believe that Machiavelli was just a political scientist honestly reporting on the politics of the Italian city-states.

A Renaissance satire on chivalry is *Don Quixote*, by the Spaniard, Cervantes. Idealistic, daydreaming Don Quixote, accompanied by his practical squire, fights windmills as if they were warriors. Children read this book for amusement, but many adults see in Don Quixote the symbol of mankind striving for unattainable dreams.

A brilliant French writer, Rabelais, felt that the safest way to ridicule corruption among



Exaggeration was the keynote of Rabelais's humor. Here one of his characters, Pantagruel, is pictured gorging himself.

the powerful was to use humor. He poked fun at superstitious monks, at unjust laws, and at teachers who cram the heads of their pupils with empty facts. Another Frenchman, Montaigne, laughed more gently at the vanities of mankind. This originator of the modern literary essay suggested that one should not be positive about anything. Yet he was positive in opposing intolerance, censorship, and cruel methods of punishment.

When most of England was still living in the Middle Ages, Chaucer (c1340-1400) had the Renaissance outlook. The language used by Chaucer, the father of English poetry, in his *Canterbury Tales* is a link between Anglo-Saxon and modern English. The tales by people on a pilgrimage to Canterbury describe often humorously the virtues and vices of real people.

Often in politics an opponent is ridiculed as a "utopian," meaning an impractical reformer. The word comes from the title of a book, *Utopia*, by Sir Thomas More. *Utopia* describes an ideal, imaginary land which has abolished war, poverty, intolerance, and injustice. Indirectly, this was an attack on the evils of sixteenth-century England.

"Come live with me and be my Love  
And we will all the pleasures prove . . ."

These liting lines begin one of the most famous lyrics in English literature. Christopher Marlowe, who wrote them, is famous not only as a writer of lyrics, but even more famous as the father of English drama. Individualism and ambition, typical Renaissance traits, are the themes of his plays. In his *Dr. Faustus* the hero sells his soul to the devil for knowledge and power.

The greatest of English dramatists, Shakespeare (1564-1616), had keen insight into human nature. In *Macbeth*, he observes that even an evil person, eaten up by ambition, may have some "o' the milk of human kindness." Once he complains: "Lord, what fools these mortals be!" Yet he could also write: "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! In action, how like an angel . . ."

Shakespeare's interest in nature matched his



Montaigne. He said, "There are some defeats more triumphant than victories." Have you experienced any? Discuss.

knowledge of human nature. He found:

"Tongues in trees, books in the running  
brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

Lovers see some of their own problems in the tragic romance, *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespeare's historical tragedy, *Julius Caesar*, is a lesson in politics. In it one sees dictators and demagogues,<sup>1</sup> and mobs swayed by emotion.

**The Renaissance Produces Artistic Genius.** "Painters, you do evil, you bring vanity into the churches, you dress the Blessed Virgin as if she were a common woman . . ." Thus a medieval-minded monk scolded Italian Renaissance artists. But Renaissance artists painted mainly madonnas and Bible scenes. Why, then, was the monk so indignant? Because saints and martyrs were portrayed as real people, not as spiritual beings in the stiff medieval manner, and because Christian artists painted nude figures.

<sup>1</sup> A demagogue is an unscrupulous politician who tries to win over the people by playing up to their prejudices and fears.



How does this *Portrait of an Officer*, by Frans Hals, attempt to express the personality of the subject?

Painting during the Middle Ages had been almost a minor art. Most medieval artists had painted their pictures on plaster walls—*fresco painting*. Weather and time caused these paintings to fade and peel. But in the fifteenth century in Flanders, two brother painters named Van Eyck discovered a way of mixing oil with colors to make them more durable. Now artists could paint on separate strips of canvas or wood instead of on plaster walls. Using color intelligently, perspective skillfully, and light and shade delicately, Renaissance painters became the wonder of the world.

Today we specialize. During the Renaissance men were advised to develop all their talents. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was artist, scientist, inventor, musician, philosopher, military engineer, and student of anatomy. His *Last Supper* and his *Mona Lisa* are among the world's masterpieces of painting.

To get an accurate picture of anatomy, Leonardo dissected the bodies of hanged criminals and made detailed sketches of human organs. His plans for canals, bridges, sewers, and other engineering projects were far ahead of his time. It is said that his model of a helicopter might have worked if there had been motors then. And he had ideas about inventing machine guns, submarines, and steamboats. In short, Leonardo is considered the finest representative of that marvelous awakening, the Renaissance. More than that, he was the greatest many-sided genius in recorded history.

On the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican are magnificent frescoes which tell the story of the Bible from the *Creation* to the *Flood*. The task of painting them required nearly five years of backbreaking labor. It nearly blinded the painter, Michelangelo (1475-1564). In the same chapel is his painting, the *Last Judgment*. His scenes are filled with passion and vitality. In sculpture, too, Michelangelo excelled. "Energetic" and "life-like" are adjectives often applied to his huge statues of David and Moses.

In contrast with that of Michelangelo, Raphael's work seems calm, sweet, and filled with feminine charm. Few pictures are better loved than Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*. Raphael (1483-1520), the so-called *divine painter*, was a favorite with Popes. Yet sometimes he took his subject matter from the pagans. The *School of Athens*, one of his paintings, for example, shows Greek philosophers in discussion. Like the life of prosperous merchants and aristocrats of Venice, the paintings of Venetian Renaissance artists were gay. One of these artists was Titian (c1477-1576), who is famous for his colorful portrayals of Christians and pagans, noblemen, and ladies with hair dyed auburn.

Sixteenth-century Spain was like a fortress holding out against pagan influences, humanists, and heretics. In his paintings El Greco expressed enthusiasm for Catholic beliefs. The paintings of the seventeenth-century Spaniard, Velasquez, are less spiritual than

those of El Greco. But what a clear picture he gives the world of the haughty, luxurious Spanish court!

In general, in the German, Flemish, and Dutch cities, painters portrayed worldly subjects rather than religious ones. A sixteenth-century German, Holbein, painted portraits of English King Henry VIII and Erasmus which are so natural that the character traits of each seem to be written on the canvas. Intense passion and rich color are characteristics of the huge and numerous paintings of Rubens (1577-1640), a Flemish painter. Rubens often portrayed plump women in his paintings of pagan legends. Even his religious paintings, such as the *Descent from the Cross*, have an earthy quality. One of his many assistants, Van Dyck, painted remarkable portraits of English aristocrats. Notice the earthy titles of these Dutch pictures. *The Laughing Cavalier* and *The Jolly Toper* by Frans Hals (1584-1664); *The Anatomy Lesson* and *The Night Watch* by Rembrandt (1606-1669).<sup>1</sup> In Protestant Holland few bought paintings of madonnas and saints. But there were many customers for little pictures of guild meetings, of families at dinner, and of careworn old men and women.

**Renaissance Architecture: Individualistic, Yet Imitative.** Renaissance architecture, like the other Renaissance arts, stressed individualism. A new type of artist appeared, the architect. He merely designed, leaving the actual building to craftsmen. The cathedrals and palaces which the architects designed had Greek columns and ornamental friezes and Roman rounded arches and domes. An original Renaissance touch was a device to add height to cathedral domes. Above the dome was placed a small, domelike structure, a *cupola*. Michelangelo designed the cupola for St. Peter's at Rome, and later Sir Christopher Wren designed one for St. Paul's in London. But Renaissance architecture became more popular for wealthy homes and public buildings than for cathedrals. The Palace of the Medici and the Louvre — the art museum in Paris — are famous examples. Most Amer-

ican city halls and even our national Capitol have Renaissance architectural features. But Renaissance architects never achieved the beauty and originality of a Greek Parthenon, a Roman Pantheon, a Byzantine St. Sophia, or a Gothic Cathedral of Chartres.

**Renaissance Music: the Birth of the Oratorio and the Opera.** Like the other arts in the Renaissance, music had one foot in the Middle Ages and the other in modern times. The Renaissance originated two types of long dramatic musical compositions performed by solo voices, a chorus, and an orchestra. In one, the *oratorio*, the theme is



These are red chalk sketches by Michelangelo of figures to be painted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. How do these show his careful study of anatomy?



religious and action, costumes, and scenery are omitted. The other, the *opera*, is usually worldly. Scenery is used and the singers act and wear costumes. In the sixteenth century, Palestrina, the most famous Catholic composer, specialized in beautiful masses. Protestants stressed hymn singing by the church congregation. Popular music of this period consisted mainly of lilting little love songs, called *madrigals*.

**How the Renaissance Influenced the World.** During the Renaissance, western Europe took world leadership in culture away from the Byzantines and the Moslems. For centuries much of the world continued to study the Greek and Roman culture which the Renaissance had revived. Those Renaissance scholars, the humanists, had a questioning and critical attitude. As this attitude spread, it led to experimentation in science,

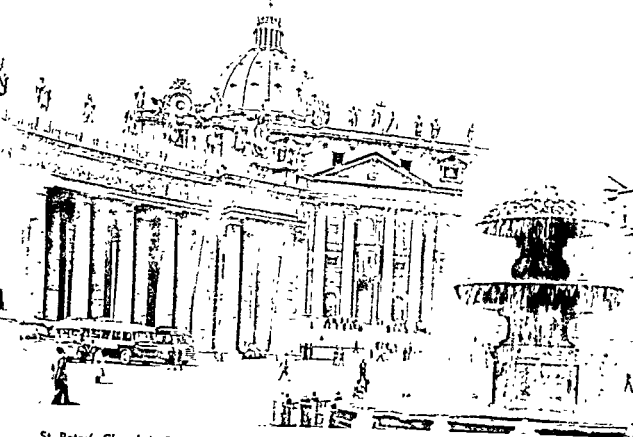
research in history, and exploration of the world's geography. Many humanists remained devout Catholics. Others became leaders in a break with the Church, called the *Protestant Reformation*.

Empires had dominated the Middle Ages. But during the Renaissance an individualistic spirit grew stronger among nations, as it did among men. Proof of this is the increased use of the vernacular languages and the encouragement of national literature and art. And Renaissance art made the world more beauty-conscious.

Since the humanists believed that this world should be a happier place, they advocated more attractive cities and more comfortable homes. During the Renaissance city planning and sanitary regulations were stressed. Opera houses were built. Furniture became richer and more varied. Forks and



Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, Considered by Many One of the World's Great Masterpieces. How does this painting show Rembrandt's skillful use of light and shadow?



St. Peter's Church in Rome. What features make this typically Renaissance architecture?

napkins as well as knives and spoons became common. Manners improved. It was considered bad taste to breathe into another's face, no matter how fragrant one's breath! Courtiers were warned that it was important not only to be a courageous knight but also to avoid "ignorance and self-liking."

Life became a little more attractive for women, too. Girls as well as boys had an opportunity to learn Latin, Greek, and tennis. They were taught that the truly noble lady was one who was not haughty or envious or argumentative, but who was witty and always had "a kinde of womanlye sweetnesse in every gesture."

Many modern historians condemn the humanists for condemning the Middle Ages. They feel that medieval culture has not been fully appreciated. Perhaps the greatest failing of Renaissance culture was that it did not reach the common people. It was a

monopoly of aristocratic nobles, high churchmen, and wealthy merchants

### The Scientific Revolution Encourages the Spirit of Inquiry

To many, the word *revolution* means bloodshed, violence, and governments overthrown. But a revolution need not be bloody and violent. There are revolutions in styles, in methods of transportation, and even in dancing. In short, any great change might be called a revolution. Beginning about 1500, some men stressed the need for observing, investigating, testing, and experimenting before accepting any theories, even those of Aristotle. This scientific spirit rejected medieval superstitions and myths. It led to many inventions and discoveries. So many changes resulted that this development is called the *Scientific Revolution*.

**Scientific Method: Truth-Seeking in Action.** Let us imagine that many natives of a small island are found to be free from tooth decay. A doctor sent by a scientific research institute uses the scientific method to find out why. He thinks that perhaps something in the native diet has been preventing tooth decay. After a long period of observation and experimentation, he believes that he has discovered what this valuable food is. To test his theory, the doctor divides the population into two groups. One group is fed large quantities of this food, and the other is deprived of it entirely. If, after a few years, he finds that the first group is free from tooth decay and the second is not, the doctor might cautiously announce his conclusion. A true scientist is cautious because he knows that further experimentation may change the conclusion entirely, or in part.

In general, the scientific method includes: (1) having a clear understanding of the problem to be solved, (2) observation and conducting experiments under controlled conditions so that they can be reproduced exactly and checked by other experimenters, (3) forming temporary conclusions based on the observations and experiments, and (4) making many tests to verify these conclusions. Conclusions verified over a long period of time are called scientific laws.

Many persons base their conclusions, not on investigation and experimentation, but on some popular beliefs or general principles stated in books. To illustrate, it is a popular notion that Scots are stingy. People have similar false notions about Italians, Russians, Irishmen, Jews, and Negroes. A person who reasons unscientifically might see a Scot leave a restaurant without giving the waiter a tip. The person might immediately jump to the conclusion that the popular belief about "stingy" Scots is true. However, a person who reasons scientifically would find that there are generous Scots and stingy Scots. One's nationality does not determine his characteristics. If more of us used the scientific method in our everyday living, there

would be less prejudice among peoples and among nations.

**Copernicus and Kepler Upset Some Old Notions.** To be a scientist in early modern times took courage. Many scientists then were jailed and some executed. But there were obstacles to progress even more serious than the imprisonment or execution of individuals. The obstacles which Roger Bacon (page 198) had listed in the thirteenth century still existed. These were: (1) the positive opinions of ignorant crowds, (2) custom, which is suspicious of new ideas, (3) the habit of pretending to know it all, and (4) dependence upon "weak and unworthy authority."

The Polish astronomer, Copernicus (1473-1543), did not publish his important scientific discoveries until he was on his deathbed. If he had made his revolutionary ideas public before, he might not have died in bed. For centuries scholars had taught, churchmen had accepted, and people had believed Ptolemy's theory (page 98) that the earth was the stationary center of the universe. It was believed that the sun and stars revolved around the earth. Copernicus challenged this theory by asserting that the sun is the center of our system of planets, and that the earth and planets revolve about the sun.

Catholic and Protestant churchmen alike found the Copernican theory shocking and contrary to religious belief. One of them pointed out that in the Bible Joshua had commanded the sun, not the earth, to stand still.

Many persons ridiculed the idea that the earth rotates on its axis, pointing out that their bodies did not topple over. In spite of powerful opposition, other courageous scientists carried on where Copernicus left off. For example, the mathematical laws which Kepler (1571-1630), a German, worked out supported the Copernican Theory.

**Galileo Seeks Truth and Finds Trouble.** At the age of seventy, an Italian, Galileo (1564-1642), was brought before the Inquisition and persuaded to deny his scientific discoveries. He was forbidden to teach and

forced into retirement. He died embittered. Galileo, like Copernicus, had come to the revolutionary conclusion that the earth revolves around the sun. He had also perfected the telescope. With it he examined the skies and obtained proof that Copernicus was right. He could watch the satellites of Jupiter revolve around Jupiter and, by watching spots on the sun move, he could conclude that the sun revolved on its axis.

Galileo also discovered the principle of the pendulum by watching a ceiling lamp swing back and forth on its chain. He contradicted Aristotle when he proved that the speed of falling objects depends not on their weight, but on the distance they fall. He also invented a thermometer, which one of his pupils perfected. Another pupil, Torricelli, invented the barometer.

**Descartes Stresses Reason and Makes Enemies.** Descartes (1596-1650), a French mathematician and the first modern philosopher, stressed doubting and reasoning as means of obtaining knowledge. He even doubted his own existence, but answered his doubt thus: "I think, therefore I am." Descartes was a religious man, but because of this stress on reason, he was accused of promoting irreligion and even revolution. He made a great contribution to accuracy in scientific method when he discovered how algebra could be used in geometry.

**Newton Makes Science More Acceptable.** After studying the contributions of such scientists as Kepler and Galileo, the English scientist Newton (1642-1727), pondered these problems: What keeps the planets in their orbits and prevents them from shooting off into space? Why don't the planets fall into the sun? Why does an apple fall down instead of up? Newton proved mathematically that there is one simple law of nature, the *law of universal gravitation*, which explains the movements of heavenly bodies and also why objects fall down instead of up. He also made the work of future scientists easier through his researches in a form of higher mathematics called *calculus*.



Descartes. In his search for truth, Descartes placed observation and experimentation above textbooks.

The effects of Newton's discoveries were tremendous. It was now becoming apparent that the universe is not one of accident or chance, as many thought, but one which follows orderly natural laws. Some scholars began to ask whether there might not be undiscovered laws of nature which determine history, economics, and other fields of knowledge. It became obvious to many that for centuries reliance on Aristotle and Ptolemy had led many learned men into blind alleys. Many religious persons were deeply disturbed because Newton's findings seemed to give a mechanical explanation of the universe instead of a religious explanation. Actually Newton was a religious man who believed that God's hand guides the harmonious order which he had discovered in the universe. Many persons were also troubled because the discoveries of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton made our world seem only a tiny speck in a universe of many worlds. Less than two centuries had passed between the death of Copernicus and that of Newton, but



These relics of Sir Isaac Newton include his original reflecting telescope, two rulers made of wood from his apple tree, and a solar dial cut in stone which he made as a boy. Tell why Newton's ideas caused revolution in thinking.

in this period science had won respect. Newton was one of the most popular men of his time. One poet, Alexander Pope, praised him thus:

"Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night.  
God said, 'Let Newton be!'—and all was light."

**Francis Bacon Urges Scientific Research Foundations.** It required the co-operative efforts of thousands of scientists in every field to discover how to utilize atomic energy. Over three hundred years ago an English essayist, judge, and scientist, Francis Bacon, recommended the establishment of such organized, co-operative scientific research. Bacon asserted that there need be no conflict between science and religion. Science's main aim, he wrote, should be the promotion of human welfare.

**Pioneers of Modern Medicine.** In medicine the Moslems made remarkable progress (page 149). Beginning in the sixteenth century, so did many Europeans. One of these, a Swiss named Paracelsus, was in some respects a boastful quack who claimed that he could prolong life indefinitely. Yet this medical pioneer laid the basis for modern pharmacy. He argued that a good doctor is kind to his patients and admits that nature is the best doctor of all.

A Flemish contemporary of Paracelsus, Vesalius, used to rob graveyards for bodies which he could dissect and study in his laboratory. The science of modern anatomy based on the foundation he laid. The battle fields of Europe, rather than textbooks, taught Paré, a sixteenth-century Frenchman, more

CROSSING THE BRIDGE TO MODERN TIMES



the rough trail into a broad highway of scientific progress (Chapter 20). Scientists have given the world some noble traditions. In general, scientists of one country co-operate with scientists in other countries for the welfare of mankind. Scientific academies, museums, astronomical observatories, and hospitals exchange information. Scientists have taught mankind not to jump at conclusions. The scientific attitude has led even non-scientists to examine critically long accepted ideas and customs. It has made men eager to experiment with new ideas in the arts, in business, in education, and in many other phases of life. Science has succeeded in extending the life span and raising standards of living.

Yet science has not succeeded in ridding the world of superstition. The world is full of people who "knock wood" and refuse to walk under a ladder. Scientific knowledge has, unfortunately, often been used for destructive purposes. Furthermore, many persons, impressed by the achievements of science, have come to regard it almost as a religion. Most scientists, however, admit that

The successes of this surgeon, Paré, aroused much jealousy. Fellow-surgeons asked how a man who did not know Latin or Greek could possibly be a good surgeon. Write your comments about this.

his surgical knowledge. It was there that he obtained practical experience treating gunshot wounds and performing necessary amputations. Paré, who had begun his medical career as a barber's assistant, ended it as one of the world's first modern surgeons. An Englishman, Harvey (1578-1657), by studying the anatomy book of Vesalius and conducting experiments of his own, discovered that the heart propels the blood through the arteries into the veins and back again. It is this knowledge of the circulation of the blood that was to make possible successful blood transfusions and treatment of heart diseases and gland ailments. Until a few centuries ago, even the most learned physicians had never even seen a microbe. When Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), a Dutchman, manufactured fine microscopes, he made it possible to study the tiny organisms which cause so many diseases.

**Importance of the Scientific Revolution.** These pioneer scientists had blazed only a rough trail. Their successors were to develop



Harvey Demonstrating the Circulation of the Blood to Charles I. What makes Harvey's contribution so important?



The lenses of Leeuwenhoek opened up new worlds. Explain.

there are problems which science can never hope to solve.

## The Expansion of Europe Brings About the Commercial Revolution

In 1519, a Portuguese captain, Fernando Magellan, was hired by the king of Spain to find a western water route to the Spice Islands. To man his five frail ships, Magellan took aboard nearly three hundred tough adventurers with evil reputations. Three years later, one lone vessel with a crew of eighteen men looking like skeletons finally returned to a Spanish port. They were the survivors of one of the most important voyages in history.

From Spain Magellan had sailed southwestward to the southern tip of South America. There he passed through to the Pacific Ocean by way of the straits which were later named after him. His voyage northwestward across the vast Pacific was one long horror. As the food gave out, the crew ate rats and sawdust and gnawed on leather and pieces of sail. Many died of typhoid fever from drinking foul-tasting, vermin-infested water out of rotten wooden barrels.

Severe storms and long periods of calm added to this misery. Mutinies were harshly suppressed. Magellan himself was killed by natives in the Philippines. The one ship which managed to sail around Africa and reach the home port was appropriately named *Victory*. It was the first in history to sail around the world.

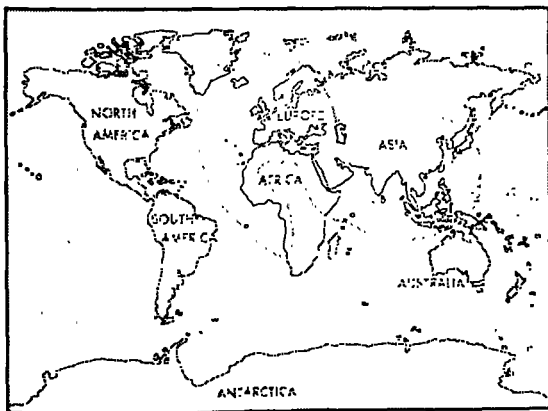
There were many explorations and discoveries before Magellan's journey, and many after it. In a world history book, however, Magellan's voyage probably deserves more space than any other. For the first time, mankind was given a fairly accurate estimate of the world's size. Many Europeans were humbled at the thought that Europe, which seemed all the world to them, is actually just a fraction of it. They were awed by the thought that their great Mediterranean Sea is just a little pond when compared with the vast Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Even those who had doubted now had to admit that the world is round. Others had tried and failed to find a western route to India, China, Japan, and the Spice Islands. But Magellan had succeeded. His journey also indicated that America was probably not part of the continent of Asia. Now that the world had been circumnavigated, the history of America, Asia, and Africa began to be linked more closely to that of Europe.

**Meaning of the Commercial Revolution.** World commerce boomed as a result of the explorations and discoveries of such men as Magellan. No longer was trade to be mainly between towns. No longer was Europe so dependent upon Moslem merchants for Asiatic goods. Gone were the days of the European trade monopoly by the Italian city-states. The merchants of Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England were to make the merchants of Venice and Genoa look like petty peddlers. Oceans were to replace the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas as the main highways of commerce. More and more sailors and merchants, with the help of new navigational knowledge, sailed to the Americas, India, and China. Tremendous quantities

and wide varieties of goods were to make up the cargoes of ships traveling the ocean routes which link the world's continents. These changes in commerce which resulted from the explorations, discoveries, and colonization of new lands were so great that they are called the *Commercial Revolution*. The Commercial Revolution is still going on. Transportation by air, the mapping of air-route short cuts, and the world-wide exchange of a greater variety of goods than ever are proof of this.

**Reasons for Europe's Expansion.** Curiosity was characteristic of the Renaissance. It was natural, then, that some men would be curious about the world's geography. Many explorers were spurred on by the same spirit that inspired humanists and scientists. Chris-

tian missionaries saw in European expansion an opportunity to convert the heathen of foreign lands. The main motive of explorers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, was to find a direct all-water route to India, China, and the Spice Islands. The newly-rich businessmen of the growing towns and cities of Europe were hungry for the spices, silks, precious stones, drugs, and perfumes of the Far East. But this trade was monopolized by Moslem Turks and the merchants of the Italian city-states. Europeans who imported Eastern luxuries had to pay high prices because of high transportation rates, tolls, and tariffs. The kings of the young national states of western Europe, with the financial help of the business class, were determined to smash this monopoly.



### THE WORLD KNOWN TO EUROPEANS BEFORE 1492

Lighter Shaded Area was not too well-known to Europeans.  
Darker Shaded Areas were unknown to Europeans.





Collecting Cinnamon Bark in the Spice Islands. The hunt for spices helped to make the modern world. How?

### Obstacles and Aids to Early European Expansion.

*China's Isolation Policy under the Ming Dynasty* China's isolation policy hindered this East-West trade. Here is how. The Chinese had hated being ruled by a minority of foreigners, the Mongols (page 164). One Chinese war lord rallied the Chinese people, overthrew the Mongol ruler, and established the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Certain Ming rulers tried to close China's door to the West. To do so, they rebuilt the Great Wall in stone. Previously, Christian missionaries had made many converts in China. But the Mings, who were Buddhists, for a long time refused to tolerate Christianity. European merchants were discouraged from trading in most of China. The Mings were shocked at the crude manners and violent methods of some European sailors and merchants, whom they called "foreign devils." To make the Chinese proud of their own history, Ming rulers encouraged

artists<sup>2</sup> to copy and perfect the works of the old masters of the T'ang and Sung dynasties. They rebuilt the capital at Peking with palaces and temples in the old Chinese style (page 64). Also, the Mings forbade teachers to give new interpretations to the ancient Chinese literature.

But the Europeans did not give up so easily. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch outfitted expeditions to seek China's trade. Christian missionaries went along. The Portuguese were able to get some Chinese trade by winning control of the Chinese port of Macao. The Spaniards captured some through acquiring the Philippine Islands. And the Chinese allowed the Dutch to trade temporarily with merchants on the island of Formosa. When Columbus set sail to reach the East by sailing west, China was his goal.

In 1644, the Ming dynasty, which for a long time had maintained peace and prosperity, fell. A Japanese invasion had weakened Ming power. So had shocking poverty caused by unfair taxes, bad harvests, and widespread government corruption. Once more, revolt broke out. The Manchu dynasty was to follow the Ming. And, as we shall see, under the Manchu rulers — the last emperors of China — the West was to force China's door open.

*Princes in India Ally Themselves with Europeans.* In the early sixteenth century Baber, the leader of a tribe from central Asia, who were Moslem converts, established a powerful empire in northern India, the Mogul Empire. By 1560, the Moguls,<sup>3</sup> under Baber's grandson, Akbar the Great, controlled more of India than had ever been under one ruler. The Moslem conqueror Akbar was tolerant toward his Hindu subjects and toward Christian missionaries. He discouraged such customs as child marriage and suttee (page 52). He encouraged learning and the just collection of taxes.

<sup>2</sup> Ming craftsmen made a fine white pottery called *china*.

<sup>3</sup> The Moguls were related to the Mongols.

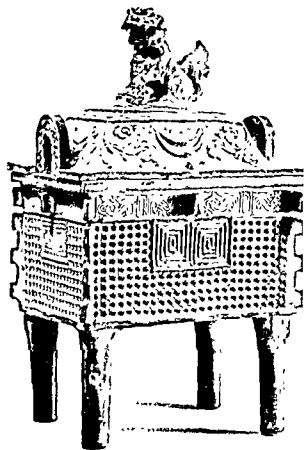
But the attempt of Akbar and his successors to build a united India failed. The Hindus objected to being governed by a people who differed from them in origin, religion, language, and customs. Moreover, independent princes feared the loss of their power and privilege to a strong centralized government. French and English merchants encouraged such princes to resist the Mogul government at Delhi. These merchants were jealous of the monopoly which the Portuguese had established over India's trade. In time, English merchants, allied with some Indian princes, were to succeed in driving out the Portuguese and most of their Dutch and French rivals as well (page 448).

**Problems of Early Navigators** Like scientific trail blazers, geographic trail blazers required courage. They sailed in fragile, often leaky, ships, guided by maps and navigational instruments which were far from accurate. Although they knew the Mediterranean shore line well, they knew little about most of Africa and Asia. In spite of Viking voyages (page 155), they knew nothing about America. When they kissed their families good-bye before leaving on a voyage of exploration, they knew that there was a strong chance that they might not return. If shipwreck or pirates didn't get them, scurvy or typhoid might.

Sailors who believed the popular myths of the day had to be doubly courageous. Many believed that sea monsters swallowed ships, and that tropical waters were boiling hot. Some still believed that the earth was flat, and that ships sailing to its edge would fall off into space. Of course, even then any experienced seaman knew better. Such a seaman recognized that he was at least more secure than medieval sailors. He had a better compass and an improved *astrolabe* (an instrument by which he could determine his latitude). He used a crude device called the *log* for measuring the ship's speed. This was a helpful means of determining longitude. Ships were built larger with more sails and with rudders for steering. And in the six-

teenth century, a Flemish geographer, Mercator (page 11), developed a method of map making which proved a great aid to sailors.

**The Portuguese Pioneer in Gaining New Lands.** In the sixteenth century, Portugal was the envy of all Europe. Then, this tiny country laid claim to Brazil, most of Africa, and much of southern Asia. Into the port of Lisbon from the Far East sailed ships heavily laden with precious cargoes. Prince Henry (1394-1460), brother of the king, had started Portugal on the road to riches. Seamen trained under Henry's direction explored the Azores, the Madeira Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, and the west coast of Africa. Henry hoped to convert heathen Africans to Christianity, to combat Moslem Africans, and to



Chinese Pottery of the Ming Dynasty. This incense burner is made of light buff clay glazed green



A Painting of Vasco da Gama Leaving Portugal for the Cape of Good Hope in 1497.

What does this mural show about Portuguese customs and costumes of the fifteenth century? Why was Vasco da Gama's voyage one of the most important in the history of the world?

obtain gold and slaves. Perhaps he also hoped to find a new route to the Indies around Africa.

In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz sailed from Portugal as far as the southern tip of Africa. In 1497, Vasco da Gama sailed beyond this point, up Africa's east coast, and across the Indian Ocean to India. Vasco da Gama sailed home a hero with a cargo worth sixty times the cost of his expedition. He had found a new route to the profitable trade of the East. Later Portuguese expeditions established trading posts along the African and Indian coasts, and in Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and the Spice Islands. The Portuguese also traded with the Chinese and Japanese and converted many to Christianity. However, in the seventeenth century, most of Portugal's empire in the East was conquered by the Dutch, and some of it by the English. Brazil, which a Portuguese navigator, Cabral, had discovered in 1500, remained a Portuguese possession until the nineteenth century.

**Portuguese and Spaniards Divide the Newly Discovered Lands.** Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) thought the Portuguese were unwise to concentrate on seeking an eastern route around Africa to the rich Indies. He knew that the world was round. Why not, he asked, sail west across the ocean to the

Indies? This idea, which was not original with Columbus, was logical. But Columbus did not know that North and South America blocked such a route to Asia. Nor did he have any idea how far Asia was to the west of Europe. Everyone knows how Columbus finally persuaded Queen Isabella of Spain to outfit his expedition. Everyone knows, too, that on October 12, 1492 Columbus first set foot on American soil, on the island of San Salvador in the Bahamas. And it is not a secret that Columbus called the natives "Indians" because he thought he had reached some of the East Indies.

Vasco da Gama had come home triumphantly in a ship laden with spices and pearls. Columbus's cargo consisted of tropical plants, colorful parrots, and some frightened Indians. Vasco da Gama, dubbed "admiral of the Indies," had been glorified in an epic by the greatest Portuguese Renaissance writer, Camoens. Columbus, late in his career, was sneered at as "admiral of the mosquitoes." Even the new lands he had discovered were named after somebody else. A Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, won this honor by writing a letter about "the New World" which he had visited about 1500. Yet the many republics of the western hemisphere, with their great resources and their

Christian civilization, are a glorious memorial to courageous Columbus.

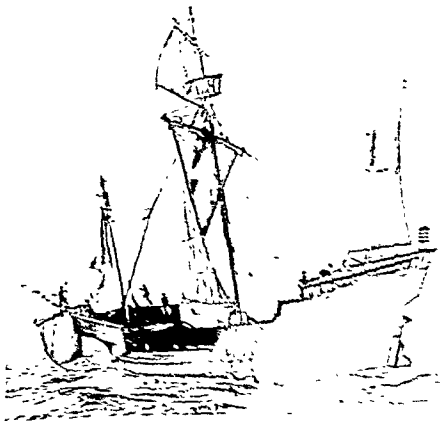
Exploration became the rage after Columbus's voyages to the New World. In 1513, Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean. He had high hopes that Asia was not far west of it. In the same year, Ponce de León, searching for gold and a fountain of youth in Florida, had to satisfy himself with the glorious climate. Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe excited still more adventurers. So did the conquest of the Aztec Empire of Mexico by Cortez in 1519. Cortez sent ships filled with gold and silver back to Spain. So did Pizarro, the conqueror of the Incan Empire of Peru. This treasure aroused the greed of other nations and other individuals. Christian missionaries, desiring converts, sailed on almost every ship.


Because the Pope was worried about the possibility of conflicting claims between Portugal and Spain, he divided the newly

discovered non-Christian lands between them. The newly discovered lands east of a line he drew, including Brazil, were acknowledged as Portuguese. Most of the lands west of the line were assigned to Spain. This partly explains why most of South and Central America was Spanish until the nineteenth century.

**The English, French, and Dutch Refuse to Be Shut Out.** The English, the French, and the Dutch showed little respect for the Pope's division of the so-called "heathen" world. They were envious of the vast lands being acquired by the Portuguese and the Spanish. Vasco da Gama had found a water route to the Indies for the Portuguese. Magellan had found one for the Spanish. The English, determined to find a northwest passage to the Indies, hired a Venetian seaman, John Cabot, in 1497 to search for one. Cabot thought he was in Asia when he landed in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Because of his explorations, the English claimed North

A Motion-Picture Impression of What One of Columbus's Ships Looked like. Explain whether you would be willing to cross the Atlantic in such a ship today.





The Dutch East India Company grants his commission to Henry Hudson. How did Hudson help Holland?

America. Many other English attempts to find the northwest passage failed. They also sought a northeast route to Asia by sending explorers around the north of Russia and Siberia. The expeditions never got beyond Russia.

The French also sought a northwest passage to Asia. Searching for it, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River to what is now Montreal. After 1536, therefore, the French claimed Canada. As a result of later French explorations, they also claimed part of what is now the United States (page 264). And into the race to discover a northwest passage the Dutch put their entry, an English seaman, Henry Hudson. In 1609, Hudson discovered the river and bay named after him. But eventually a mutinous crew, terrified by the cold, set him and his seven-year-old son adrift to perish in the freezing waters of Hudson Bay. As a result of Hudson's exploration, a Dutch colony was planted in the region of what is now New York City.

**How the Commercial Revolution Helped to Make the Modern World.** Even in our modern world, millions of people are poverty-stricken. Yet the modern world is better fed, better housed, and better clothed than the medieval world was. The Commercial Revolution helped to make it so. The explorations

and discoveries enabled Europeans to obtain foods which were formerly scarce or unfamiliar. Among such foods were turkeys, potatoes, tomatoes, Indian corn, pineapples, sugar, coffee, tea, and cocoa. Some of these came from the Far East. But most of them came from the Americas.<sup>4</sup> Homes were made attractive with Chinese wallpaper and furniture made from cedar and rosewood. Wealthy European merchants adorned their wives with fine imported furs, silks, Oriental perfumes, and precious gems, and even African ostrich feathers. For the first time, many persons began wearing underwear and using eating utensils. London, Lisbon, Amsterdam and other cities on or near the ocean route grew prosperous.

The modern world is a world of special-  
tion. The Commercial Revolution helped  
make it so. Producers knew that if customs  
could not be found near by, they could  
reached in other parts of the world.  
region tended to specialize in what it  
produce best and most cheaply. I  
manufacturers began to specialize in  
and cotton cloth, firearms, and hardware.  
England's American colonies, in lumber,  
furs, or tobacco. Such specialization

<sup>4</sup> Tobacco and rum also came from the

greater efficiency and greater production. Consequently, the world's wealth increased and standards of living rose.

The modern world is a Europeanized world. Exploration, colonization, and increased commerce helped to make it so. European languages, the Christian religion, and European patterns of government and education spread to many lands. European dress and manners were copied practically everywhere. European nations, growing richer and stronger, established colonial empires throughout the world. Colonial peoples often became involved in world wars which resulted from rivalries between these colonial empires. European cannons were to roar in the ears of natives accustomed to fighting with the bow and arrow. Sometimes natives were made slaves, or forced to work long hours for low pay in mines or fields. Ambitious or discontented Europeans who settled in the New World to make their fortunes brought their customs with them. Europeans persecuted for their political or religious beliefs fled to the new lands and there spread their ideas. The many millions of civilized China and India, however, were not as strongly influenced by European civilization as were the natives of the Americas.

The influence of Europe on the world was not one-sided. Although Europe sold its manufactured goods to the world, it had learned from the East many of its manufacturing processes, such as methods of manufacturing paper and glass. European life owed much of its variety and luxury to imported products and ideas.

## The Development of Capitalism

From American mines huge quantities of gold and silver poured into Europe. Practically everybody now used money instead of barter in business dealings. As commerce and industry increased, the business class became more powerful than any other class in Europe. These are the reasons why, in the sixteenth century, the economic system called

capitalism became widespread. Under a capitalist system a person may invest his money in practically any business in order to make profits. This right is called *freedom of enterprise*.

Contrast a capitalist society with medieval economic society. The rigid rules of medieval guilds made it difficult for a person to enter the various crafts, even if he had money. The guilds insisted upon one standard quality and a price that was just, rather than one determined by demand and supply, as in a capitalist society. The Church prohibited moneylending and the taking of interest. On the medieval manor, instead of receiving wages, a worker received a share of the product. Production was for the use of the people on the manor, and not for sale at a profit.

As we have seen, the decline of feudalism and the rise of towns and cities strengthened the business class. This business class helped to build strong national states. These national states helped businessmen by giving them protection, establishing uniform laws and coinage systems, and building roads. They also sent out expeditions to explore and colonize new areas. From Asia, Africa, and the Americas came abundant supplies of raw materials. From commerce, manufacturing, moneylending, mining, the slave trade, and piracy came increased capital. And in Europe, as many serfs gained freedom, the labor supply in towns and cities swelled.

The increased volume of business in early modern times required improved methods of doing business. That is why there developed more and better banks, new kinds of companies, insurance systems, stock exchanges, more accurate systems of weights and measures, and improved methods of bookkeeping. In fact, under modern capitalism there is so much business that most of it is conducted with neither coins nor paper money, but on credit from banks. No longer do most persons sell the goods they produce directly to the customers. Now a long line of businessmen often stretches between producer and con-



This fourteenth-century French painting shows bankers exchanging currencies at a fair. These medieval men were laying the foundations for the modern business world. How?

sumer. Such businessmen who play a part in getting goods from producers to customers are called *middlemen*. Middlemen include salesmen, wholesalers, retailers, truckers, advertisers, insurance men, and bankers.

Although modern banking had its roots in the late Middle Ages (page 193), under modern capitalism, banking became a big business. Banks help capitalism to grow by using the money deposited with them to make loans to other businessmen who need funds. Banks also promote the exchange of goods on a world-wide scale. They help merchants doing business in several different countries to pay bills in an efficient and convenient manner.

**Joint-Stock Companies Develop into Corporations.** There weren't many million-

aires in early modern Europe. But there were many who dreamed of making millions in the overseas trade. Such enterprises required much more capital than most businessmen had. That is why they created a form of business organization, the *joint-stock company*, which enabled them to combine the savings of many thousands of people. These investors were given shares of stock in the company in return for their savings. The profits they received were in proportion to the number of shares of stock they owned. Most stockholders left the management of the company to a small group which they elected, the *Board of Directors*. The English East India Company, one such joint-stock company founded in 1600, employed fleets and armies to protect the company's valuable trade with the East. For a long time it actually governed large areas of India.

The joint-stock company is the father of the modern *corporation*. The child (the corporation) has certain advantages which the parent (the joint-stock company) lacked. A stockholder in a corporation cannot legally lose more than the amount he has invested, if a corporation should fail. He is guaranteed that, if things go wrong, only the corporation, and not he as an individual, may be sued. Through sales of stock, some corporations can raise millions. All this helps to explain why the corporation has become the backbone of capitalism.

Some men made fortunes by buying shares either in the early joint-stock companies or in the later corporations. They would buy or sell their stock at central places, called *stock exchanges*. Through the corporation many new businesses could be opened up. Business could be conducted on a large scale. And profits could be great. But other men lost their life savings in risky or dishonest joint-stock companies or corporations. Some easy marks even bought stock "for an undertaking which shall in due course be revealed." The rascal behind this last scheme collected the money and speedily departed for parts unknown to spend his ill-gotten gains!

### Insurance Companies Spread Risks.

A businessman would lose much money if a big shipment of his were lost in transportation. That is one reason why he pays a yearly sum, called a *premium*, to an *insurance company*. In return, if his shipment should be lost, the insurance company would compensate him for it. Insurance companies can afford to do this because most shipments are not lost. This way of spreading the risk among many persons is the basic principle of all forms of insurance. The *insurance idea* developed in early modern times. Lloyd's of London started insuring ships' cargoes in 1720. By reducing risks, insurance strengthened early capitalism.

**How Early Capitalism Changed Industry.** Businessmen seeking greater profits purchased huge supplies of raw material. They had this material delivered to the homes of workers who were paid wages to make it into a finished product. The capitalist who put out the work to such homeworkers took the risks and saw that the goods were sold. Obviously, this "putting out" (*domestic*) system increased production. However, there was not so close a relationship between employer and employee as under the guild system. Guild workers almost always met the buyers of their products. Homeworkers almost never did. The domestic system soon crowded out the guilds, which were unable or unwilling to change their methods of production to meet world-wide demand. New conditions required new methods. In the late eighteenth century, the domestic system itself was to be crowded out by the factory system (page 419).

**How Early Capitalism Changed Agriculture.** As capitalism spread, many wanted capital, which they could invest. In England especially, many landlords who had formerly been willing to accept agricultural products as rent now demanded money. Most tenants could not afford to pay the high money rents and were forced off the land they had farmed. Many therefore either became hired farm laborers or were unemployed. Under the

profitable domestic system, there was a great demand for wool. Many landlords therefore evicted small farmers, combined their scattered strips of land into large estates, and raised more sheep than farm products. Because such landlords enclosed these grazing lands with fences, this practice is known as the *Enclosure Movement*. Nevertheless, until the nineteenth century, the great majority of the people everywhere remained farmers.

**How Early Capitalism Influenced Government.** Many nations today recognize that they cannot enjoy lasting prosperity if other nations are poor. In early modern times, the attitude of nations was just the opposite. Kings and businessmen together tried to increase the wealth of their own nation at the expense of other nations. Kings realized that prosperous businessmen could well afford to pay high taxes to support the strong armies and navies needed by kings. Businessmen realized that strong armies and navies would enable them to get a larger share of the world's trade.

In early modern times, kings and businessmen were convinced that only hoards of gold and silver could make a country rich. Therefore, each government adopted rules to attract gold and silver to the country and to prevent their shipment out of the country. Some of the rules ran something like this: **RULE 1:** Export more goods than are imported, so that foreign customers will have to pay the difference in gold or silver. Thus what is called a *favorable balance of trade* will result. **RULE 2:** Keep tariffs high to discourage the purchase of foreign goods. Thus gold and silver will not leave the country. **RULE 3:** Encourage home industries by lowering their taxes or granting them money. **RULE 4:** Get colonies and use them as a source of gold, silver, and raw materials and as a market for the manufactured goods of the mother country. But restrict colonial manufacturing and trade with foreign countries.

This scheme for getting gold and silver by regulating trade and industry is called *mercantilism*. British observance of **RULE 4** was



the main reason why the thirteen American Colonies revolted against Britain in 1775. Soon afterward, some persons were preaching that mercantilism injures not only colonies, but the mother countries themselves. They warned that it causes bad feeling and wars among nations. They reminded governments that those who wish to sell must also be willing to buy. In time, many capitalists began to resent government regulation of business. Even today, however, many mercantilist practices hinder the free exchange of goods among countries.

Support of mercantilism was not the only way in which the capitalists of early modern times influenced government. They had begun by supporting kings in order to crush feudalism and foreign competition. However, once autocratic kings used their tremendous power to tax businessmen excessively, revolutions resulted. In this way capitalists helped the cause of democracy. Capitalists also helped to build up great cities which became cultural centers and meeting places for the spread of democratic ideas.

## The Protestant Reformation

One day in 1517, Martin Luther, a German monk and professor of theology, nailed a statement on the door of the church at the University of Wittenberg. The Ninety-Five Theses (opinions) in this statement, which criticized certain practices in the Catholic Church, made Martin Luther the storm center of Europe. The excited response which Europeans gave to the Ninety-Five Theses surprised Luther and startled the Pope. Neither suspected then that Luther's statement was to split the Christian Church into Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants themselves were eventually to subdivide into such sects as Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and many others. Neither the Pope nor Luther foresaw that the split (*the Protestant Reformation or Revolt*) was to lead to martyrs, Catholic and Protestant, being beheaded or burned at the stake. How were

they to know that wars within nations and wars between nations were to result from what looked like merely a disagreement between Christians? Neither could predict that Catholics and Protestants alike would flee to the New World in order to escape persecution in the old world.

**Early Disagreements in the Christian Church.** But for centuries before Luther there had been some disagreements within the Church. When the Church was only three centuries old, the Council of Nicaea (page 126) had condemned as heretics Christians who were denying the divinity of Christ. In the eleventh century, Christians of eastern Europe had broken with the Roman Church. The Patriarch at Constantinople, instead of the Pope at Rome, had become the leader of the Eastern (Greek Orthodox) Church. In the eleventh century, too, Christianity in western Europe had been upset because of the struggle between Popes and Holy Roman Emperors over investiture (page 184).

In 1305, a French king appointed a French Pope, who set up a papal court in Avignon, France, instead of in Rome. "How can Popes be God's agents on earth," many asked, "if they can be appointed and ousted by French kings?" Christians in other countries wondered why their kings did not appoint Popes. Not long after the capital of Christendom was restored at Rome in 1377, a split, the *Great Schism*, occurred in the papacy itself. Two Popes — and for a brief period, three — claimed to be the head of the Church at the same time. Italians supported one Pope and the French another. The rest of Europe, including the clergy, chose sides. For forty years, ending in 1417, Church members were faced with the problem of deciding which was legally their Pope. Finally, a Church council cemented the split by appointing an entirely new Pope. Although this settlement was accepted, the incident damaged the Church's reputation for unity.

**The Heresies of the Albigenses and Waldenses.** Even when the Church was at the height of its power under Pope Innocent

In the thirteenth century, there were a few *rebels against Church doctrine*. In southern France, for example, a group known as the Albigenses denied the value of sacraments. They accused the clergy of worldliness and organized an independent church. When Pope Innocent III failed to win them back to the Catholic Church, he sent out crusaders who crushed the movement. Another heresy, which also originated in southern France, and at about the same time, was that of the Waldenses. They denounced all who amassed wealth and made war. Insisting that the Bible was their only authority, they refused allegiance to the Pope.

**Wycliffe and Huss Denounced as Heretics.** John Wycliffe (c1330-1384) had been dead thirty years when a Church council ordered his body dug up and burned, and its ashes buried into a river. Why? Wycliffe had been condemned as a heretic. This English preacher had insisted that the Bible, not the Pope, was the highest religious authority. To enable more people to read the Bible, he translated it into English. He attacked pilgrimages, worldly clergymen, the worship of saints and relics, and some of the sacraments. At first, both the king and the nobles had supported Wycliffe. He had proclaimed that the king and the nation were politically superior to the Pope and the Church. However, Wycliffe lost much of this aristocratic support when his disciples, the Lollards, were accused of causing the Peasants' Revolt (page 180). The Lollards had aroused the peasants by preaching that all men should be equal. They charged that wars benefit the rich and harm the poor, and that a few had too much wealth, while the many were poverty-stricken. The Lollards were burned or beheaded — by the government as traitors and by the Church as heretics.

Nevertheless, Wycliffe died a natural death. John Huss (1373-1415), who preached similar ideas in Bohemia (part of Czechoslovakia today), was burned as a heretic. To his followers, the Hussites, Professor Huss became

a national hero, as well as a religious martyr. He had protested the appointment of German churchmen to important religious positions in Bohemia. After many years of bitter warfare, however, most of the Hussites became loyal Catholics again.

**Humanist Critics Loyal to the Church.** Not all critics of the Church were heretics. Many humanists, including Erasmus (page 216), were devout Catholics. Yet they had condemned and even ridiculed certain practices of the Church and the clergy. That is why it was said of Erasmus that "he laid the egg that Luther hatched." Compared to the great storm in the Church which began with Luther, however, all these early disagreements and heresies were like tempests in a teapot.

**Some Causes of the Protestant Reformation.** Such were the conditions in Europe when Luther posted his Theses. Many persons were already dissatisfied for religious, economic, or political reasons. Thus it was easier for Luther to catch the attention of all Europe than it had been for Wycliffe or Huss. Many Christians had come to realize that many members of the clergy were no longer living a simple life of prayer and poverty. They found that there were churchmen who were either illiterate or corrupt. Rumors were spread that worldly men were buying high Church positions and failing to perform their religious duties. Such rumors shocked many good Christians. Some who had learned to read insisted that they had the right to interpret the Bible for themselves. Others denied the Pope's authority and questioned the need for sacraments.

In the sixteenth century, the growing business class was becoming increasingly annoyed at the Church. Why? The Church owned approximately one-quarter of the land, collected taxes, and possessed great wealth. Yet it was tax-exempt. Many businessmen felt that if this money had not gone to Rome, there would be more money in their countries for business. Many workers and peasants also resented Church taxes. Taxes

to kings and nobles kept them poor enough.

In the sixteenth century Popes were growing weaker as kings of the young national states were growing stronger. Each king was establishing laws, courts, and taxation on a national basis. But the Pope administered Church laws and courts and collected Church taxes on an international basis. Kings regarded this as a challenge to their authority in their own countries. They wanted all accused persons, including churchmen, to be tried in national courts. They wanted to collect taxes from churchmen. They feared that many churchmen were more loyal to the Pope than to the state. Kings felt that their position would be stronger if they had the right to appoint Church officials. Kings wanted absolute power for themselves. Therefore they were bitter toward Popes who dared to excommunicate them and to place their nations under the interdict. Finally, many kings desired the valuable Church lands.

All this made up highly inflammable fuel. Luther's Ninety-Five Theses were like a match thrown into the fuel. The blaze which resulted was the Protestant Reformation.

**Luther Introduces Protestantism.** Luther (1483-1546), gifted with a fine intellect, had been taught by his parents and teachers deep respect for religion. His father wanted him to become a lawyer, but he preferred the life of a monk. Even while Luther was faithfully performing his religious duties as a monk, he was tormented by doubts. He began to doubt whether going on pilgrimages, saying special prayers, or even receiving the sacraments would bring him salvation after death. Such religious activities as these are known as *good works*.

In 1517, Pope Leo X was rebuilding St. Peter's Church in Rome. To raise funds he permitted representatives throughout Europe to sell grants of special pardons called *indulgences*. Those who bought indulgences were promised that they would be exempt from some or all punishment after death, on certain conditions. They had to be genuinely

sorry for their sins, and they were required to perform one or more of the *good works*. In his anxiety to raise funds, the Church's representative in Wittenberg sold indulgences to some people who were not truly sorry for their sins. This was what provoked Luther to protest the sale of indulgences. Luther argued that many persons had the idea that, if they bought an indulgence, they could go right on sinning without fear of the consequences. In fact, Luther denied that indulgences were necessary at all to obtain salvation. In spite of his attack on indulgences in his Ninety-Five Theses, Luther had no intention of breaking away from the Catholic Church. However, as time went on, he found himself expressing ideas more and more similar to those of Wycliffe and Huss.

As the Pope saw the Germans' enthusiasm over Luther growing, he ordered Luther to renounce his ideas or be excommunicated. But with a huge audience watching, Luther threw the Pope's order into a bonfire. Staunchly Catholic Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, was much disturbed at Luther's ideas and action. He feared, too, that a religious revolution might lead to a political revolution in his empire. He ordered Luther to appear before the Diet (assembly) at Worms, Germany, in 1521, to answer charges of heresy. There Luther was warned to renounce his ideas. This was Luther's answer: ". . . Unless I am proved wrong by the Bible or by reason, . . . I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is neither holy nor safe to act against conscience. . . ." Thereupon, the Diet declared Luther a heretic and an outlaw, who could legally be killed on sight by any Christian.

But Luther had powerful friends to protect him. Many German princes quickly rallied around him. They wanted to strengthen themselves at the expense of the Emperor. They also hoped to gain the rich Church lands. Many Germans were pleased when Luther appealed to them to rid themselves of the control of the non-German Pope. Many businessmen supported Luther, because he urged

that money no longer be sent to Rome. Peasants who connected the Church with feudalism hoped to free themselves from their many feudal dues and services. Thousands more were won over to Luther because they were stirred by the simplicity of the religion he preached. In 1529, another Diet denounced the Reformation and took steps to prevent its spread in the German states. A group of princes protested this decision. That is why those who broke with the Catholic Church are called *Protestants*.

Faith in God's mercy, alone, is the road to salvation. This is the doctrine of *justification by faith* which is the core of Luther's teaching. He declared that each person should interpret the Bible according to his own conscience, without the help of Popes or priests. He believed that clergymen should not be considered holier than anybody else. Therefore, he said, there was no reason why they should remain single, live according to special rules, or be tried in special courts. To make the Bible available to more of his followers, called *Lutherans*, Luther translated it into German. He also composed beautiful hymns, such as *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God*.

**Luther and the Peasants' Revolt.** The peasants of southern Germany, like peasants elsewhere in Europe, were heavily burdened by feudal dues and services. Luther had stressed the right of the individual to interpret the Bible. These peasants could not find anything in the Bible to justify feudal dues and services. Furthermore, since Luther had suggested that German princes take over Church lands, the peasants took this as their cue to seize lands from the nobles. At first, Luther had sympathized with the peasants. But some misled peasants had risen in rebellion in 1525, massacred lords and priests, and burned castles and monasteries. Luther denounced this violence. Finally, the nobles suppressed the Peasants' Revolt with terrible cruelty. Disappointed in Luther, most of the peasants of southern Germany returned to the Catholic religion. So did some of the

princes, who blamed Luther's teachings for causing rebellion.

**Lutheranism Recognized Officially.** For years after the peasants were suppressed, civil war was waged in Germany between Protestants and Catholics. In 1555, however, the princes of the more than three hundred German states agreed that each had the right to decide whether Lutheranism or Catholicism should be the legal religion of his particular state. By this agreement, the *Peace of Augsburg*, the subjects of each prince had to accept the religion chosen by him. By 1700, Lutheranism had become the state religion in the north German states and in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

**Calvinism Develops in Switzerland.** When John Calvin (1509-1564), another Protestant reformer, was exiled from his native



John Calvin, One of the Most Influential Leaders of the Protestant Reformation.

France for his religious views, he fled to Switzerland.<sup>5</sup> By this time, the Swiss had won their independence from the Holy Roman Emperor and had established a confederation of thirteen districts, called *cantons*. Calvin became the political as well as the religious ruler of the city of Geneva.

In Geneva under Calvin, women were forbidden to curl their hair or wear gay clothes. Card-playing, drinking, and dancing were outlawed. For Calvin preached that sober and simple living is most pleasing to God. He agreed with Luther that salvation comes through faith. Luther had believed, however,

<sup>5</sup> Calvin was not the pioneer Protestant in Switzerland. Criticism of Catholic authority and doctrine by a preacher named Zwingli had previously led to civil war between Protestants and Catholics in Switzerland. In the compromise which followed, each Swiss canton was permitted to decide for itself whether it would be Catholic or Protestant. Thus Switzerland today, like Germany, is partly Protestant and partly Catholic.



that anyone could achieve salvation through faith. Calvin said that only a certain few chosen by God at birth—called the *elect*—were eligible to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. No one knew for certain who the elect were. It was felt that by leading a severe and righteous life, free from sin, one might be recognized as a member of the elect.

In colonial days the Puritans of Massachusetts had a government modeled on that of Calvin in Geneva. In both of these communities, church and state were practically united. The government acted in accord with what it considered to be the laws of God. It was a representative government in which elders, called *presbyters*, were chosen by God-fearing Calvinists or Puritans. Calvin was therefore the father of Puritanism and of Presbyterianism. From Geneva Calvinism spread throughout western Europe.

**Calvinism Spreads Elsewhere.** In Paris in 1572, at two o'clock on the morning of August 24th (St. Bartholomew's Day), more than two thousand French Protestants were massacred. For their part, the French Protestants, called Huguenots, made violent attacks on Catholic churches and churchmen. In fact, intolerance was characteristic of the sixteenth century. A learned physician, Servetus, had been slowly burned to death in Geneva for disagreeing with Calvin's religious views. In Scotland, John Knox, the

man who had made Presbyterianism a religion, had threatened death to anyone who attended services in the Catholic

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gave them the right to become government officials. Huguenots were granted control of certain fortified towns so that they could defend themselves in case persecution should break out again. Unlike the Peace of Augsburg, the Edict of Nantes did not require all the subjects of a prince to accept the state religion. For its time, it was a remarkable act of toleration.

The most savage of all religious wars was the Thirty Years' War, fought in the German states from 1618 to 1648. The seeds of this war had been planted in the Peace of Augsburg, which had granted toleration only to Lutheran Protestants, not to Calvinists. The treaty had also provided that Protestant princes should stop seizing the property of the Catholic Church. But the princes did not stop.

Fighting broke out between the armies of the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, aided by Spain, and the Calvinists of Bohemia. Then the Lutheran rulers of Norway, Denmark, and many German states joined Bohemia. During this period the Catholic forces were victorious. The Protestants began to win victories when the skillful military hero, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, a Lutheran, joined their side. Although mostly Catholic, France, for political reasons, also aided the Protestant forces (pages 261 and 262).

The horrible Thirty Years' War was fought mainly by hired assassins. Lacking supply services, these fighters were encouraged to live off the land. They became human scavengers. They robbed churches and stripped homes bare. Cannibalism, famine, and disease all played a part in wiping out over half the German population. When the war was over, only wolves roamed in many village streets. German business, education, and self-respect suffered severely. In the Thirty Years' War, man became more efficient at killing off his fellow men. Artillery was further developed, and infantry were supplied with firearms.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years' War, stated, among other things, that Calvinists in the German



Anne Boleyn Looking at a Portrait of Her Husband and Executioner, Henry VIII. How did Henry's desire to marry Anne make history?

states should have the same rights as Lutherans and Catholics. German Protestant princes were given the legal right to keep all church lands which they had taken before 1624.

Anglicanism Recognized Officially in England. Mention the name "King Henry VIII" and most persons are reminded of an English ruler who had six wives in succession. This in itself would scarcely justify space for Henry's reign in history books. More historically significant, it was in Henry's reign (1509-1547) that England became a Protestant country. But the foundation for Protestantism had been laid in England before Henry's time. Patriotic Englishmen still resented the fact that, in the thirteenth century, King John had been compelled by Pope Innocent III to turn England over to the Church as a fief. Wycliffe had made many Englishmen critical of the Catholic Church.

The printing press had spread the ideas of Luther and Calvin. English businessmen, made rich by the Commercial Revolution, objected when wealth left England for Rome.

Nevertheless, England might not have become Protestant when it did, if Henry had not fallen in love. He wanted the Pope to annul (cancel) his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He wanted to wed a sixteen-year-old, black-eyed beauty, Anne Boleyn. Henry was also anxious for a male heir. None of Catherine's sons had survived. Furthermore, Henry wanted absolute power.

It looked as though the Pope were not going to annul Henry's first marriage. Consequently, the impatient king got an English court to grant the annulment. Then, in 1534, Parliament, to please Henry, passed a law, the *Act of Supremacy*, which made the king instead of the Pope head of the Church in England. Now head of the independent Anglican (English) Church, Henry could appoint church officials. Accusing English monks of being ungodly and superstitious, Henry executed many of them and destroyed their monasteries. He kept part of their lands and wealth. The rest he distributed to influential persons who took sides with him against the Pope.

Many Catholics who refused to acknowledge Henry as head of the Church of England were beheaded. And Protestants who refused to observe the many Catholic ceremonies and doctrines which had been retained by the Anglican Church were burned at the stake. Under King Edward VI, Henry's son, England became still more Protestant. The Latin prayers in the books of official prayers used in the Catholic Church were now translated into English. This beautiful translation, with Anglican changes, became the *Book of Common Prayer*. Churchmen were permitted to marry. Some fanatics invaded Catholic churches, destroying altars, images, and stained-glass windows.

Under the Catholic Queen Mary, daughter of Catherine, the pendulum swung in the

opposite direction. England returned to the Catholic Church. About three hundred Protestants were executed. While two Protestant bishops were being burned at the stake, one consoled the other thus: "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle in England as shall never be put out!" By making martyrs of such men, Queen Mary and the fickle Parliament which backed her policies helped Protestantism to make many converts. At about the same time, her husband, the Spanish King Philip II, was persecuting Protestants even more severely in the Netherlands. There also, instead of being stamped out, Protestantism increased.

Thus England swung from one religion to another, depending upon the wishes of the ruler. This swinging ended in a compromise when Mary was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn. Ever since Elizabeth's reign, the Anglican Church has been the official Church of England. Although Protestant, the Anglican Church, like the Catholic Church, has robed bishops, elaborate cathedrals, and colorful ceremonies. In the United States the Protestant church which has rituals most similar to the Anglican is the Episcopal Church.

Catholics were strongly opposed to the religious policies of Elizabeth. Within England, plots to assassinate her were hatched. To restore Catholicism in England, King Philip II of Spain in 1588 sent out a tremendous fleet of ships — the Spanish Armada. A severe storm and sturdy English seamanship combined to destroy this fleet. Many Protestant opponents of Elizabeth's religious policies were called *Puritans*, because they wanted to "purify" the Anglican Church of its many reminders of Catholicism.

**Non-Religious Causes of Religious Conflicts.** Elsewhere, as in England, religious conflicts had many non-religious causes. For example, Calvinism had made a strong appeal to Dutch merchants, because it stressed such virtues as industry and individual initiative. By shaking off Spanish rule, the Dutch felt

This picture gives only a hint of the tragedy of the Thirty Years' War. Discuss.



that they could worship freely, get rid of heavy taxes, and improve business. Nor had Philip II sent the Spanish Armada for purely religious reasons. He knew that Elizabeth had encouraged such sea-raiders as Drake and Hawkins to plunder Spanish treasure-ships returning from the New World. The Catholic-Huguenot struggle in France was not purely religious, either. Most Huguenots were middle-class businessmen living in towns and cities. They resented the fact that the best jobs in the government were held by Catholic aristocrats. Some Huguenot nobles fought in the religious wars in order to challenge the political authority of the Catholic king. The religious wars in France were in many ways a political struggle between two royal families, one Catholic and one Protestant. Each sought control of the French throne.

The Thirty Years' War illustrates well the non-religious causes of the religious wars. Before this conflict had ended, Catholic France had joined Protestant Germany and Protestant Sweden to defeat the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor. Territorial ambition also played an important part in this struggle (pages 261 and 262).

## The Catholic Counter Reformation Strengthens Catholicism

In 1500, practically everybody in western Europe was a Roman Catholic. By 1600, ap-

proximately half of the Catholic population had become Protestant. After 1600, however, the rate of Protestant conversions slowed up. To this day, Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Poland, Belgium, Ireland, and southern Germany are mainly Catholic. One important reason why the rate of Protestant conversion in western Europe declined was a reform movement within the Catholic Church.

Long before the days of Luther, certain Catholic churchmen had tried to correct abuses within the Church. As the Protestant Revolt spread, many churchmen dedicated their lives to strengthening Catholicism. This movement is known as the *Catholic Counter Reformation*. A Catholic plan of action was mapped at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). First, a vigorous attempt was made to sweep away Church abuses which had served as ammunition for Protestant reformers. For example, luxurious living by churchmen and the sale of indulgences were forbidden.

The Council of Trent reaffirmed the principles that only the Church had the authority to interpret the Bible and that the Pope was the supreme spiritual authority. Observance of all the sacraments and reverence for saints, religious images, and relics were emphasized. A standard edition of the Latin Bible (the *Vulgate*) and a uniform catechism were issued. Every Catholic child studies the catechism. He thus memorizes the principles of the Catholic faith in simple question-and-answer form. The Church revived the In-



quisition against heretics and forbade Catholics to read books condemned by the Church. Such books were placed on a list called the *Index of Prohibited Books*.

**Jesuits Spread Catholicism.** To win back Protestant converts and to make new converts to Catholicism, the Society of Jesus — called the *Jesuits* — was formed. Its founder, Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), had been a Spanish soldier. Soldierly Loyola set up a strict training program and required obedience to the leader, called the *general*, from every member of his society. The higher officers vowed unquestioning obedience to the Pope. Jesuits could be stationed in the most remote corners of the earth and sent on the most dangerous missions. They became famous everywhere as scholars, preachers, and teachers. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries converted thousands of Indians in North and South America, as well as Asians. Many Jesuits have had tremendous political influence as advisers to kings and governments.

## How the Reformation Reflected the Times

The Renaissance stressed individualism. Protestantism emphasizes the right of the individual to interpret the Bible for himself. The Scientific Revolution placed less emphasis on tradition and authority. Protestantism broke away from century-old religious tra-

ditions. The Commercial Revolution led to the discovery and exploration of new lands. Missionaries, especially the Jesuits, seeking converts, often became discoverers and explorers. Capitalists of early modern times opposed restrictions on their business. Protestant businessmen felt no need to live up to such restrictions as the Catholic Church's rule against taking interest on loans.

The Middle Ages had been a period of powerful worldly empires. Early modern times was an age of powerful national states, each having its own established national church. When Protestants in many countries refused to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, the power of the kings in these countries increased. Patriots began to pledge allegiance to king and country. Bit by bit, the government began to take over more of the functions formerly handled by the Church. Eventually schools and hospitals, for example, became government services in most countries.

After many years of religious intolerance and bloodshed, men were gradually forced to become more tolerant. Continued violence might have meant the destruction of all groups. Many came to believe that it is possible to worship God in different ways. There is still much religious intolerance. Yet no person today with religion in his heart would recommend burning or beheading another because of his religious beliefs.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Renaissance • Lorenzo the Magnificent • Erasmus • humanism • Dante • Petrarch • Cervantes • Chaucer • *Utopia* • Leonardo da Vinci • Michelangelo • Raphael • Titian • El Greco • Rembrandt • oratorio • opera • Scientific Revolution • scientific method • Copernicus • Kepler • Galileo • Descartes • Newton • Francis Bacon • Paracelsus • Leeuwenhoek • Magellan • Commercial Revolution • Ming dynasty • Akbar • Vasco da Gama • Cortez • Pizarro • John Cabot • Cartier • Henry Hudson • capitalism •

joint-stock companies • corporation • stock exchange • domestic system • Enclosure Movement • mercantilism • Luther • Protestant Reformation • Wycliffe • Huss • indulgences • Diet at Worms 1521 • Peasants' Revolt, 1525 • Peace of Augsburg • Calvin • Huguenots • Edict of Nantes • Thirty Years' War • Peace of Westphalia • Anglicanism • Henry VIII • Elizabeth I • Spanish Armada • Puritans • Catholic Counter Reformation • Council of Trent • *Index of Prohibited Books* • Loyola

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. For what reasons was the section **USHERING IN MODERN TIMES** included?
2. What developments during the Middle Ages did most to pave the way for modern times?
3. From this chapter identify five other artists whose names do not appear in the Identifications on the preceding page.
4. Discuss three reasons why the Renaissance began in the Italian city-states.
5. Give reasons for the spread of the Renaissance throughout Europe.
6. In what ways did humanism differ from scholasticism?
7. What were Machiavelli's ideas on government?
8. On the basis of the textbook discussion of Renaissance writers, the books of which one would you most like to read? Give reasons.
9. Which of these writers criticize their times? Why?
10. Give reasons why many consider Shakespeare the greatest writer of all time.
11. Tell how the Van Eycks created a revolution in painting.
12. Why were many medieval-minded persons shocked at Renaissance paintings?
13. Prove that Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were many-sided geniuses.
14. Which of these Italian Renaissance artists interests you most? Why?
15. Contrast Michelangelo's painting with that of Raphael.
16. Contrast the art of northern Europe with that of Spain.
17. In what ways was Renaissance architecture (a) different from medieval architecture and (b) similar to Greek and Roman architecture?
18. What were the distinctive features of (a) Renaissance architecture and (b) Renaissance music?
19. Show how the Renaissance affected (a) comfort, (b) manners, (c) women, and (d) education.
20. Discuss the obstacles to progress mentioned by Roger Bacon.
21. How did Copernicus upset the theory of Ptolemy?
22. What truth did Galileo seek and what trouble did he find?
23. What trouble did Descartes find? Why?
24. "If I have seen farther than Descartes, it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants," said Newton. What giants? How far did Newton see?
25. Discuss two effects of Newton's discoveries.
26. Show specifically how the modern doctor is indebted to the pioneers of medicine.
27. Show that the hardships of Magellan's voyage were many but that its significance was great.
28. List the reasons for Europe's expansion under the headings *Political*, *Economic*, and *Social*.
29. Discuss the attitude of the Ming's toward contact with the West.
30. Show the many ways in which the Commercial Revolution helped to raise standards of living. How else did it influence the modern world?
31. Show that capitalism was bound to become more widespread as a result of the Commercial Revolution.
32. In what ways is a capitalist economic society less rigid than medieval economic society?
33. What factors explain the development of capitalism?
34. Show the part played by (a) banks, (b) joint-stock companies, (c) stock exchanges, and (d) insurance companies in the expansion of capitalism.
35. Compare the domestic system with the guild system.
36. Discuss the effects of capitalism on (a) industry, (b) agriculture, and (c) government.
37. Show how each of the rules of mercantilism was designed to increase the gold and silver of the mother country.
38. What criticisms have been made of the mercantilist arguments?
39. Discuss the causes of the Protestant Reformation.
40. Trace the steps by which Luther introduced Protestantism.
41. Discuss Luther's religious beliefs.

42. Trace the spread of Protestantism in Europe.
43. Discuss (a) the causes, (b) the highlights, and (c) the results of the Thirty Years' War.
44. Give two examples which indicate that the religious wars had some non-religious causes.

45. Discuss the role of (a) the Council of Trent and (b) the Jesuits in the Catholic Counter Reformation.
46. Show how the Protestant Reformation was influenced by other movements of the time.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Show specifically how the two quotations from Erasmus express the Renaissance spirit.
2. In the light of their writing, which do you think would be most at home in the modern world: Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, or Machiavelli? Give reasons.
3. Prove by examples that one can learn history by reading Renaissance writers.
4. Shakespeare's ideas are ageless. Discuss.
5. Compare the art of Renaissance Italy with that of (a) ancient Athens or (b) ancient Rome.
6. In what sense was Renaissance architecture a summary of earlier architecture?
7. In what ways was the Renaissance a revolution?
8. Explain why there is less emphasis on humanism in schools today than there was in the schools of early modern times.
9. To what extent would you consider Erasmus's views modern?
10. Why is it difficult for the average person to practice the scientific method in his everyday life?
11. In what ways do the problems faced by Copernicus and Galileo remind one of those faced by Socrates?
12. What factors explain Newton's popularity when so many of his predecessors were persecuted?
13. What would you say was Francis Bacon's outstanding contribution? Why?
14. In what ways did the Scientific Revolution influence the non-scientific world?
15. For what reasons was the Commercial Revolution introduced here with the story of Magellan, rather than with the story of Columbus, whose

- discoveries were made several years earlier?
16. In what ways did the Commercial Revolution cause the world to: (a) expand; (b) shrink?
17. Show how the invention of the airplane has brought about a new Commercial Revolution.
18. Compare the reasons for Europe's expansion in early modern times with ancient Greece's reasons for wanting colonies.
19. To what extent would the world have benefited if all the Ming rulers had kept China's door open to the West?
20. Which explorers do you think made the greatest contribution to world civilization? Give reasons.
21. At the time, Vasco da Gama's achievement seemed greater. As the years rolled on, Columbus's seemed greater. Explain.
22. Prove that capitalists believe in making money work.
23. It would be impossible to understand modern times without understanding capitalism. Discuss.
24. Capitalism helped the new national states, and the new national states helped capitalism. Show how.
25. Show how capitalism aids banking and how banking aids capitalism.
26. Capitalism would be severely handicapped if (a) the corporation and (b) the insurance company were abolished. Explain why.
27. To the government, the Lollards were traitors. To the Church, they were heretics. Discuss.
28. Explain why Luther, unlike Huss, was not burned at the stake.
29. What was irreligious about the so-called religious Thirty Years' War?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Draw a diagram of the bridge to modern times, labeling the pillars.
2. Write a report on any one of the Italian city-

states, stressing (a) government, (b) culture, (c) occupations, (d) interesting events, (e) important personalities.

3. On an outline map of Europe, write the names of ten famous Renaissance artists, writers, and scientists on the areas where they did their work.
4. Obtain from a museum postcards showing Renaissance art. Compare those you like best with (a) the favorites of classmates and (b) those which are praised most in a book on art.
5. In committee, write a guide for a high government official today comparable to the one Machiavelli wrote for a Renaissance prince. Explain how the aims and methods you recommend differ from those recommended in *The Prince*. See Keller's *Reader's Digest of Books* for a summary of *The Prince*.
6. Use this same source for an essay entitled: *I Lived in Sir Thomas More's Utopia*.
7. Select five illustrations from Reinach's *Apollo* which you would include in an exhibit on Renaissance art. Give reasons for your choices.
8. Prepare a series of questions for a class WHAT'S MY NAME? contest on any Renaissance artist, writer, or scientist mentioned here.
9. From a book on quotations, such as Bartlett's, select a few quotations from any writer mentioned here which you think best illustrate the spirit of the Renaissance.
10. Write a short biography of Leonardo da Vinci, using either Cottler's *Man with Wings* or Lansing's *Leonardo, Master of the Renaissance* as a source. Do the same for Michelangelo, using Lerman's *Michelangelo* as a source.
11. Classify important buildings in your town under the headings: Greek, Romanesque, Gothic, Moorish, Renaissance, or None of These. Justify your classifications.

### Summing Up

1. Draw a rough sketch, indicating what highlights you would display on the cover of a book on the Renaissance and the Reformation.
2. Answer the questions found under each of

12. Using Burckhardt's *Renaissance in Italy* (pp. 385-388), prepare an oral report on Renaissance music.
13. Select a specific problem in current events and apply the steps in the scientific method to analyzing it.
14. Make an oral report in which you point out how the application of the scientific method to everyday living might lessen prejudice among peoples and among nations.
15. Choose from the newspapers today an example of each of the obstacles to progress mentioned by Roger Bacon.
16. Write a humorous essay entitled: *Even in Our Copernican World Many Persons Are Encumbered by Ptolemaic Ideas*.
17. For a group research project, find out and report on why Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton should be studied as a team.
18. Investigate to find out (a) the obstacles faced by any one of the men of medicine mentioned here and (b) how he coped with them.
19. In committee, make a list of Do's and Don't's for would-be scientists.
20. In committee, outline five scenes for a movie on the progress of science in the Scientific Revolution.
21. Make out some WHO AM I? questions to ask the class on explorers of the Commercial Revolution.
22. Write an imaginary page in the diary of one of Magellan's sailors.
23. Imagine yourself a war correspondent during the Thirty Years' War. Write up a dispatch.

the illustrations in this chapter in your notebook.

3. In parallel columns, classify the most important information in this chapter under the headings: *Who, Where, When, What*.



In this scene from the motion picture *Henry V*, Henry's messenger is claiming the French throne for the English king. What reason do you think he gave? What other reasons might he have had?

CROSSING THE BRIDGE TO MODERN TIMES

## CHAPTER 10 . . . . AUTOCRATIC RULERS TRY TO BUILD STRONG NATIONAL STATES IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN

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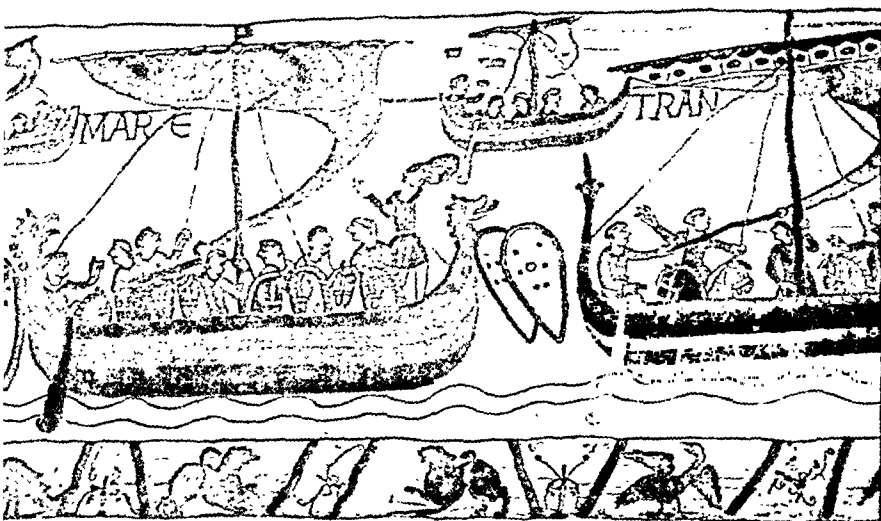
**Autocratic Kings Build a Strong National State in England • The Norman Conquest Fuses French and English Culture • Henry II Increases National Unity and Provokes International Problems • King John Loses Much, But England Wins the Magna Carta • Parliament Develops Because Edward I Needs Money • Losing the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) Strengthens the English Nation • Royal Power Reaches Its Height under the Tudors • Absolutism Fails the English People • Autocratic Kings Build a Strong National State in France • Laying the Groundwork for the French Nation • Joan of Arc's Inspiration Increases French Patriotism • Effects of the Hundred Years' War on France • The Wise Policies of Henry IV Strengthen the French Nation • Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin Increase Royal Power • The Glittering Absolutism of Louis XIV Dazzles All Europe • Absolutism Fails the French People • Autocratic Kings Fail to Build a Strong National State in Spain • Policies Which Explain Spain's Decline • Absolutism Fails the Spanish People**

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In ancient times, some men stood ready to sacrifice their lives to defend their city-states, such as Athens, or their empires, such as the Roman. In the Middle Ages, some men were ready to do likewise for empires, such as Charlemagne's, or for the feudal states of their lords. By 1600, a new kind of state was winning the allegiance of many Europeans. A powerful king would unite many feudal states into a national state or politically independent nation. Confusing rivalries, alliances, plots, assassinations, and wars usually accompanied this unification. Instead of looking

like a patchwork quilt of thousands of little feudal states, the map of Europe in 1600 began to look much as it looks today. Among the national states whose boundaries have not changed much since 1600 are England, France, and Spain.

Some of the kings who built these national states were capable and also were interested in the welfare of their people. They established law and order by ending feudal confusion. In so doing, they inspired loyalty to king and country. Eventually, even when people became dissatisfied with their kings,



William the Conqueror Shown in the Bayeux Tapestry Crossing the English Channel. Read an encyclopedia article on the Bayeux tapestry and then tell why it is such a valuable historical record.

they remained patriotic toward their countries. They began to feel that, since the country belonged to all of them, they should have a say in how it was run. Most of these kings were no more powerful than feudal lords. But while they were making allies of the new wealthy business class, feudal lords were obligingly killing one another off in civil and religious wars. And as kings increased their wealth from taxation, plunder, overseas trade, and colonies, they were able to equip their armies of hired soldiers with gunpowder and cannon.

By weakening the international influence of the Catholic Church, the Protestant Reformation also strengthened national kings. In some countries the king replaced the Pope as head of the church. Thus he became a symbol of religious unity as well as of national unity. With the new printing press, some absolute kings spread the use of the national language and promoted interest in national literature. The people of each national state were taught to believe that they were different from those of other national states.

Most of these kings were despots. Puffed up by ambition, they frequently plunged their people into costly wars. They tried to create far-flung colonial empires. Often they surrounded themselves with extravagant courts. Most of them claimed to rule by the will of God. Therefore they felt that they were entitled to the unquestioning loyalty of

their subjects. These absolute monarchs sometimes consulted lawmaking bodies, such as the English Parliament. But these consultations were usually held only when the kings needed money.

## Autocratic Kings Build a Strong National State in England

**The Norman Conquest Fuses French and English Culture.** In the little town of Bayeux, France, is a big tapestry. This Bayeux tapestry tells in pictures how William the Conqueror crossed the English Channel from Normandy, France, and conquered England's Saxon king, Harold, at the Battle of Hastings in 1066.<sup>1</sup> William claimed the English throne, because he said that his cousin who had been king had willed it to him. Shortly after, William had himself elected King of England by the Witan. Ambitious William required all feudal lords to take an oath — the Salisbury Oath — to him as supreme ruler. Shrewd William distributed huge tracts of lands to lords who proved their loyalty. Tactful William permitted the English to retain many of their own laws and customs. Economical William kept a careful listing of all property in England for tax purposes. Merciless William showed no regard for age or sex when he massacred rebels by the thousands.

<sup>1</sup> England has never since been invaded.

The development of a strong national state was not the only result of the Norman conquest of England. In the English language are many French words. Along the English countryside are many castles and cathedrals built in the Norman style. In the veins of many Englishmen there flows Norman French blood. In many English shops craftsmen use skills introduced to England by immigrants from France and Flanders after 1066. The customs, manners, dress, and literature of England were also strongly influenced by the French. For centuries after the death of William the Conqueror, English kings were to struggle with French kings for control of French territory. Similarly, French kings were to interfere in English politics.

**Henry II Increases National Unity and Provokes International Problems.** Shortly after William's death, feudal warfare broke out. It lasted until Henry II was crowned in 1154. This great-grandson of William the Conqueror wanted to avoid depending upon feudal nobles for military support. Therefore he compelled his noble vassals to pay him money, instead of giving him military service. By hiring his own soldiers with the money, Henry felt that he would have a more loyal army.

Henry wanted to get cases away from the feudal and Church courts and into the king's courts. To do so, he sent traveling judges as his representatives to conduct trials everywhere in England. These traveling judges often gave wise decisions, usually based upon their own legal opinions and the legal customs of the community. The collection of these opinions and customs became known as *English common law*. To this common law were added laws made by the king and, later, laws made by the Parliament. Many of our own legal principles are based on English common law.

Henry II also set up a new system of weighing evidence. Respectable persons in each community were summoned before the king's judges. There they were ordered to name any individuals in the community who, in

their opinion, had committed crimes. Such accused persons were investigated to find out whether there was enough evidence to hold them for trial in the king's courts. This procedure marks the beginning of the *grand jury system*. Today when a grand jury decides that there is enough evidence for a trial, it is said to *indict* a person. In many modern countries, if a person is indicted before a grand jury, he is given a trial before another kind of jury, a *trial* or *petty* jury. A petty jury, unlike a grand jury, actually decides whether the accused is guilty or not. Accused persons would prefer a jury trial to the old system of trial by combat or ordeal (page 152). Too, the common people would prefer royal justice to feudal justice. In a dispute with a noble, what chance would a poor man have in a feudal court? No wonder Henry II is considered one of England's great kings!

Yet many of England's later troubles originated in Henry's reign. For example, Henry wanted churchmen accused of crimes to be tried in royal courts instead of in Church courts. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, whom Henry had appointed, bitterly opposed this. Equally bitter, Henry one day cried out: "Will no one rid me of this obstinate priest?" The Christian world, and no doubt Henry himself, was shocked when some of Henry's supporters took this outburst seriously and assassinated the archbishop. Becket became a martyr. His tomb at Canterbury has been visited by pilgrims for centuries. Under the threat of excommunication, Henry permitted himself to be flogged by monks and promised to undertake a Crusade. Not until the Protestant Reformation were accused English churchmen to be tried in royal courts.

Through inheritance and marriage Henry II owned far more French land than the French king himself. These French possessions of English kings were to cause many wars between France and England. Henry was the first English king to invade Ireland, though not the last. This was the beginning of centuries of trouble between England and





An Artist's Conception of the Scene at Runnymede. Here King John set his seal to the Magna Carta. This was an important event not only in English history but in world history. Why?

Ireland. As a husband and father, Henry was a failure. His wife even encouraged his sons to revolt against him! Wars and Crusades, rather than the government of his country, occupied one of his sons, Richard the Lionhearted (page 182).

**King John Loses Much, but England Wins the Magna Carta.** Another of Henry's sons, King John, seems to have been a born loser. He lost out to Pope Innocent III in a quarrel over the right to appoint churchmen in England. John was required to turn over England to the Pope. He received it back as a fief, thus becoming the Pope's vassal. This habitual loser also lost out in a quarrel with the French king, Philip Augustus, who took from him valuable lands in France, including Normandy. Another of John's losses, to the nobles of England, was a gain to the world. Enraged by his tyrannical policies, the nobles rebelled. John gave in again. He met representatives of the nobles at Runnymede near London. There he reluctantly stamped his seal on the *Magna Carta* (Great Charter).

In the Magna Carta the king promised not to tax without the consent of the Great Council. He agreed that no freeman should be imprisoned, except after a trial by his *peers* —

equals. He pledged that justice would not be sold, denied, or delayed to anyone. These promises sound very democratic. However, in the main, the Magna Carta was a document of nobles, by nobles, and for nobles. Only one of its many provisions specifically mentioned serfs. In later centuries, however, its benefits were extended to all classes. Thus the Magna Carta is considered a cornerstone of liberty in all democratic countries.

**Parliament Develops Because Edward I Needs Money.** Wars cost money. And King Edward I, who reigned from 1272 to 1307, engaged in frequent wars. To get money, he was required by the Magna Carta to secure consent of the Great Council. However, only nobles, bishops, and abbots were represented in the Great Council. These aristocrats were rich, but another class was steadily growing richer. This new rich class was made up of city merchants and a large group of landlords. They were called "commons" because they had no titles of nobility. Edward invited members of the Great Council to meet with representatives of the rich commons. Thus he hoped to get a larger sum of money. Each county sent two small landholders, *knights*, to represent it and each town sent two citi-

What does this scene from the motion picture *Henry V* tell you about methods of fighting during the Hundred Years' War?



zens, *burgesses*. This meeting in 1295 of representatives of various classes in England is called the Model Parliament, because later parliaments in England and elsewhere were modeled on it. Many consider it the first truly representative assembly in history. Almost immediately, the knights and *burgesses* began to meet and debate apart from the nobles and clergy. Thus there developed two houses of Parliament: the House of Commons, elected by the counties and towns, and the House of Lords, invited by the king.

With the money which Parliament voted him, Edward I increased his power. But later kings found that before Parliament would grant them money, it would demand that certain laws be passed. Also, it would determine how the money would be spent. It would demand the dismissal of undesirable officials, and sometimes even the abdication of the kings themselves. So Parliament, which started out merely as a tax-granting body, eventually won tremendous power.

Thus, by encouraging the growth of Parliament, in the long run Edward I weakened royal power. Yet he was one of England's strongest kings. He classified the laws and curbed crime. He persuaded Parliament to

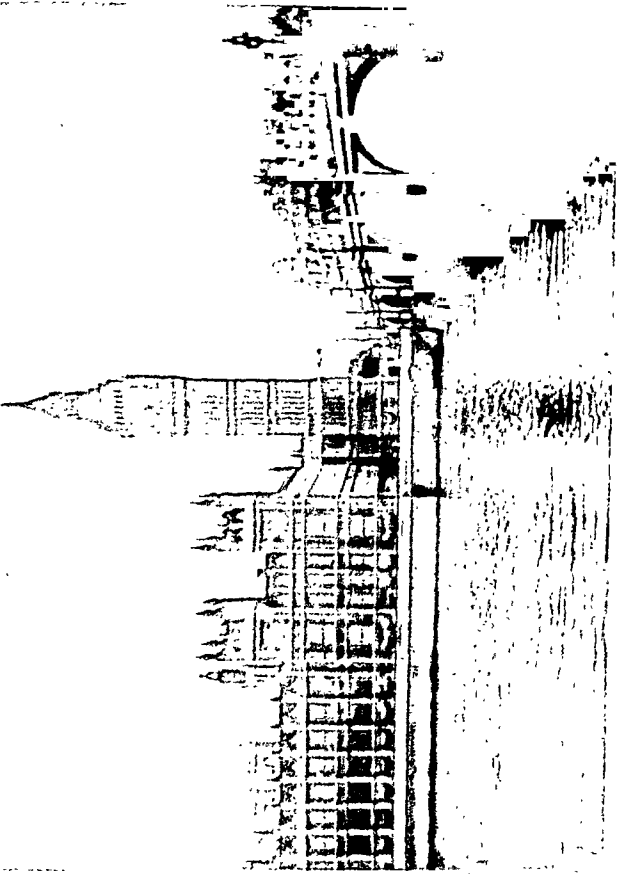
pass a law forbidding Englishmen to turn over lands to the Church. He increased his income by collecting a tariff on wool exported to Flanders (where it was made into cloth), and on wines imported from France. When Edward became king, Wales, Scotland, and most of Ireland were independent of England. Edward conquered Wales. He dubbed his son "Prince of Wales," a title still granted the eldest son of England's monarch. In his attempt to annex Scotland, Edward was only temporarily successful. However, like Wales, Scotland today is part of Great Britain. For in 1603 a Scottish king was to become King of England (page 302)

**Losing the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453)** Strengthens the English Nation. Pennants and flags were rippling in the breeze. Thousands of French knights, clad in heavy armor and mounted on spirited steeds, were poised for the attack. Atop the hill, waiting for the fierce charge, was a comparatively small group of English foot-soldiers. The trumpets blared. The French knights charged. The English infantry took one step forward, drew their longbows far back, then filled the air with arrows "so thick that it seemed as if it snowed." This battle,

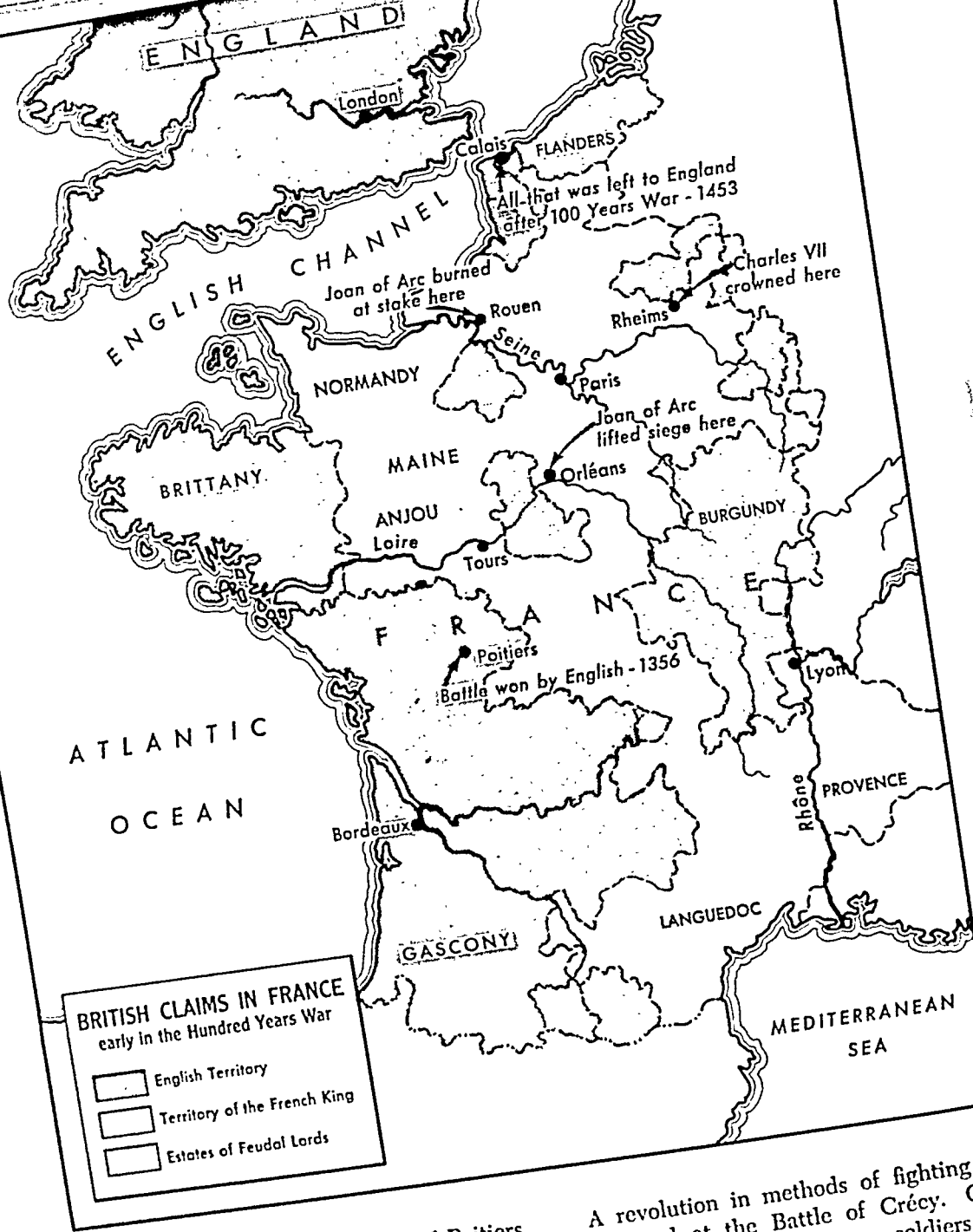


at Crécy in 1346, and the battles of Poitiers (1356) and Agincourt (1415) were the most important English victories over France in the Hundred Years' War. Actually, the long-drawn-out war was interrupted by long periods of peace.

A revolution in methods of fighting introduced at the Battle of Crécy. proved that common infantry soldiers the right weapons could defeat knight horseback burdened by heavy armor use of the longbow marked the end of



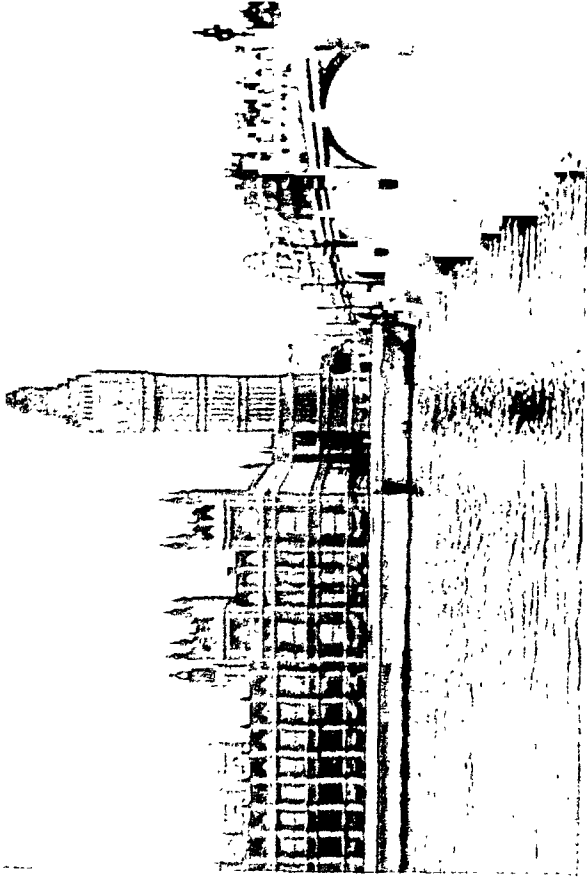
The British Parliament Viewed from Westminster. R-1



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CROSSING THE BRIDGE TO MODERN TIMES



The British Parliament Viewed from Westminster Bridge Across the Thames River. Here the poet Wordsworth once stood and wrote, "Earth has not anything to show more fair."

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blind fighting with broadswords and lances. Apparently it was at Crécy that gunpowder and cannon were first used on the battlefield. Thus this battle was a prophesy of the doom of feudal knights, feudal warfare, and feudal estates.

*Causes of the Hundred Years' War.* How important were the causes which led to such a long conflict? From the time of William the Conqueror, many English kings had re-ented being vassals of the king of France. Weak King John had lost many English fiefs in France to a strong French king. In 1328 the last of the direct line of French Capetian kings died without an heir. King Edward III of England, urged on by the merchants of Flanders, then put in his bid for the French throne. His mother had been the daughter of a French king. Why did the merchants of Flanders care whether their overlord was English or French? Both Flanders and England prospered from their woolen trade, with which France was interfering. For some time, too, the French had been aiding the Scots in their revolt against the English. Perhaps another cause for the continued fighting was expressed by Shakespeare thus: "To busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels!" Many French feudal lords supported the English. They were jealous of the new line of French kings.

*Effects of the Hundred Years' War on England.* 1453 is an important date. It marks the end of the Hundred Years' War as well as the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. In spite of many early victories, England lost the last battles of the Hundred Years' War. All the English possessions in France, except the port of Calais, were finally surrendered. This was no tragedy for the English. England could now concentrate on building a strong nation instead of wasting its energies trying to control France. The war had been popular in England. Why not? France had been the battleground, not England. During the war, a strong spirit of English patriotism arose, centering in the king. Pride in the victories won by the army, which was composed of

men from all classes, increased the spirit of unity.

*Royal Power Reaches Its Height Under the Tudors.* Sometimes the problems a country faces shortly after a war are even more serious than the problems it faced during the war. So it was in England after the Hundred Years' War. After the war, powerful nobles put on their paternalist robes, employed veterans who plundered and terrorized the countryside. They showed contempt for the king's courts and for the national Parliament. Soon England was plunged into bloody civil wars between the York family and the Lancaster family, both claiming the English throne. A thirty-year period of intrigues and assassinations between these two groups of nobles followed. It is called the Wars of the Roses, because the Yorks had as their symbol a white rose, and the Lancasters a red rose as theirs.

And what was the result of all this lawlessness? The most autocratic ruling family in English history, the Tudors, came to power. The first Tudor king, Henry VII (1485-1509), although related to the Lancasters, was shrewd enough to marry a girl of the York family. In fact, practically all the Tudor rulers were shrewd. They were shrewd enough to give the war-weary English people the peace and prosperity they wanted. That is why, although Tudor rulers were often dictatorial, they were usually well liked. Furthermore, most of them were capable and colorful.

Henry VII strengthened absolutism by ending feudalism forever in England. Feudal nobles had helped Henry out by killing one another in the civil wars. Nobles who continued to plot against Henry VII were brought before a new court — the Court of the Star Chamber. In this court, which met secretly, there was no trial by jury. Most of the accused were convicted and many were executed. Henry VII also strengthened absolutism by weakening Parliament. Henry knew that, when Parliament voted the king taxes, it usually asked for favors in return





Holbein's Painting of Henry VIII (page 221). How is kingly power suggested here?

Therefore, he tried to raise as much money as he could without calling Parliament into session. By his orders, heavy fines were collected. The estates of hostile nobles were seized. Rich men were sometimes forced to grant the king loans which were rarely repaid. By marrying a daughter to the Scottish king, and a son (Henry VIII) to a Spanish princess, Henry hoped to gain business, power, and good will abroad.

Henry VIII, by breaking with the Pope (page 243), had become head of the Church in England, as well as of the state. He played off one nation against another on the continent of Europe. He thus prevented any one of them, or group of them, from becoming so powerful as to be a danger to England. This policy, started by Henry's adviser, Wolsey, is called the *balance of power*. It has been a guiding principle of England's foreign policy ever since.

Women are said to be the weaker sex. Yet it was under a queen that England became

one of the most powerful national states in the world. Famous events in the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)<sup>2</sup> include: the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the tragic disappearance of Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia colony, Sir Francis Drake's voyage around the world, and the plundering of Spanish treasure ships by English sea-raiders. Such writers as Shakespeare (page 219) added glory to Elizabethan England.

Elizabeth was a vain and deceitful woman, but an intelligent and industrious queen. She steered a middle course between Protestantism and Catholicism (page 244). She helped to make England mistress of the seas and the world's leading commercial nation. This red-haired queen had many suitors, but never took a husband. Her failure to marry increased her popularity with many, who considered her married to the nation.

In spite of Elizabeth's popularity, her assassination was plotted by those who wished to place her Catholic cousin, Mary Stuart, on the English throne. Mary, who had been Queen of Scotland, had fled to England because of a Protestant uprising led by John Knox (page 242). Mary was executed when it was discovered that she was involved in a conspiracy with King Philip II of Spain against Elizabeth.

**Absolutism Fails the English People.** Elizabeth, like other Tudors, knew how to make Parliament feel important by asking its consent to policies already decided upon. This was a device to be copied by later despotic rulers in many countries. Yet immediately after Elizabeth's death, her less tactful non-Tudor successor was engaged in a fierce struggle with Parliament. By 1688, Parliament, which won the struggle, was supreme over English rulers. Democracy thus began to win out over despotism. However, the full story of this struggle for democracy belongs, not here, but in the history of more recent times.

<sup>2</sup> Two Tudors who contributed little toward building royal power in England were Elizabeth's predecessors, Edward VI and Mary (page 244).





As Joan of Arc Looked to a Painter of 1500. What makes Joan of Arc such a dramatic figure?

hands. Many French nobles recognized the king of England as king of France. The Frenchman who claimed the throne, Charles VII, was a weak and lazy fellow who had not yet been crowned. And Orleans, the city which was the key to unconquered France, had been under siege for two years.

Suddenly in this dark picture a bright light appeared. A poor and illiterate peasant girl, seventeen years old, had somehow reached the uncrowned king and his advisers. At first, they thought she was crazy. They ridiculed her story that voices from heaven and visions of saints had urged her to save France. Finally, however, she persuaded the king to give her a few troops to lift the siege of Orleans. Clad in a man's armor, riding astride a white horse and bearing a white banner, this young girl inspired hundreds of tough warriors to join the little army. In less than two weeks, the English were forced to give up the siege of Orleans. Two months later, Joan's triumphant army entered Rheims,

where the king was crowned with Joan at his side. Almost all France was now aflame with patriotism.

But the king for whom the Maid of Orleans had done so much did nothing to save her when she was captured by the Burgundians and turned over to the English. In 1431, after an unfair trial at which she was condemned as a heretic, the English burned her alive. But the inspiration of Joan of Arc helped the French to bring the Hundred Years' War to a victorious conclusion in 1453. Five centuries later, the Catholic Church was to declare this French heroine a saint.

**Effects of the Hundred Years' War on France.** It took France over a hundred years to recover from the Hundred Years' War. Lands were devastated. Taxes went sky-high. Deaths from the Black Plague, from a bloody peasants' rebellion, and from the actual fighting had greatly reduced the population. Many poverty-stricken peasants and unemployed war veterans became beggars or bandits. Learning and morals suffered.

But royal power became stronger than ever. French kings, through the needs of war, had acquired the right to tax the people without even calling the Estates-General. Thus they were able to support a permanent



King Louis XI. After reading an encyclopedia article on him, write your opinion of his character.

national army. Patriotism came to mean loyalty to the king. However, some nobles resisted the increasing power of the king. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, spent a lifetime competing with King Louis XI (1461-1483). Duke Charles wanted to build a strong independent Kingdom of Burgundy to lie between France and the Holy Roman Empire. However, by diplomacy and intrigue, Louis, supported by the business class, eventually annexed most of Charles's territory. The map of France when Louis died looked much as it does today.

**The Wise Policies of Henry IV Strengthen the French Nation.** "My wish," said Henry IV, "is that every peasant in the kingdom should be able to have a chicken in the pot for his Sunday dinner." Henry knew that to get his wish he would have to bring peace and prosperity to France. He brought an end to the religious wars between Catholics and Protestants (page 242). Advised by his Huguenot minister, Sully, Henry economized on court and military expenditures. In his reign, agriculture and industry improved and the silk industry was introduced.

The French colonial empire in Canada was founded at this time. Champlain, a former soldier in Henry's army, settled Quebec. Henry IV and Sully even planned a kind of European United Nations to bring about permanent peace. Yet Henry engaged in wars with the Habsburg rulers of Spain and Austria, whose territory surrounded France. The team of Henry IV and Sully might have accomplished much more if Henry had not been stabbed to death in 1610 by a religious fanatic.

**Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin Increase Royal Power.** Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), chief minister to Henry's son, Louis XIII, was a capable but ruthless patriot who did much to make the French king absolute and France the leading nation of Europe. To prevent any state from existing within the French state, Richelieu destroyed the fortified towns of the Huguenots and outlawed their private armies. To retain the



Henry IV's Minister, Sully. What did Henry and France owe to him?

loyalty of these French Protestants, however, he did not interfere with their freedom of worship or their right to hold government jobs. To weaken the nobles, Richelieu destroyed many of their castles and appointed many commoners as officials of the king. To retain the loyalty of the nobles, however, he permitted them to keep most of their lands and privileges. Although Richelieu was a cardinal of the Catholic Church, he considered the growth of the French nation more important than his religious duties. Richelieu was determined to help France reach what he called its natural boundaries: the Mediterranean Sea, the Pyrenees Mountains, the Atlantic Ocean, the English Channel, the Alps, and the Rhine River. Toward this end, in the Thirty Years' War (page 243), he aided Swedish and German Protestants in their struggle with the Catholic Habsburgs—rulers of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.

After Richelieu's death, another cardinal, Mazarin, ruled France. The king, Louis XIV,



Long after the death of Cardinal Richelieu, pictured here, a crowd broke into his tomb, cut off his skull, and paraded it through the streets of Paris. Find out why this man who worked so hard to expand France's power was so unpopular.

was just a boy at this time. In the Peace of Westphalia (1648) closing the Thirty Years' War, Mazarin obtained for France territory near the Rhine, including much of Alsace and Lorraine. Mazarin also increased the royal power by suppressing the last uprising of the nobles. He saw to it, however, that the nobles did not bear any grudge against the king. This was achieved by increasing the tax burden of the common people and practically eliminating taxes on nobles.

**The Glittering Absolutism of Louis XIV Dazzles All Europe.**

*Absolutism Reaches Its Height Under Louis XIV.* On his deathbed King Louis XIV

(1643–1715) murmured sadly to his great-great-grandson and heir: “. . . Never forget your obligations to God. . . . Try to live in peace with your neighbors. I have loved war too much. Do not imitate me in that, or in my excessive expenditures. . . .” The king who voiced these regrets so dominated the seventy-two years in which he reigned that this period is known as the *Age of Louis XIV*. Good-looking Louis wore high-heeled shoes and long curls. He was not only gracious and dignified, but intelligent and industrious.

Proclaimed Louis XIV: “. . . For subjects to rise against their king, however wicked and oppressive he may be, is always infinitely criminal. God, who has given kings to men, . . . has reserved to Himself alone the right to review their conduct. His will is that he who is born a subject should obey without question.” This quotation expresses the theory of the *divine right of kings*. Long before Louis, and long after him, kings justified their one-man rule by this theory. There is no proof that Louis XIV ever said, as some assert: “*L'état c'est moi*.” (“I am the state.”) Yet he had much more power than the most absolute of the Tudors in England. He had full power to tax and to spend as he saw fit. One word from Louis, and anyone could be arrested and imprisoned, without reason and without trial. The French Estates-General had never grown so powerful as the English Parliament. In fact, Louis XIV never called it together. Nor did any of his successors until 1789.

*Louis XIV's Court at Versailles Lures Nobles.* Such an extraordinary king could not live in an ordinary castle. The palace Louis XIV built at Versailles near Paris cost over \$100,000,000. Inside were mirrored halls, marble staircases, and gilded furniture. Outside were hundreds of fountains, scores of gardens, and statues galore. The center of this miniature universe at Versailles was the so-called Sun King himself, Louis XIV. As the sun's satellites circle about it, Louis's courtiers, the nobility, circled about him. They knew that they might be rewarded with

an important government job or a pension for life if they won the honor of handing Louis a towel. Since the ceremony of helping the king to put on a shirt required as many as seven persons, the pension list must have been long indeed. Life at Versailles was one long round of balls, ballets, banquets, gambling, and hunting parties. The nobles and their ladies in powdered wigs, silks, satins, and laces conformed to elaborate rules of etiquette. But if their manners were good, their morals were often bad and their persons not always clean. It was not yet the custom to bathe the entire body regularly. Perhaps that is why perfume was so popular at Versailles.



Here is the minuet as it was danced at Versailles. Find out why persons accustomed to the minuet were shocked when the waltz was introduced less than a century later.

*Louis XIV's Reign the Golden Age of French Culture.* By placing artists, scientists, and writers on the palace payroll, Louis hoped to bring fame to himself, as well as to France. Brilliant writers helped to make this period the *Golden Age of French literature*. One of these, Corneille, is the *father of the French drama*. In his tragedies courageous heroes never fail to do their duty. Racine, another writer of tragedies, constantly warns that falling in love inevitably

gets people into trouble. Molière, the *father of French comedy*, wittily ridicules ignorant doctors, shady lawyers, religious hypocrites, make-believe intellectuals, and shallow women. The *Fables* of La Fontaine and the *Maxims* of La Rochefoucauld also expose the vain, the insincere, and the selfish. La Rochefoucauld once observed: "We think very few people sensible except those who agree with us." Most of La Fontaine's stories are about animals with human characteristics.

Soon even the pettiest prince in Europe wanted to be as absolute as Louis, to build a palace like his, to be a patron of the arts, to dress like him, and to adopt his manners. Some even tried to walk like him! Diplomats, cultured persons, and chefs, too, in other countries began to find a knowledge of



"Help thyself, and God will help thee." This is one of the famous sayings from the *Fables* of La Fontaine, who is pictured above.



Some Seventeenth-Century French Costumes. Compare these costumes with your own clothing as to beauty and comfort.

French almost indispensable. French plays influenced dramatists in many countries. French furniture and French fashions became permanently popular. Under Louis XIV, French artists set very high standards for themselves. One expert chef is said to have killed himself because one of his dishes did not achieve the perfection that he expected of it!

*Colbert's Policies Promote Prosperity.* Colbert, Louis's minister, was a remarkable man. He greatly increased the income of the government without increasing taxes! Corrupt, inefficient, and unnecessary officials were discharged. Colbert dared to require even the nobility and clergy to pay some taxes and to lighten the tax burden of the plain people. He set up high tariffs to protect new French industries from foreign competition. He encouraged immigration of foreign workers and forbade skilled Frenchmen to emigrate. All this helped France to lead Europe in producing fine silks, brocades, and other luxuries. Like all mercantilists (page 237), Colbert wanted his country to have many colonies. He bought islands in the West Indies for France. He encouraged Frenchmen to settle in Canada and Louisiana,<sup>3</sup> and he organized trading posts in India and Africa.

*Louis XIV Practices Intolerance and Militarism.* In 1685 Louis XIV canceled the Edict of Nantes by which Henry IV had granted

religious toleration to the Huguenots. Louis XIV ordered Huguenot churches destroyed and Huguenot ministers exiled. Huguenots by the thousands fled France. This emigration was a tragedy for France, but a blessing for America, England, Holland, and some German states. These countries were enriched by the immigration of thousands of skilled workers and enterprising businessmen. For French prosperity under Colbert had owed much to the industrious Huguenots.

What a golden opportunity Louis XIV had to use the wealth which Colbert had accumulated in the royal treasury to make his people happy! Instead, he spent millions on



Prove that this man, Colbert, dedicated his life to the welfare of France.

<sup>3</sup>When La Salle explored the Mississippi River valley in 1682, he had named the area Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV.

four costly wars which brought nothing but tragedy into millions of French homes. In preparation for his wars, Louis XIV built the largest and best-trained army in Europe. His efficient generals introduced such military techniques as marching in step, use of pontoon bridges, and carrying guns with bayonets fixed. Like Richelieu, Louis maintained that France had the right to expand to its natural boundaries. Like Richelieu, Louis wanted to humble the Habsburgs whose lands encircled France. Louis was even jealous of little Holland, because its trade was growing so large. Three aggressive wars were fought by Louis to expand French territory to the Rhine. Louis's army spread death and destruction in Flanders, Holland, the Palatinate (a fertile area on the Rhine River), and several German states. These little countries might have been gobbled up by powerful France. At various times, however, England, Sweden, and the Holy Roman Empire united in *coalitions* — alliances — with the smaller countries to stop Louis. The most powerful coalition of all fought Louis XIV in his fourth and last war, the War of the Spanish Succession. The nations in the coalition were united by a common fear. Louis's grand-

son had been willed the Spanish throne. The crowning of Louis's grandson might mean that France would get Spain's great colonial empire in the New World. It might also mean that France and Spain would unite in one powerful nation under Bourbon rule. England was especially alarmed, because Europe's balance of power (page 258) might thus be upset. From 1702 to 1713 battles raged on land and sea. Finally, both sides became war-weary and laid down their arms.

*France Pays Heavily for Louis XIV's Wars.* An English poet, Southey, gives his impression of the Battle of Blenheim, the most famous victory of the coalition, thus:

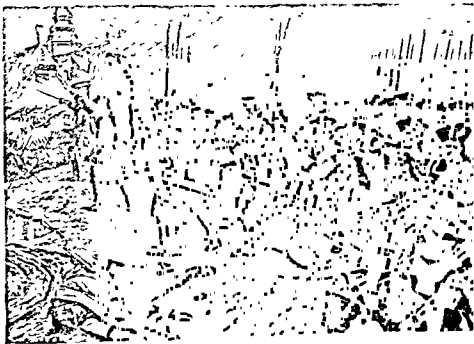
"They say it was a shocking sight  
After the field was won,  
For many thousand bodies here  
Lay rotting in the sun, . . ."

"But what good came of it at last?"  
Quoth little Peterkin.

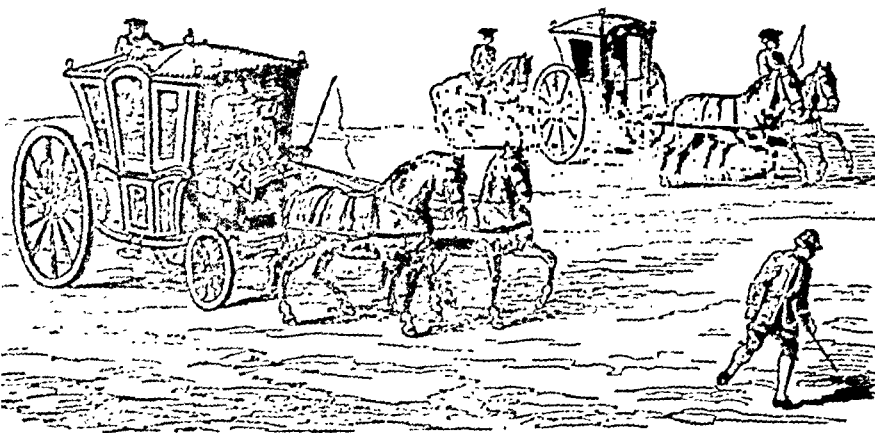
"Why that I cannot tell," said he,  
But 'twas a famous victory."

For France in particular, little good came of it. Why? In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, England was France's greatest rival, both in Europe and in the colonies. In fact, some of the wars of Louis XIV had

The Battle of Blenheim, 1704. Here Louis XIV's forces suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the British Duke of Marlborough. Read Southey's entire poem, *The Battle of Blenheim*, and write your comments on it.







This footman running along with the chariot of a noble was expected to open the door when the occupants wanted to alight. What does this tell you about eighteenth-century French society?

been fought in the colonies. Because of his colonial defeats, Louis, in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), was compelled to give up Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay region to England. Louis's wars also helped to strengthen England in Europe. Spain was required to surrender Gibraltar to England. England fortified Gibraltar and has been able to control the entrance to the western Mediterranean ever since. Thus Louis's wars helped to weaken France's colonial empire and to strengthen the British Empire. English commerce thrived and French commerce declined.

The Habsburg family, hated rivals of the Bourbons, also acquired territory as a result of Louis XIV's wars. The Holy Roman Emperor received the Spanish Netherlands, which was renamed the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium today). Members of the Habsburg family also received parts of Italy. Louis was allowed to keep territory which he had gained in previous wars, including all of Alsace and part of Lorraine. The Treaty of Utrecht did permit Louis's grandson to remain King of Spain. However, it was guaranteed that Spain and France would never unite.

**Absolutism Fails the French People.** Poverty, hunger, disease, high taxes, a reduced population, and the threat of bankruptcy were to haunt France for a long time because of Louis's wars. Fear and hatred among nations increased. Alsace and Lorraine were to become the battleground of

future wars between France and Germany. Other nations were to imitate France in building big armies in order to fight bigger wars. What a lesson there is for the world in the dramatic dictatorship of Louis XIV! Like many an apple, a dictatorship may look shining, colorful, and tempting on the surface. Within, it is often rotten to the core.

Instead of following Louis XIV's deathbed advice, Louis XV followed his lifetime practices. Like Louis XIV, he was extravagant and militaristic. Immoral, luxury-loving Louis XV was just as absolute as the Sun King without being as capable. The many wars in which Louis XV engaged resulted in France's loss of Canada and of most of its territory in India to the British. Louis XV must have known that a revolution against Bourbon policies was just around the corner. For he is said to have shrugged his shoulders and coldly predicted: "After me, the deluge!" In 1789, the deluge overwhelmed his successor, Louis XVI. A revolution broke loose in France which was to wash away Bourbon absolutism (Chapter 13).

## Autocratic Kings Fail to Build a Strong National State in Spain

In 1556 a weary man, broken in health, retired to a Spanish monastery. There he spent the last few years of his life tending a garden, saying his prayers, and living the strict life of a monk. Why mention this incident? Thousands of other men have retired

to monasteries. But this man was the most powerful ruler of the sixteenth century. As grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella (page 166), he had inherited the kingdom of Spain. As ruler of Spain he was called Charles I. Besides Spain, as Charles V, he had ruled the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Burgundy, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, all of Spanish America, the Philippines, and parts of Africa. These Habsburg lands had been acquired by Charles and his ancestors through inheritance, wars, intrigues, but mainly marriage. In 1519, Charles had been elected Holy Roman Emperor. It was as Holy Roman Emperor that he was called Charles V. 1519 is an important year in Spanish history for other reasons. In that year Cortez had conquered Mexico and Magellan had set sail on his famous voyage.

During the reign of Charles, Spain was at the height of its glory. From Spain to the



Women's hairdresses in eighteenth-century France were sometimes so elaborate that one artist ridiculed them by thus showing the possibilities of smuggling.



Louis XV As a Child Being Wheeled About the Tuilleries Gardens.

New World sailed missionaries to spread Christianity and found schools and universities. From the New World to Spain sailed Spanish treasure ships laden with gold and silver. Why, then, did Charles retire discouraged to a monastery? Why, then, was Spain gradually to decline to the rank of a third-rate power? Only Charles himself could give the true answer to the first of these questions. However, it would probably be connected with the answer to the second.

### Political Policies Which Explain Spain's Decline.

*The Problem of Being Both Charles I and Charles V.* Because Charles I of Spain was also Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, Spain's troubles were multiplied. The Bourbon King of France and Tudor King Henry VIII of England were both hostile toward Charles.



Philip II of Spain. How well do you think he was qualified to be a king?

Both had vied with him to be elected Holy Roman Emperor and had lost. France felt too much hemmed in by Habsburg territories, and England saw Europe's balance of power threatened by the Habsburg family. Many German princes in the Holy Roman Empire resented the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor. The Turks were threatening to seize Vienna from the Habsburgs. The Protestant Revolt was dividing many Habsburg subjects. All this, together with the jealousy roused by Spain's commerce and colonies, meant trouble for Charles and his successors.

Things should have been a little easier for Charles's son, Philip II (1556-1598). Philip's territories did not include the Holy Roman Empire or the Habsburg's Austrian possessions. These had gone to Philip's uncle, Ferdinand. Yet Philip had even more trouble than Charles, bringing much on himself.

*Methods of Philip II at Home and Abroad.* Philip II was a hard-working but narrow-minded king without a sense of humor. As

a believer in the divine-right theory, Philip was determined to make the monarchy in Spain the most absolute in all Europe. As an ardent champion of Catholicism, he was determined to stamp out all other faiths in Spain. And he was convinced that God had chosen him to crush Protestantism throughout Europe.

To accomplish his aims, Philip used secret police and the Inquisition. Persons suspected of being insincere Christians were exterminated by fire or sword. Philip let both the nobles and the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament) know that he was master. He engaged in many costly wars. In France he supported the Catholic party against the Huguenots under Henry of Navarre. Like Charles V, Philip prevented France from gaining a stronghold in Italy and fought the attempt of the Ottoman Turks to invade Europe. With the help of the Pope and Venice, Spain outfitted a fleet which defeated the Turks at Lepanto, off the coast of Greece, in 1571. This expedition, which checked Moslem expansion in Europe, is considered by some the last Crusade.

The result of Philip's despotic policies in the Netherlands was the loss of prosperous Holland in 1581 (see page 301). In the same year, Philip invaded and annexed Portugal. The Portuguese endured Spanish tyranny for sixty years, and finally, in 1640, were to win their independence, too. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588 marked the doom of Philip's dream of a Catholic Europe under Spanish domination. When Philip died, he left behind a Spanish Empire which was already on the road to ruin. Spain was no longer able to check the colonial expansion of its rivals, England, France, and Holland.

Like Philip, the autocratic rulers who followed him engaged in intolerant practices and religious wars. In England and France powerful kings united with the business class to suppress the feudal nobility. In Spain, on the other hand, kings and nobles united to keep the business class weak. This helps to



The Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588. This event, in a sense, marked the rise of England and the fall of Spain. Investigate and write a report explaining why.

explain why, even today, a kind of feudalism with extremes of poverty and wealth still exists in Spain

**Social Policies Which Explain Spain's Decline.** It is always difficult to separate political, social, and economic factors without having any overlapping. For example, in 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella had expelled Jews and Moslems from Spain. These rulers thought that this social policy of religious intolerance would help to bring about political unity in Spain. Actually, this policy hurt Spain economically by robbing it of its most skilled merchants and manufacturers. And the attempt of the successors of Ferdinand and Isabella to crush Protestantism everywhere cost Spain much in men, money, and political strength. It is true that the reign of Philip II produced the creative writer, Cervantes, and the master painter, El Greco (pages 218 and 222). In general, however, censorship and the Inquisition hurt Spain by suppressing initiative and freedom of expression.

**Economic Policies Which Explain Spain's Decline.** In the treatment of their colonies, Spanish rulers showed little wisdom. They believed that the colonies existed to enrich Spanish royalty and nobility with gold, silver, and high taxes. Like other mercantilists, they also believed that it was the duty of the colonies to produce raw materials for Spain at low prices and to purchase Spanish manufactured goods at high prices. But there were few customers for Spanish goods in the colonies. Spain, unlike England, discouraged emigration, for it had no real desire to establish permanent Spanish settlements in the New World. Furthermore, practically naked Indians were poor customers for Spanish cloth. The Spanish government ordered Spanish ships to sail only to and from certain fixed ports on certain fixed days. Knowing this, English ships, not bound by such governmental regulations, would arrange to get there first and cut in on the Spanish market!

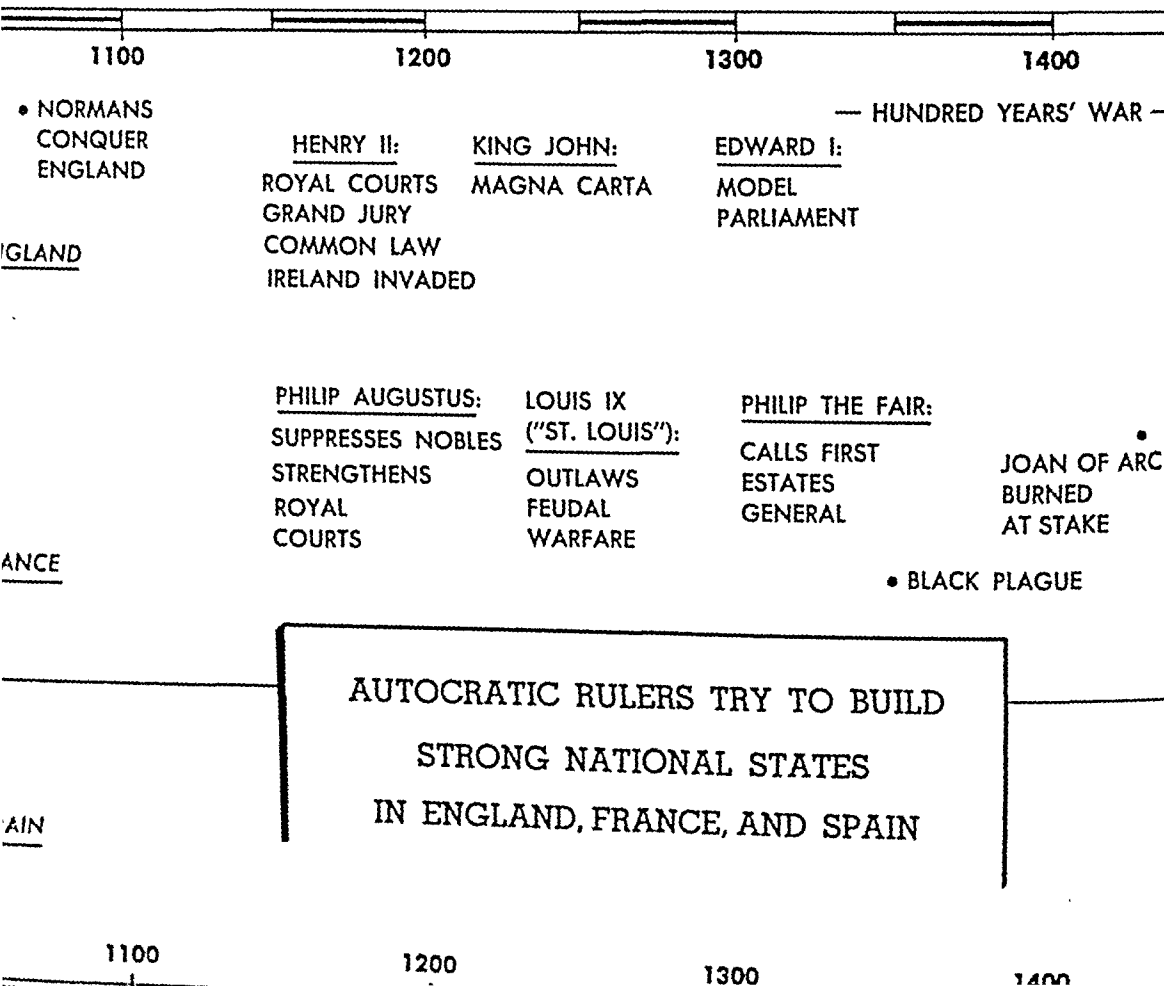
The gold and silver from the colonies that

finally did reach Spain often did more harm than good. As the supply of gold and silver increased, the respect of the nobles for work decreased. This attitude has persisted for centuries. Much of the gold and silver that reached Spain eventually passed into the hands of Dutch or English manufacturers anyway. Since the Spanish government did not encourage business, many manufactured articles had to be purchased elsewhere. Among the obstacles which placed Spanish business in a straitjacket was a ten per cent tax levied on all sales. The nobility and clergy were tax-exempt. Taxes on businessmen therefore had to be high to supply the needed revenue.

Agriculture also declined. More and more farm land fell into the hands of the aristocracy. Instead of farming the land, they used much of it for sheep-raising. Sheep-raising tends to destroy the fertility of the soil. Thus

even fewer people could live off the land. As a result, more and more peasants became beggars in Spanish cities.

But Spanish kings were not entirely to blame for the economic backwardness of Spain. Political disunity often hinders prosperity. Even today many Spaniards are more loyal to their provinces than to their nation. They prefer to be thought of as Basques, Catalonians, or Castilians, for example, rather than as Spaniards. Spain's geography has made political unity and economic progress difficult. There are few navigable rivers in Spain. A plateau almost like a desert separates the north from the south. Rocky mountains and narrow canyons cut up the country and make the building of roads costly. Spain touches both the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Yet its coast line is too regular to provide many good harbors. Moreover, Portugal occupies the most desirable



Atlantic coast line of the Iberian peninsula, which is made up of Spain and Portugal. Spain might have shared in France's progress, if the Pyrenees Mountains did not limit contacts between these two countries.

**Absolutism Fails the Spanish People.** In the sixteenth century, Spain was the envy of all Europe. By the eighteenth century, Spain was comparatively unimportant as a

European power. In general, autocratic Spanish rulers had wasted their country's natural and human resources. In the nineteenth century, overtaxation and autocratic rule were to cost Spain its colonies in the New World. Spain gives us an excellent example of a government which gave great privileges to the few at the expense of the many and suffered the consequences.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Bayeux tapestry • William the Conqueror • Henry II • English common law • grand jury • petty jury • Thomas Becket • Magna Carta • Edward I • Model Parliament • Hundred Years' War • 1453 • Tudors • Wars of the Roses • Henry VII • Court of the Star Chamber • balance of power • Wolsey • Mary Stuart • Philip Augustus • Louis IX •

parlements • Philip the Fair • Estates-General 1302 • Joan of Arc • Louis XI • Henry IV • Sully • Richelieu • Mazarin • Louis XIV • divine right of kings • "L'état c'est moi" • Corneille • Racine • Molière • La Fontaine • La Rochefoucauld • Colbert • War of the Spanish Succession • Treaty of Utrecht 1713 • Charles V • Philip II

1500	1600	1700	1800
<p><b>YARS OF THE ROSES</b></p> <p><b>HENRY VII:</b> COURT OF STAR CHAMBER</p> <p><b>LOUIS XI:</b> SUPPRESSES DUKE OF BURGUNDY</p> <p><b>FERDINAND AND ISABELLA:</b> UNITE PROVINCES EXPULSE MOORS AND JEWS COLUMBUS.</p>	<p><b>HENRY VIII:</b> ENGLAND BECOMES PROTESTANT BALANCE-OF-POWER POLICY BEGUN</p> <p><b>HENRY IV:</b> ENCOURAGES TOLERATION, BUSINESS, COLONIZATION</p> <p><b>CHARLES V:</b> ELECTED HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR CORTEZ MAGELLAN</p>	<p><b>ELIZABETH I:</b> SHAKESPEARE DRAKE DEFEAT OF SPANISH ARMADA</p> <p><b>MAZARIN •</b> WINS ALSACE LORRAINE</p> <p><b>RICHELIEU</b> SEEKS FRANCE'S "NATURAL BOUNDARIES"</p> <p><b>LOUIS XIV:</b> ABSOLUTISM COSTLY WARS VERSAILLES MOLIERE'S PLAYS COLBERT EDICT OF NANTES REPEALED</p>	<p><b>POPE'S POETRY REFLECTS ARISTOCRATIC SOCIETY (CHAP. 20)</b></p> <p><b>• FRANCE LOSES IN CANADA AND INDIA</b></p>
1500	1600	1700	

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. For what reasons did national states win many supporters, beginning about 1600?
2. In what ways were most of the autocratic kings similar?
3. Discuss the policies used by William the Conqueror to build a strong England.
4. *Norman influence* is strong in England even today. Prove.
5. Discuss (a) the good and (b) the bad features of Henry II's reign.
6. Prove that King John was the wrong man for the job.
7. Discuss (a) the circumstances under which the *Magna Carta* was written; (b) its provisions; and (c) its influence.
8. Concerning Parliament, discuss (a) its origin, (b) its organization, and (c) its checks on the king.
9. Why might Edward I be called (a) the father of the English Parliament, (b) the English Justinian, and (c) England's first empire builder?
10. From the English point of view, give (a) two causes, (b) one highlight, and (c) two results of the Hundred Years' War.
11. For what reasons is the Battle of Crécy considered significant in the history of warfare?
12. In what respects were the Wars of the Roses an outgrowth of the Hundred Years' War?
13. How did (a) Henry VII, (b) Henry VIII, and (c) Elizabeth I strengthen royal power in England?
14. Why is the reign of Elizabeth I considered one of the greatest in English history?
15. Give reasons why the story of Joan of Arc has been popular for centuries.
16. To what extent would it have been better for France if the Hundred Years' War had never been fought?
17. What policies of (a) Henry IV, (b) Richelieu, and (c) Mazarin were wise? Why?
18. Discuss (a) the personality and (b) the policies of Louis XIV.
19. Explain why his period was called *The Age of Louis XIV* throughout Europe.
20. What was (a) dazzling about the Court of Versailles, (b) interesting about the French writers of Louis XIV's time, and (c) sensible about Colbert's policies?
21. Prove that Louis XIV practiced intolerance and militarism.
22. What were (a) the aims and (b) the general results of Louis XIV's wars?
23. Prove that absolutism failed the French people.
24. Show specifically that Louis XV's policies were similar to those of Louis XIV.
25. Why was it difficult for Charles V to rule his realm?
26. Discuss Philip II's (a) aims, (b) methods of achieving them, and (c) degree of success.
27. List the reasons for the decline of Spain.

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. To what extent did William the Conqueror build upon foundations laid by Alfred the Great?
2. Show that the Norman conquest brought about a kind of marriage between France and England.
3. Although Henry II was an autocrat, democratic foundations were laid in his reign. Discuss.
4. Although King John was a born loser, England gained in his reign. Discuss.
5. What was undemocratic about Edward I's Parliament?
6. How does the development of Parliament prove that "he who holds the purse strings rules the household"?
7. For what reasons is the Hundred Years' War a favorite topic for novels and plays?
8. In a sense, the Hundred Years' War was both an international war and a civil war. Discuss.
9. Point out similarities and differences between the Wars of the Roses in England and the civil wars between Marius and Sulla in ancient Rome.
10. When Elizabeth II was crowned in June, 1953, many references were made to the reign of Elizabeth I. For what reasons?
11. To what extent were the policies of the Tudor rulers dangerous for the English people?
12. What two adjectives do you think best

describe each of the French kings mentioned in this chapter? Why, in each case?

13. If you had to be the subject of one of the French kings mentioned here, which one would you choose? For what reasons?

14. What characteristics did Henry IV have that would qualify him to be a modern statesman?

15. After reading the entire section on Louis XIV, give your opinion of (a) his deathbed statement and (b) his theory of the divine right of kings.

16. What lessons can a citizen of a democracy today draw from a study of Louis XIV's court at Versailles?

17. Which do you consider the greater man,

Louis XIV or Louis's minister Colbert? Discuss.

18. In the career of Louis XIV are some excellent lessons for the world. List and discuss these.

19. For what reasons is Louis XV sometimes criticized more than Louis XIV?

20. Would you like to have been a Charles V? Explain.

21. Philip II found it difficult to win friends and influence people. For what reasons?

22. Show that there was a close connection between Spain's political, social, and economic policies.

23. In many ways, nature was no kinder to the Spanish people than were many of their rulers. Discuss.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. For a committee report, write on the influence of the Norman conquest on either (a) language, (b) architecture, (c) literature, (d) occupations, or (e) any other aspects of English life. Among other sources use Costain's *The Conquerors*.

2. Write a brief biography of Henry II's queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, indicating her influence on English and French history.

3. Write an essay entitled: *If King John Had Refused to Place His Seal on the Magna Carta*.

4. Make up a table of contents for a book on the life of Edward I.

5. Select five interesting points made about Paris during the Hundred Years' War from *Medieval Reader*, edited by Ross and McLaughlin (pages 224-228).

6. For a group project, make a series of cartoons portraying important events in the reigns of the Tudors.

7. Investigate and report what you can find on

the activities of the Court of the Star Chamber.

8. Imagine yourself a visitor to the court of (a) Elizabeth I, (b) Louis XIV, or (c) Philip II. Write a letter home describing (a) clothing styles, (b) plays you have seen, (c) games played, and (d) other aspects of social life. In your letter include any information you have observed about life among the non-aristocrats.

9. With others, write the outline for a television script on the life of Joan of Arc.

10. Using encyclopedia sources, write a comparison of Richelieu and Sully.

11. Using Langer's *Encyclopedia of World History*, make a time line on the highlights of the reign of Louis XIV.

12. Write an essay entitled: *If the Spanish Armada Had Won in 1588*.

13. Imagine yourself an adviser to Philip II. Make a list of Do's and Don't's designed to help him rule more wisely.

### Summing Up

1. Draw a cartoon or diagram which expresses the main thought of this chapter.

2. Select from this chapter (a) the five captions and (b) the five sentences which you think best

highlight the information in the chapter. Give reasons for your choices.

3. Make a chart of rulers mentioned in this chapter and highlights in their reigns.





An Artist's Impression of Rudolph of Habsburg Holding Court. How has the artist here tried to show the pomp and power of autocracy?

# CHAPTER 11 . . . AUTOCRATIC RULERS TRY TO BUILD STRONG NATIONAL STATES IN RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA

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**Autocratic Tsars Build a Long-Lived Despotism in Russia • How Geography and History Help to Explain Russia's Individuality • Autocratic Peter the Great Westernizes Russia • Autocratic Catherine the Great Follows Peter's Program • Absolutism Fails the Russian People • Russia's Rivals Grow Weak in the Eighteenth Century • Sweden Learns Valuable Lessons • Poland Gobbled Up • Turkey Suffers from External Difficulties and Internal Decay • Despotic Prussian Rulers Build the Foundation for an Autocratic Germany • Frederick the Great Makes Prussia a Strong National State • Absolutism Fails the German People • Autocratic Rulers Fail to Build a Strong National State in Austria • Maria Theresa Inherits Many Subject Peoples and Adds More • The Benevolent Despotism of Joseph II Goes Too Far Too Fast • Absolutism Fails the Austrian Peoples • The Vices of Autocracy Highlight the Virtues of Democracy**

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## Autocratic Tsars Build a Long-Lived Despotism in Russia

"Scratch a Russian and you'll find a Tatar." "The mystic Russian soul" . . . "The bear that walks like a man" . . . "The land of the iron curtain" . . . At various times for centuries the peoples of western Europe have been using these or similar expressions to describe Russia<sup>1</sup> and its people. This feeling that Russia is a strange land was summed up by a British

statesman thus: "Russia is a riddle wrapped in an enigma and shrouded in mystery."

Is Russia really a riddle? If so, students of history should try to solve it. For very practical reasons, the world in general should want to know as much as possible about a country which:

- Covers one-sixth of the earth's surface,
- Has about one-tenth of the world's population;
- Has an abundance and wide variety of the world's resources,
- Has enriched world culture by its contributions in music, literature, science, the ballet, and the theater;
- Is located on the strategic North Pole air route;

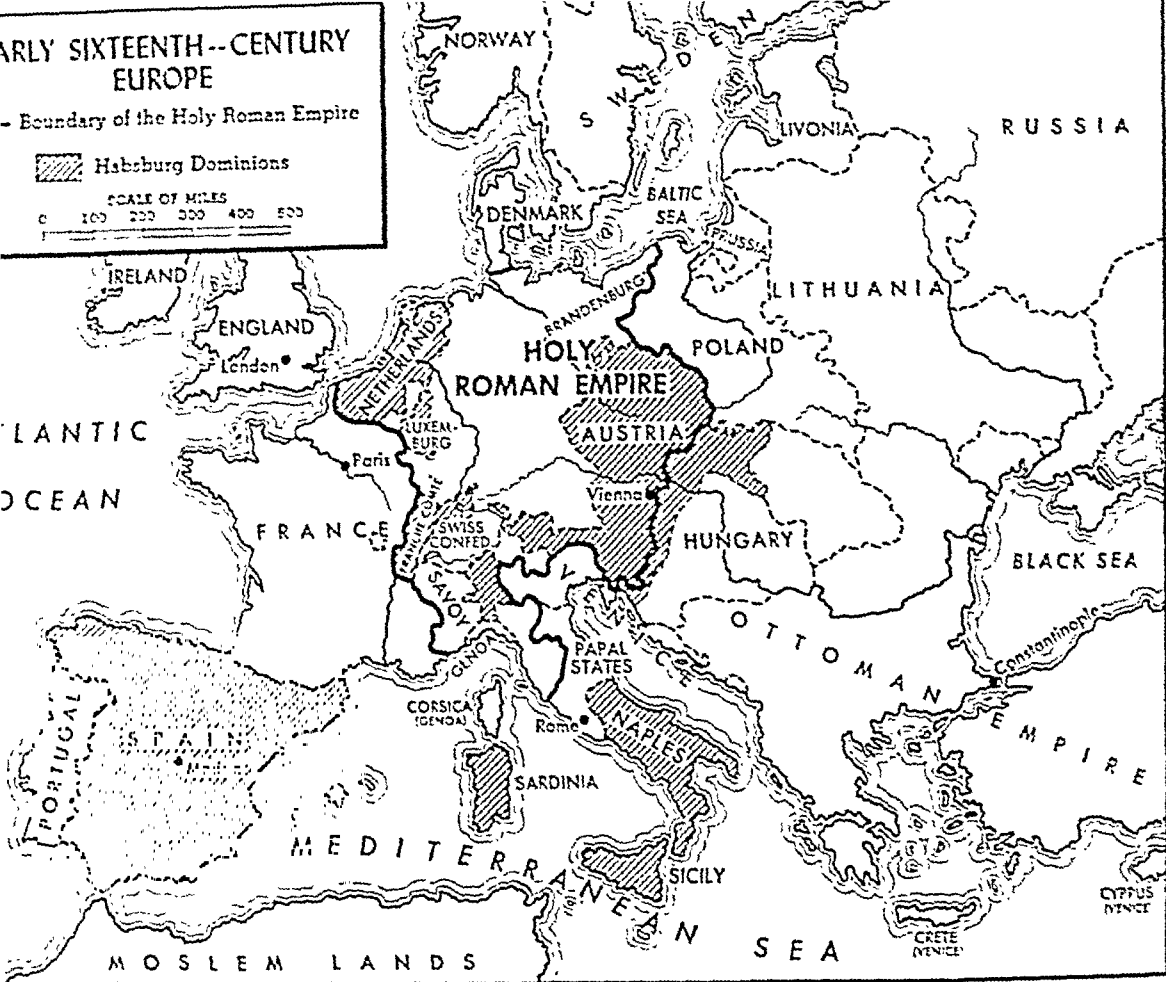
<sup>1</sup> Today the country that was Russia is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Russia is the name of the largest and most important of the republics. However, it is the practice to use the terms Russia, U.S.S.R., and Soviet Union almost interchangeably.

# EARLY SIXTEENTH--CENTURY EUROPE

- Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire

Habsburg Dominions

SCALE OF MILES  
0 100 200 300 400 500



Has an economic system radically different from economic systems elsewhere; and which

Is a source of great concern to other nations because of its world power.

**How Geography Helps to Explain Russia's Individuality.** Until recently, Russia had fairly few factories. This seems like a riddle in itself. For Russia has tremendous deposits of coal, iron, oil, and other minerals. It has great rivers to provide water power and vast forests to provide timber.

For centuries most of the Russian people have been poverty-stricken. This, too, seems like a riddle. For Russian waters are chock-full of fish. Most of Russia is a great plain with large areas of fertile soil. One area in southwestern Russia, the Ukraine, is so productive that it is known as "the breadbasket

of Europe." Russian climate is so varied that people may engage in a wide variety of occupations and farmers may raise a wide variety of crops. The fur industry thrives in the *tundras*, swampy, frozen wastelands of Siberia. In the semitropical Black Sea area, cotton and tea can be cultivated.

It is easy to understand, then, why most Russians have been farmers rather than manufacturers or merchants. In early modern times, feudal Russia had little trade with the rising capitalistic states of western Europe. Furthermore, for the few goods which were manufactured in Russia there were many customers at home. This explains in part why Russia remained isolated from western Europe. It also helps to explain why westerners considered Russians "different." Russia's isolation from the West may also be

explained by the fact that its rivers run north and south rather than east and west. And rivers have been a main means of transportation in Russia, for Russia has been slow in developing good roads. Moreover, the country has been practically landlocked. The Volga River flows into the Caspian Sea, which has no ocean outlet. The Don and Dnieper rivers empty into the Black Sea, whose only outlet to the Mediterranean has been under Turkey's control. Russia's Arctic ports and Siberian rivers are frozen most of the year.

Throughout history, Russians have complained that powerful neighbors have hemmed their country in. In early modern times, Sweden and Poland controlled the Baltic, and the Ottoman Empire controlled the Black Sea. Perhaps if Russia had not been thus isolated, it might have absorbed more of western culture. But Russia was not hemmed in on the east. That is why it expanded in the direction of Asia. The Ural Mountains are usually considered the boundary between Europe and Asia. But they are so low that people can move back and forth across them easily. In fact, the only high mountains in Russia are the Caucasus in the south and the Carpathians in the southwest. However, just as the Russians could expand eastward with ease, so less civilized peoples, such as the Mongols, could push westward across Russia's fertile grasslands, called *steppes*. For over two centuries, the Russians were kept so busy resisting the Mongols that they had little time to improve their relations with western Europe, even if they had wanted to do so.

**How History Helps to Explain Russia's Individuality.** Russia has much in common with the rest of Europe. The Russian Church is a Christian Church. The language of most Russians is an Indo-European language. And many Russian customs resemble those of other European countries. How, then, does history explain Russia's apparent "difference"? By 1600, most of the countries of western Europe had had a Renaissance and had experienced the rise of capitalism. But Russia

had not. Russia in 1600 was living much as western Europe lived under the feudal conditions of the year 1000. A few Russians were nobles. Until late in the nineteenth century, most Russians were serfs. There was practically no middle class.

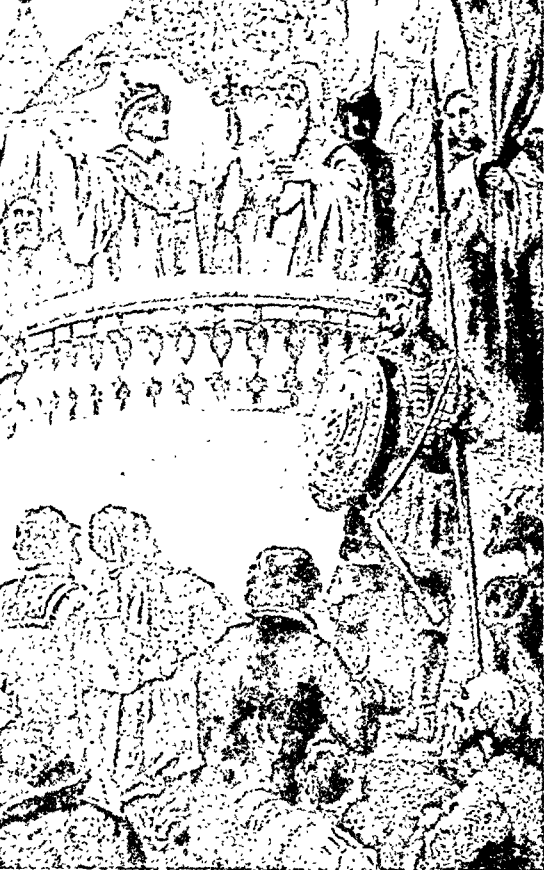
Besides, most Russian Christians are neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics. They worship in the Russian Orthodox Church, which once looked to Constantinople for leadership. The Russian alphabet is based on Greek, not Latin. Until recently, Russians used the Julian calendar (page 118). The rest of Europe adopted the Gregorian calendar<sup>2</sup> much earlier than they. The architecture of Russian churches is more like that of the Byzantine Saint Sophia than it is like that of the Gothic cathedrals of western Europe. Even as late as the twentieth century, when other countries were gradually becoming more democratic, Russia was still ruled by despotic tsars.<sup>3</sup>

**Slavic Tribes, Northmen, and Tatars Settle in Russia.** Russia is a land of many peoples who speak different languages and have different religions, customs, and traditions. However, most Russians are of Slavic origin.<sup>4</sup> Russia's non-Slavs include Jews, Armenians, and Mongolians. About 800 A.D., tribes of Northmen (Swedes) conquered the earlier settlers, the Slavic tribes (pages 152 and 154). They organized the conquered tribes into a kingdom which lasted seven hundred years. To its capital, Kiev, Christian and Moslem missionaries traveled in the tenth century to make converts. The ruler of the Kievan Kingdom was especially attracted by accounts of the colorful and impressive ceremonies of the Orthodox Church at Constantinople. He decided to make this branch of Christianity the official religion of Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Called Gregorian because of the changes made in the Julian calendar by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning *emperors* and sometimes spelled *czars*, from the Latin, *Cæsars*.

<sup>4</sup> Other Slavic peoples include the Poles, Czechs, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians. In Europe there are more Slavs than there are any other people.



What role did Ivan the Terrible, pictured here, play in building a powerful Russia?

In the thirteenth century, Genghis Khan and his Mongols (Tatars) invaded Russia from the east. The kingdom which his descendants established there controlled Russia for over two hundred years. The Tatars ruled Russia with an iron hand and collected heavy tribute. However, they did little to change the Russian language, religion, or traditions. Although some of their customs influenced Russia, Constantinople's Byzantine civilization influenced Russia much more.

**Ivan III and Ivan the Terrible Strengthen Russian Autocracy.** Many Russian states had to pay tribute to the Tatar conquerors. One of these was the Grand Duchy of Muscovy (Moscow). When Ivan III became Grand Duke of Moscow in 1440, he dared to stop paying the Tatars tribute. What made Ivan so courageous? His ancestors had left him a strong army. And his

wife, Sophia, a Byzantine princess, used all her charms to persuade him to resist the Tatars. She also urged him to reduce the power of the nobles. This happened at about the same time that Henry VII was building absolutism in England. When the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, Sophia insisted that Ivan make the Russian Church completely independent of the Orthodox Church at Constantinople. Under Ivan III Moscow became the heart of a great empire extending to the Arctic Ocean and to the Baltic Sea.

Terrible stories are told about another Ivan, Ivan IV (the Terrible) (1530-1584): of how he executed thousands of his people on mere suspicion and of how he let dogs feast on the body of a noble. Yet Ivan IV aroused patriotism by subduing nobles, encouraging business, and seizing territory in Siberia from the Tatars. He was the first Russian ruler to be called "tsar and autocrat of all Russia."

**The Long Despotism of the Romanoff Dynasty Begins in Russia.** After Ivan's death, Russia was torn by civil wars. This gave the Poles, Swedes, and Turks an opportunity to invade Russia. Finally, patriotic peasants and townspeople rallied to drive the invading Poles out of Moscow. But the Swedes remained along the eastern shores of the Baltic, and the Turks in the Crimea.

In 1613 a national assembly made up of nobles and townspeople elected as tsar a young noble named Michael Romanoff. Order was restored. Both Michael and the Romanoffs who succeeded him ruled despotically until 1917.

**Autocratic Peter the Great Makes Russia a World Power.** One day in 1697, a shipyard in Holland hired a young ship's carpenter. He called himself Peter Mikhailoff. This colossal fellow, almost seven feet tall, worked feverishly and pestered everybody with questions. Suddenly he quit his job and started traveling from country to country. Everywhere he went, he showed the same energy and curiosity. Then a message interrupted his journeys. He hurried home to

Moscow. No sooner had he arrived, than he ordered that thousands of soldiers be tortured, hanged, beheaded, or exiled to Siberia.

Peter Mikhailoff was really Peter Romanoff, Tsar of all Russia (1704-1724). Why had he been traveling in western Europe under an assumed name? What explains his brutality? He did not want his people to be considered "different" from other Europeans. He felt that Byzantine and Tatar influences were holding back progress in Russia. He had traveled to learn about the western ways he wished to introduce into Russia. By doing so, Peter hoped to make Russia stronger. In other words, he wanted to "westernize" his country. Like Russian rulers before and since, Peter wanted to obtain seaports for his landlocked country. For seaports would enable Russia to have greater trade and more contacts with western Europe.

And Peter wanted to make himself even more absolute than Louis XIV, who reigned at the same time. The soldiers whom Peter had treated so brutally had been part of his palace guard. They had rebelled in his absence. Peter personally sliced off the heads of many of these rebels, as toadying nobles applauded. This was Peter's way of warning all Russia that he was sole boss. Peter's cruelty and drunkenness do not distinguish him from many other absolute rulers in history. It was because his intelligence and vision helped to make Russia a world power that he is called "Peter the Great."

*Westernizing Russia.* Peter the Great was a man in a hurry. He wanted Russians overnight to become like western Europeans. He issued orders that Russians should shave their long beards, smoke tobacco, and wear European styles. Sometimes a noble was permitted to keep his beard, if he paid a tax in proportion to its length! Peter demanded that Russian women mingle in society as western women do, instead of remaining in veiled seclusion like eastern women. Using foreign experts as advisers and teachers, Peter modeled his army on that of Prussia, his navy on those of England and Holland, and his mer-

cantalist policies on those of England. He encouraged agriculture, sheep-raising, and industry. The schools he established were mainly for nobles. In fact, none of his changes had much effect on millions of Russian peasants. Long before Peter, and long after him, Russian peasant women toiled beside their husbands in the fields. They had never enjoyed the luxury of veiled seclusion!

*Struggling for Seaports.* Peter knew that he would have to fight Sweden to get seaports on the Baltic, and to war with Turkey to get seaports on the Black Sea. Seaports like these Peter labeled "windows to the west." Against Turkey, Peter failed. Against Sweden, he succeeded. But it was a long, hard struggle. For the king of Sweden, Charles XII, was a master of military strategy. Peter's final victory gave Russia windows on the Baltic Sea.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Today this territory includes Estonia, Latvia, and parts of Finland



How has the artist tried to portray Peter's personality in this picture?



Catherine the Great, Whose Autocracy Matched That of Peter the Great. In what ways?

Even before the war with Sweden had been won, Peter had built a new capital, St. Petersburg,<sup>6</sup> near the Baltic coast. In building their tsar his new capital closer to the west, twenty thousand workers perished from exposure or floggings. Not to be outdone by the West in exploration, Peter hired a Dane, Bering, to explore lands east of Russia. Bering's exploration was the basis for Russia's claim to Alaska.

**Strengthening Autocracy.** "The tsar . . . is responsible to no one in the world," said Peter. He so reorganized the Russian Church that he was practically head of it. In place of the Patriarch, he appointed a group of bishops, with a non-churchman as chairman, to run church affairs. Thus Church and state in Russia were united. Peter substituted for the

<sup>6</sup> Later called Petrograd and now Leningrad.

old feudal armies a national army loyal to the ruler. To weaken the power of old noble families, he created thousands of new nobles and gave them lands. These new nobles thus became Peter's puppets. He gave the new nobles such control over serfs that the serfs became almost slaves. In short, Peter built firm foundations for the long-lived despotism of Russian tsars.

## Autocratic Catherine the Great Follows Peter's Program

Catherine the Great (1762–1796) was not a blood relative of Peter the Great. Yet in personality and program she was so like Peter that she might have passed for his daughter. Born a German princess, Catherine had been unhappily married to Peter's grandson. Aided by a conspiracy of nobles, unscrupulous Catherine managed to get her unpopular husband imprisoned. A few days later, the jailed tsar died and Catherine became empress of Russia.

Everything French seemed to appeal to Catherine. In her program of westernization she employed French musicians and physicians, French painters and actors. Some say that her immoral behavior even surpassed that of immoral Louis XV. Like Peter, Catherine imported foreign craftsmen and teachers to improve Russia's agriculture, commerce, and industry.

**Taking Territory from Turkey and Poland.** In winning a window on the Baltic Sea, Peter had reduced Sweden to a second-rate power. In winning a window on the Black Sea, Catherine did the same to Turkey. Her victories over the Turks gave Russia the Crimea and the right to use the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. She joined Prussia and Austria in seizing territory from Poland (page 282).

**Playing the Part of a Benevolent Despot.** It was the fashion in the eighteenth century for European monarchs to show an interest in philosophy, literature, and science.

And Catherine was not one to be out of fashion. She invited brilliant European scholars to visit her court. Absolute rulers like Catherine often said that they wished to add to their learning so that they could promote the welfare of their people. That is why they are called *enlightened* or *benevolent* despots. In practice, Catherine was enlightened (informed) and despotic, but far from benevolent (kindly).

She frequently boasted of what she was going to do for her people. Yet in her reign, rebellions of serfs broke out throughout Russia. In one of them, serfs and Cossacks<sup>7</sup> united against the government. The uprising collapsed when the leader, Pugachev, was captured, brought to Moscow in an iron cage, and beheaded in 1775—the year that the successful American Revolution broke out. Catherine's insincerity concerning her interest in her people's welfare is evident in this message sent to an official: ". . . If I establish schools, it is not for us. It is for Europe, where we must keep up a good reputation. But the day when our peasants want an education, both you and I will lose our places."

## Absolutism Fails the Russian People

Before Peter, Russian serfs had been fairly free. But, by the close of the nineteenth century, some nobles were paying off their gambling losses with serfs. Many a serf was exchanged for a horse or a hunting dog. Serfdom, which lasted until 1861 in Russia, was a major cause of Russia's backwardness. At the close of the eighteenth century, a revolution broke out in France. To prevent democratic French ideas from reaching Russia, Russian censorship kept out western books and visitors, creating a kind of "iron curtain" between Russia and the West. (The expression "iron curtain" was applied to a similar practice by the Communist government of Russia after World War II)

<sup>7</sup> The Cossacks were fierce fighting frontiersmen who rode the cattle ranges of southeastern Russia.

In England and France, absolute rulers had weakened the nobility and strengthened the business class. Later the business class in these countries was to lead the revolt against absolute rule. But in Russia the tsars had strengthened the nobility and done little to encourage the business class. Thus there was no powerful Russian business class to check absolute rule. (A revolution was to overthrow the tsar in 1917, but its leaders appealed mainly to workers and peasants for support. And just as the tsars tried to obtain seaports, so have the new rulers of Russia, the Communists.)

## Russia's Rivals Grow Weak in the Eighteenth Century

**Sweden Learns Valuable Lessons.** Sweden by the early eighteenth century had learned that militarism does not pay. In 1397 Sweden had joined Norway and Denmark in a union for common defense, the Union of Calmar.<sup>8</sup> However, Sweden soon became a strong national state and in 1523 withdrew from the union. Later, in the seventeenth century, under Gustavus Adolphus (page 243), Sweden reached the height of its power. Gustavus Adolphus seized lands from Russia and Poland and acquired still more territory in the Thirty Years' War. But Sweden's glory was artificial. As many lives were lost in wars, the Swedish population, always small, grew smaller. As war costs brought higher taxes, the peasants grew steadily poorer. Swedish commerce, which had once flourished, now declined. As Sweden's victories increased, Sweden made more enemies among rival countries and among subject peoples. More wars were bound to result.

In 1697, at the age of fifteen, Charles XII became King of Sweden. Poland, Russia, and Denmark thought that this would be a good time to attack Sweden. But Charles speedily defeated Poland and Denmark and marched

<sup>8</sup> Even today there are Scandinavian restaurants called the "Three Crowns" in memory of this union.



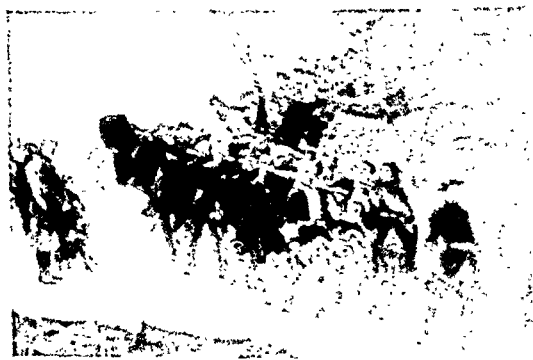


The Death of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden on the Battlefield During the Thirty Years' War. The Swedish people consider this king one of their great national heroes. Find out why.

to the very gates of Moscow. Charles, one of the world's most brilliant generals, was not smart enough, however, to make peace when it was to his advantage to do so. Flushed with victory, he wasted his manpower in battle after battle until his serious defeat by Peter the Great. Shortly afterward, Sweden ceased to be a world power.

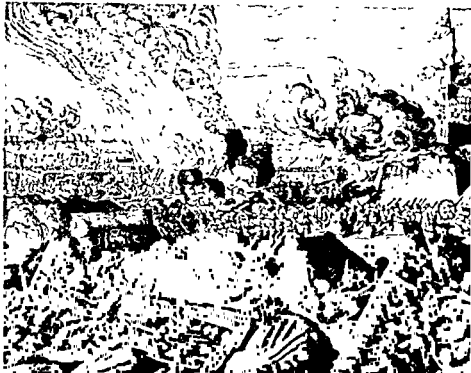
**Poland Gobbled Up.** A seventeenth-century map shows a huge Poland extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea. On the map of Europe in 1800, there was no Poland at all. One reason why was the selfishness of the Polish nobility. These nobles were more interested in preserving their feudal privileges than in being patriotic. In the Polish Diet (parliament), no bill could become law if it were vetoed by even a single noble. Polish kings were elected by Polish nobles. Although this sounds democratic, the purpose of the elective kingship was to protect the nobles' privileges. Unhappily for Poland, unpatriotic nobles would often make deals with foreign rulers who hoped to dictate the choice of the Polish king.

Poland is easy to invade, for it is a flat plain in central Europe without rivers or mountains on its borders for natural boundaries. Moreover, oppressed and poverty-stricken peasants make neither the best soldiers nor the best citizens. Powerful Russia, Prussia, and Austria took advantage of Poland's weakness. In 1772, they began to carve up Poland among them. In 1793, as a result of a second partition of Poland, a patriotic movement swept the



Charles XII of Sweden on His Last Journey Home After Many Victories. Find out why Charles was nicknamed "the madman of the north."

**Heroic Defense of Vienna Against the Turks in 1683. How might Europe's history have been affected if the Turks had won?**



country. It was led by Kosciuszko, a Pole who had fought in the American Revolution. Nevertheless, in 1795 Poland disappeared from the map in a third and last partition. Some treacherous nobles had plotted with Russia and Prussia because they feared that a strong united Poland might mean the end of their feudal privileges. Not until 1919 was Poland to be restored.

**Turkey Suffers from External Difficulties and Internal Decay.** In the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566), Moslem Turkey was the mightiest military power of Europe. It controlled northern Africa, western Asia, and southeastern Europe. For a time, even Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, paid Suleiman tribute. After Suleiman's death, Turkey declined. In 1571, a Christian alliance defeated the Turkish navy at Lepanto (page 268). In 1683 John Sobieski, a Polish king, drove the Turkish army back from its last attack on Vienna. In 1774 Catherine the Great pushed Turkey from the northern coast of the Black Sea.

Turkey also decayed from within. Almost all the sultans who ruled Turkey for over three centuries after Suleiman were incompetent and corrupt, and the officials to whom

they sold jobs, equally so. Even capable sultans would have had difficulty governing such vast territories inhabited by such a wide variety of peoples. The Christians of southeastern Europe complained of Turkish cruelty and excessive taxes. Christian landlords complained that the Turks grabbed their lands when they refused to become Moslems. Yet Christians as a rule were exempted from military service in the Turkish army. And those who paid taxes usually enjoyed freedom of worship. The wars over the Dardanelles between Russia and Turkey in the nineteenth century were to show how far the once-great Ottoman Empire had fallen.

### **Despotic Prussian Rulers Build The Foundation for an Autocratic Germany**

Germany became a unified country less than one hundred years ago. When Charlemagne's Empire (page 160) split in 843, most of the western half had become a united France. The eastern half broke up into hundreds of small feudal states, sometimes called *the Germanies*. In 962, the Germanies became members of that loose union, the

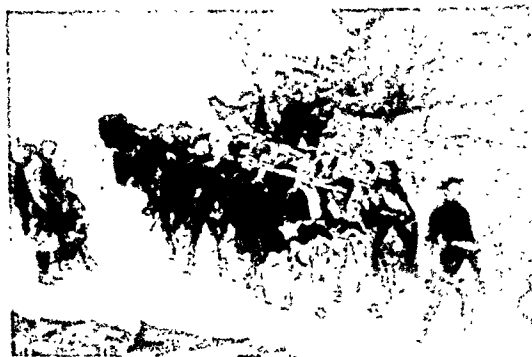


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Holy Roman Empire. For centuries Holy Roman Emperors had tried to unite these Germanies into a strong state. They failed. But the Hohenzollerns succeeded.

Who were the Hohenzollerns? Before 1415, few persons had ever heard of them. By 1815, they were one of the best-known families in the western world. It was in 1415 that the Hohenzollerns obtained from the Holy Roman Emperor a small strip of sandy land between the Elbe and Oder rivers, called Brandenburg. As rulers of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollerns were called *electors*. This enabled them, with six other electors, to choose the Holy Roman Emperor (page 161). Over the centuries, little Brandenburg expanded into a national state called Prussia. In turn, Prussia expanded into a powerful German empire. This development is, in a sense, the history of the Hohenzollern family.

**How Geography Helps to Explain the Rise of Prussia.** From the beginning, the Hohenzollerns stressed military strength. They were fearful that little Brandenburg would be swallowed up by such strong neighbors as Poland, Sweden, Russia, and Denmark. Furthermore, Brandenburg and Prussia (acquired by the Hohenzollerns later) together make up a fairly flat plain with no natural boundaries for protection. Therefore, their rulers worked constantly to improve their army. Each Hohenzollern used to boast that he handed down to his descendants more territory than he had inherited. And most of them did increase their territory by marriages, purchases, or wars. Much of this territory, however, was scattered. The ambitious Hohenzollerns wanted to unite it. This meant a still bigger army and more wars.

The Bourbons of France wanted natural boundaries. The Romanoffs of Russia wanted seaports. The Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg wanted both. That is why they laid claim to Cleves, on the Rhine River, and to East Prussia, on the eastern Baltic seacoast. In the early seventeenth century they annexed both. By the Peace of Westphalia (1645), they obtained Pomerania, on the southern Baltic seacoast.

In the eighteenth century, a Hohenzollern seized Silesia, on the Oder River, from Austria, and West Prussia, on the Vistula River, from Poland. Thus, by 1800, the Hohenzollerns had access to many more seaports and their territories were more closely connected.

**Frederick William a Model for Later Hohenzollerns.** Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-1688), subdued the nobles, increased the royal treasury, and built a national army. Hohenzollern subjects and Hohenzollern lands had suffered terribly from the Thirty Years' War. To improve conditions, the Great Elector encouraged industry and agriculture. When the intolerance of Louis XIV drove the Huguenots from France, the Great Elector invited some of these skilled refugees to settle in Brandenburg-Prussia. In fact, he tolerated all religions. Yet, to this father of the famed Prussian army, military might was all-important. Practically all his Hohenzollern successors inherited this military tradition. Even the last Hohenzollern, who lost his throne in 1918, declared: "The soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities, have welded together the German Empire. My trust is placed in the army." Moreover, the Great Elector admired efficiency so much that he tried to concentrate all control in his own efficient hands. Soldiers and civil service officials were trained to work like machines. No one was encouraged to make decisions for himself. In short, the Great Elector handed down the tradition that "a government cannot be too absolute, provided it is efficient."

The Great Elector's grandson, Frederick William I, King of Prussia, collected tall soldiers from all over Europe for his royal guard. When he couldn't hire them, he had them kidnapped. He even commanded tall men to marry tall women, so that their offspring would make tall soldiers!

**Frederick the Great Makes Prussia a Strong National State.** Once, in a fit of rage, Frederick William I was ready to strangle his son with his own hands. He felt that the pleasure-loving youth was a disgrace to the

Hohenzollern name. The young prince hated military life. He spent his time reading, writing, playing the flute, and discussing philosophy. To make him a true Hohenzollern, the king placed the prince under strict military training. He forced him to work long hours in almost every branch of the government service. With this education, Frederick proved to be even more of a Hohenzollern than his father! He became known as Frederick the Great (1740-1786), the most famous of the Hohenzollerns and one of the most outstanding military leaders in history. His policies helped to make Prussia one of the powerful national states of the eighteenth century.

**Frederick's Army a Model for Militarists.** Frederick's little Prussia had one of the largest armies in Europe. Not a flicker of individuality was tolerated in this machine-like army. Prussian common soldiers received extremely poor pay and bad food. They were brutally punished for minor offenses. Yet they were so disciplined that they were blindly loyal to their officers. These officers, who came from the Junker class, made up of rich landowners, were promoted on the basis of merit. Stories are told of officers who committed suicide when their regiments performed badly on the drill ground or the battlefield. This privileged military aristocracy nevertheless treated common soldiers with scorn.

**Frederick's Army Adds to Prussia's Territory.** In 1740, a woman, Maria Theresa, became ruler of Austria and other Habsburg lands. To Frederick, this looked like the opportunity of a lifetime. It did not trouble ruthless Frederick that he, along with other European rulers, had promised Maria Theresa's father on his deathbed to respect her territory. Without declaring war, Frederick marched into neighboring Silesia, a rich Austrian province with a large population. To his critics Frederick cynically observed: "I take what I want. There will always be plenty of professors to justify what I do!" Other rulers, less bold but equally ruthless,



Frederick the Great Practicing His Music. For what activities is he better known?

speedily followed Frederick's example. Spain, France, and some smaller states also tried to grab Austrian possessions. Only Great Britain came to Austria's aid. But Britain's purpose was not to rescue the underdog. At this time France was strong in Europe, in America, and in India. By helping Austria, England hoped to maintain the balance of power in the old world. Britain also hoped to seize French colonies in the New World. For the same reasons, Britain had joined other European powers to fight Louis XIV in the War of the Spanish Succession. The fighting in Europe is known as the War of the Austrian Succession<sup>9</sup> (1740-1748). After eight years of

<sup>9</sup> In the Colonies it was called King George's War, after the ruler of Britain at that time.

ferce warfare, only one territorial change was made: Prussia officially annexed Silesia.

But Maria Theresa, who wanted revenge, prepared for another war. She formed alliances with many European powers, and even with the Habsburgs' traditional enemy, the Bourbons of France. With Britain's colonial rival, France, supporting Austria, it was natural that Britain would this time support Prussia. It must have been a bit confusing for the French and British peoples to find their former allies suddenly becoming their enemies. But it was not the people who chose sides in these dynastic and colonial wars. Even more than the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War<sup>10</sup> (1756-1763) was truly a world war. In America, where the conflict was known as the *French and Indian War*, and in India, the British and the French fought it out. In Europe, Frederick the Great fought almost single-handed against a strong coalition. He finally won.

The once petty Hohenzollerns were now on a par with the powerful Habsburgs. In the future, the two families were to compete for control of the Germanies. The Treaty of Paris (1763), which closed the Seven Years' War, had recognized Frederick's control of Silesia.<sup>11</sup> When Frederick acquired West Prussia in the first partition of Poland, Hohenzollern prestige boomed. Now East Prussia was connected with other Hohenzollern lands.

**Frederick at Peace Promotes Prussia's Welfare.** If Frederick deserves the title "the Great," it is probably more for his peaceful activities at home than for his wartime activities abroad. Frederick greatly admired the French. His palace at Potsdam in Berlin's suburbs was modeled after Versailles and given a French name, *Sans Souci*. He invited French intellectuals to his court. And he

<sup>10</sup> For the causes, events, and results of this war, see Chapter 18, "Imperialism: Old and New."

<sup>11</sup> Not if the Treaty of Paris was significant for Prussia, it was perhaps even more so for Prussia's ally, Great Britain. By winning Canada from France, and by practically pushing France out of India, "the kingdom of Great Britain became the British Empire."

wrote his amateurish poetry in French. A benevolent despot, Frederick established elementary schools and encouraged the arts and sciences. He ordered the courts to treat rich and poor alike, and he forbade torture in criminal cases. Tolerant Frederick invited immigrants to Prussia. He declared that if Mohammedans wanted to settle in Prussia, he would build them mosques. His statement that every man should have the right to get to heaven in his own way shocked many persons of his period. Yet, like other autocratic rulers in early modern times, Frederick believed that his people were like children and that only he knew what was best for them.

## Absolutism Fails the German People

By the twentieth century, the Hohenzollerns were no longer governing merely Prussia, but a powerful German Empire. Germany was famed everywhere for its army, navy, scientists, factories, and universities. Hohenzollern policies were partly responsible for these achievements. Nevertheless, the Hohenzollerns are much to blame for Germany's troubles today. Hohenzollern stress on militarism was to rouse the fear and hate of other nations. And Hohenzollern autocracy gave the German people little opportunity to acquire experience in democratic ways. Finally, the German people were obliged to sacrifice many of their liberties to satisfy their rulers' zeal for efficiency. For all the Hohenzollerns stressed efficiency above freedom.

## Autocratic Rulers Fail to Build a Strong National State in Austria

Others Covet the Empire of the Marrying Habsburgs. The Hohenzollerns increased their territories mainly by wars. The Habsburgs increased theirs mainly by marrying the right people. The first important Habsburg, Count Rudolph, founder of the imperial house of Austria, increased his realm

by marriage. He became Holy Roman Emperor in 1273, the first of the Habsburgs to hold this position.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the marrying Habsburgs made it possible for Charles V to inherit in 1519 one of the largest empires in the history of Europe (page 267).

The son of Charles V, Philip II, is known as a Spanish Habsburg because he inherited Spain. But neither Austria nor the title of Holy Roman Emperor was his. After Louis XIV secured the Spanish throne for his Bourbon grandson, the Spanish Habsburgs played only a small role in European affairs. Like the Spanish Habsburgs, as we have seen, the Austrian Habsburgs had powerful neighbors eager to seize portions of their vast realms.

**Maria Theresa Inherits Many Subject Peoples and Adds More.** Beautiful and charming Habsburg Queen Maria Theresa (1740-1780) had inherited vast lands inhabited by non-Germans as well as Germans. Each subject province had its own customs and traditions and wanted some self-government. Some powerful nobles in each province resented Austrian domination. However, many of Maria Theresa's non-German subjects were so impressed by her brave resistance to Frederick the Great that they rallied to her support. In 1772, by taking part in the first partition of Poland, she added another subject nationality to her empire of many nationalities. Maria Theresa, who was essentially an honorable woman, protested that this was an evil thing to do. Nevertheless, to use the contemptuous words of Frederick the Great: "She wept, but she kept on taking."

**The Benevolent Despotism of Joseph II Goes Too Far Too Fast.** "Here lies the man who, with the best of intentions, never succeeded in anything." This was the pitiful epitaph which Joseph II (1780-1790), Maria Theresa's son, asked to be inscribed on his tombstone. In the main, he did have good intentions. In an age when other rulers considered serfs little better than animals, he

<sup>12</sup> Until 1806, when the Holy Roman Empire was declared at an end, almost every emperor was a Habsburg.



Maria Theresa with Joseph II as a Baby Receiving Hungarian Nobles. Which was the wiser ruler, Maria Theresa or Joseph II? Why?

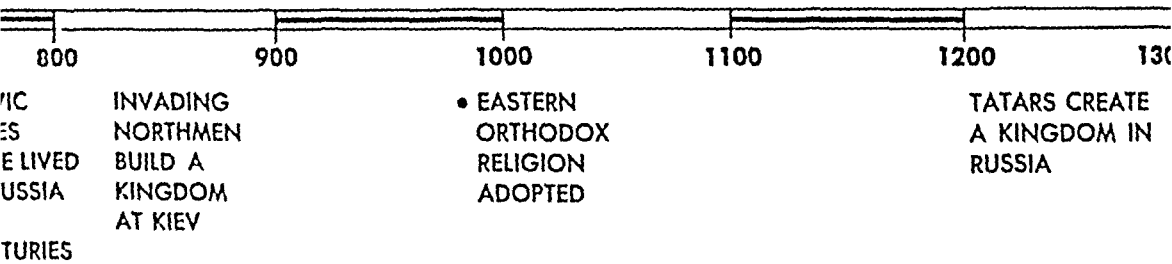
ordered that they be freed. In an age of religious intolerance, he insisted on equal treatment for people of all religions. In an age of strict censorship, he allowed the press considerable freedom. Joseph II, like his mother, wanted to unite his country. To gain control over Austria's many subject nationalities, he abolished local governments and appointed his own officials over each province.

But Joseph was not far wrong when he said that he never succeeded in anything. Many illiterate serfs whom he had freed did not understand that he was trying to help them. Nobles resented being forced to pay taxes. Joseph's non-German subjects resented being required to speak German. The Catholic





Joseph II Working Behind the Plow to Acquaint Himself with the Problems of Farmers. What does this reveal about his fitness for the job of king?



SIA

USSIA

AUTOCRATIC RULERS TRY TO BUILD  
STRONG NATIONAL STATES  
IN RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA

ISTRIA

RUDOLPH •  
BECOMES  
FIRST  
HABSBURG  
HOLY ROMAN  
EMPEROR



Church had many grievances against Joseph. He had assumed the right to appoint bishops and even ordered that certain religious symbols be removed from churches. He had abolished many monasteries, using their wealth to support schools and hospitals. But his policies met such a storm of protest that shortly before he died, he canceled most of them.

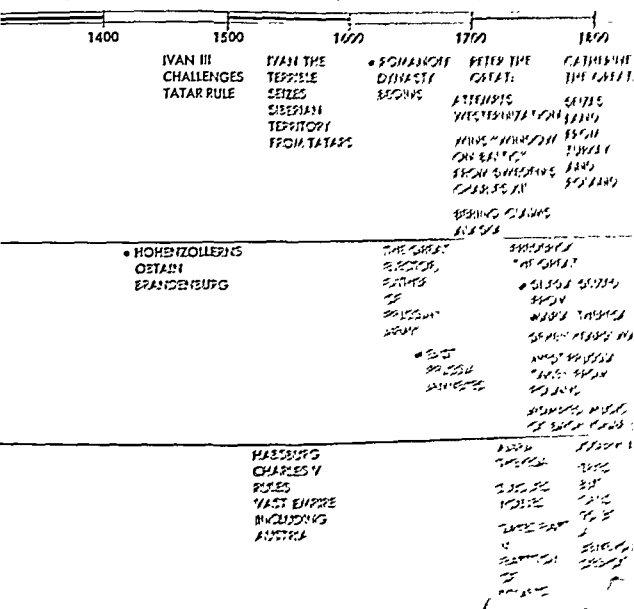
## Absolutism Fails the Austrian Peoples

Succeeding Habsburg rulers continued to try to control their subject nationalities. But the task grew more and more difficult. Again

and again rebellions were to break out. As a result of World War I, which ended in 1918, many of Austria's subject nationalities were to gain their independence. And then the Habsburgs, like the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, lost their throne.

## The Vices of Autocracy Highlight the Virtues of Democracy

In early modern times, autocracy prevailed. In many countries one man by a will or a whim could determine whether a subject would live or die. Yet such absolute rulers served some useful purposes. They combined tiny feudal fiefdoms into great nations. They



substituted national laws for the conflicting and confusing feudal laws. Unintentionally these autocratic rulers even helped to promote democracy. By creating unified nations they enabled more people to meet together and exchange ideas. Such discussions often led to demands for representation in the government. As we know, many absolute rulers encouraged the business class. In time, this business class was to play a leading role in overthrowing autocrats. In a way, the world benefited from the vanity of certain absolute rulers. In their desire to be admired by all Europe, many of them supported artists, musicians, and writers.

But how much more the world suffered from the vanity of such autocrats! Huge sums were wasted on palace parasites and costly courts. Numerous lives were squandered in

frequent wars for family glory, for a strip of territory in Europe, or for a colony in the New World. Under every one of these autocratic rulers, the hard-working many paid heavy taxes to support the privileged few. Even the best of such autocratic rulers proved to be bad for their people. They treated their subjects as children who must have every decision made for them. Such rulers did not recognize that permanent reforms must come from the people themselves and not through the whim of a single ruler, even an enlightened one. To make matters worse, enlightened despots were frequently succeeded by cruel, stupid, or lazy ones. According to one English author: "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely." We shall soon see how the vices of autocracy are shown up by the virtues of democracy.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

the Ukraine • tundras • steppes • Kievan Kingdom • Ivan III • Ivan the Terrible • Romanoff dynasty • Peter the Great • Sophia • Charles XII • "windows to the west" • St. Petersburg • Bering • Catherine the Great • enlightened despot • Pugachev rebellion • Cossacks • Union of Calmar •

Gustavus Adolphus • Kosciusko • partitions of Poland • Suleiman the Magnificent • Hohenzollerns • Brandenburg • Frederick William • Frederick the Great • Junker class • Silesia • War of the Austrian Succession • Seven Years' War • Maria Theresa • Joseph II

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. For what reasons do many persons today feel that more should be known about the geography and history of Russia?
2. Discuss Russia's geographic (a) advantages and (b) handicaps.
3. In what ways was Russia in 1600 quite different from France or England in 1600?
4. How did (a) Ivan III and (b) Ivan the Terrible lay the foundations for absolute rule in Russia?
5. What did Peter do to prepare himself for the job of absolute ruler?
6. For the reigns of both Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, discuss (a) aims, (b) methods, and (c) achievements.
7. Show that Catherine was despotic but not very benevolent.
8. Show that absolutism failed the Russian people.
9. Show that wars were very costly to Sweden.
10. Outline the reasons for Poland's disappearance from the map by 1795.
11. Discuss three important reasons for Turkey's decline.
12. List the steps by which the Hohenzollerns built up their realm.
13. Explain the connection between Prussia's geography and Prussia's stress on military strength.
14. What steps did Frederick the Great take to make Prussia a great power?
15. In one war, Britain was Frederick the Great's enemy; in the next, Britain was Frederick's ally.

- Give the reasons that accounted for this switch.
16. For which of Frederick the Great's peace-time activities should his people have been most grateful? Give reasons.
17. Discuss Maria Theresa's most serious prob-

- lem. Describe how you would have handled it.
18. What evidence is there that Joseph II went too far too fast?
19. Show that absolutism failed. (a) the Prussian people; (b) the Austrian people.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. If a Russian and a western European had exchanged places about 1600, what problems would each have faced?
2. Since Sophia had so much influence, how is it that her husband, Ivan III, gets the attention in history books?
3. What indications are there that there was never a dull moment in the reign of Peter the Great?
4. What would you say was the greatest weakness in Peter's methods of westernizing Russia?
5. What was the outstanding contribution to Russia of: (a) Peter; (b) Catherine? Tell why in each case.
6. What aspects of Catherine's program would you criticize most severely? Why?
7. To what extent do you think Swedes should honor Charles XII?
8. If you had been Poland's ruler in the eighteenth century, what would you have done to strengthen the country?

9. Compare the reasons for the decline of Turkey with the reasons for the disappearance of Poland.
10. What do you think the Turks could have done to check the decline of their empire? Discuss.
11. Geography helps to explain (a) the rise of Prussia and (b) the decline of Poland. How, in each case?
12. Discuss your reaction to: "A government cannot be too absolute provided it is efficient."
13. Would you call Frederick William a wise ruler? Give reasons.
14. Compare the treatment of our soldiers with that of those in Frederick the Great's army.
15. Discuss the significance of Frederick's statement: "I take what I want. There will always be plenty of professors to justify what I do."
16. A study of the career of Joseph II might provide excellent lessons for other rulers and even for the rest of us. Discuss.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map of Europe, locate the leading national states of early modern times.
2. Using such a source as an atlas or an economic geography book, make a report on Russia's natural resources. On an outline map indicate these resources and such geographic features as rivers, mountains, and important regions.
3. Select the most dramatic incidents from Baker's *Peter the Great*, Almedigan's *Young Catherine*, or Lamb's *The March of Muscovy* (on Ivan the Terrible) and write a brief biography of Peter, Catherine, or Ivan.
4. For a group research project, find out (a) the influence of the Slavs, the Northmen, and the Mongols on Russian history; (b) how Russia came to adopt the Eastern Orthodox faith; or (c) who the real ruler was: Ivan III or his wife Sophia.
5. Write a report on (a) your imaginary travels

- with young Peter in the West, (b) your imaginary travels with Bering in the East, (c) your imaginary job building St. Petersburg for Peter, or (d) your imaginary part in the Pugachev Rebellion.
6. Imagine yourself a secretary taking down the deathbed statement of Charles XII of Sweden. Indicate what he might have said.
7. Write an essay entitled: *My Polish Blood Burned in 1795*.
8. On an outline map, show the greatest extent of the Ottoman Empire under Suleiman the Magnificent. On it, indicate Turkey's subject peoples.
9. Using Lamb's *Suleiman the Magnificent* as a source, collaborate on (a) a radio or (b) a television script on Suleiman.
10. Write an imaginary letter from Maria Theresa to Frederick the Great protesting his seizure of Silesia.

11. Look up the discussion of Frederick the Great in the *Cambridge Modern History* or in Carr's *Men of Power*. In committee select the facts that might be used to try to persuade a producer to

### Summing Up

1. *Ruthless, cynical, and despotic* are adjectives frequently applied to the autocratic rulers of early modern times. Show to what extent these adjectives apply to any three of the rulers studied in Chapters 10 and 11.

2. Write a verse characterizing each of any three of the rulers mentioned in these chapters.

### Recommended Reading for Unit Four

(Books preceded by an asterisk (\*) are easy to read.)

\*Armitage, *Sun, Stand Thou Still; the Life and Work of Copernicus the Astronomer*.

Bainton, *Here I Stand*. Martin Luther and his times.

Baker, *Peter the Great*.

\*Bennett, *Master Skylark*. Story of a boy actor in London in the time of Queen Elizabeth and Shakespeare.

Bick, *The Bells of Heaven*. A vivid picture of Joan of Arc's personality and accomplishments.

\*Bolton, *Men of Science*. Brief sketches of the lives of famous scientists.

Carr, *Men of Power*. Good accounts of individuals who helped to build strong national states, such as Richelieu and Frederick the Great.

Cheyney, *Short History of England*.

Costain, *The Conquerors*. William the Conqueror and King John are characters in this fascinating story of the fusion of Norman and Saxon cultures.

Cottler and Jaffe, *Heroes of Civilization*. The concrete contributions of people who distinguished themselves in science (such as Galileo, Copernicus, and Newton), in explorations (such as Vasco da Gama and Magellan), and in certain other fields.

Cottler and Jaffe, *Map Makers*. Geography made interesting.

Craven, *Men of Art*. Great artists: absorbing comments on their lives, their work, and the times in which they lived. (See the section on Renaissance artists.)

\*Davis, *Life in Elizabethan Days*. An intimate account of work and play, customs and manners, in sixteenth-century England.

Durant, *The Renaissance: A History of Civilization in Italy from 1304 to 1576*. Mature pupils

turn out a moving picture on the life of Frederick.

12. Make a poster showing what you think would be an appropriate epitaph for Joseph II.

3. Make a chart on the autocratic rulers, including at least one from each country studied in these chapters. Indicate for each: (a) dates; (b) aims; (c) highlights in their reigns; and (d) your opinion of them.

4. What suggestions would you make for additional illustrations for these chapters?

should enjoy this treatment of the period. Gardner, *Art through the Ages*.

Gombrich, *The Story of Art*.

Hewes, *Spice and the Devil's Cave*. A romantic adventure story about the competition of Venice and Portugal to get control of India's spices. Vasco da Gama plays a role.

\*Hodges, *Columbus Sails*. The author imagines the reactions to Columbus of three of Columbus's contemporaries — a monk, a sailor, and an American Indian. Full of color and drama.

Kenton, *With Hearts Courageous*. French Jesuit missionaries explore North America and educate and convert Indians.

Kingsley, *Westward Ho!* Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh are characters in this exciting novel about the rivalry between Elizabeth's England and Philip II's Spain.

\*Lansing, *Leonardo, Master of the Renaissance*.

\*Lerman, *Michelangelo; a Renaissance Profile*.

Lucas, *Vast Horizons*. A unique treatment of the period of explorations and discoveries. Many colorful maps, interesting narrative, and even the words and music of the explorers' songs.

\*Mills, *Renaissance and Reformation*. If you can read only one book on this period, read this one.

Packard, *The Age of Louis XIV*.

Parr, *So Noble a Captain: The Life and Times of Ferdinand Magellan*.

\*Quennell and Quennell, *A History of Everyday Things in England*. Part Two deals with the period from 1500 to 1799.

Reddaway, *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia*.

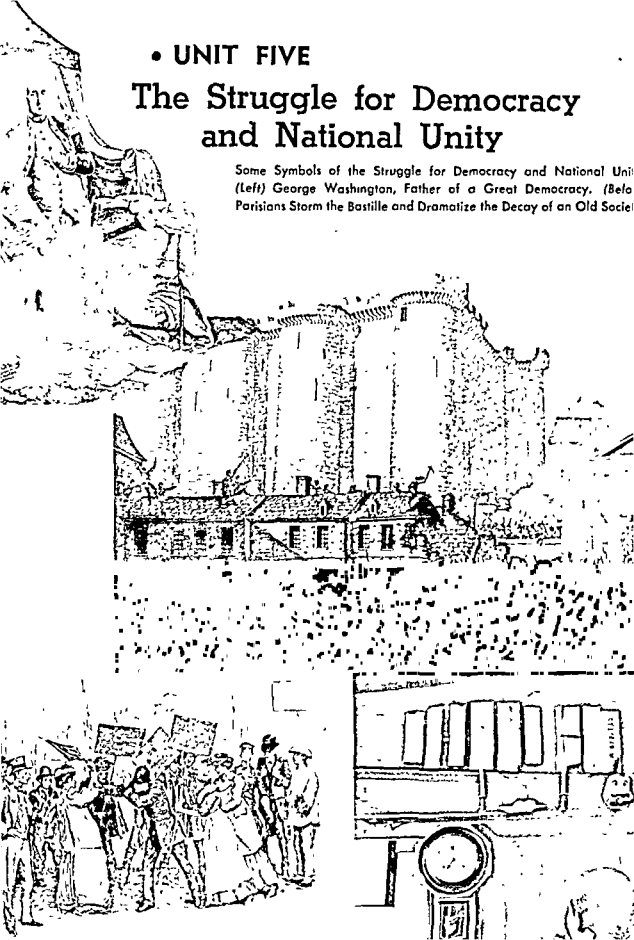
Stevenson, *Black Arrow*. A romantic novel about the Wars of the Roses.

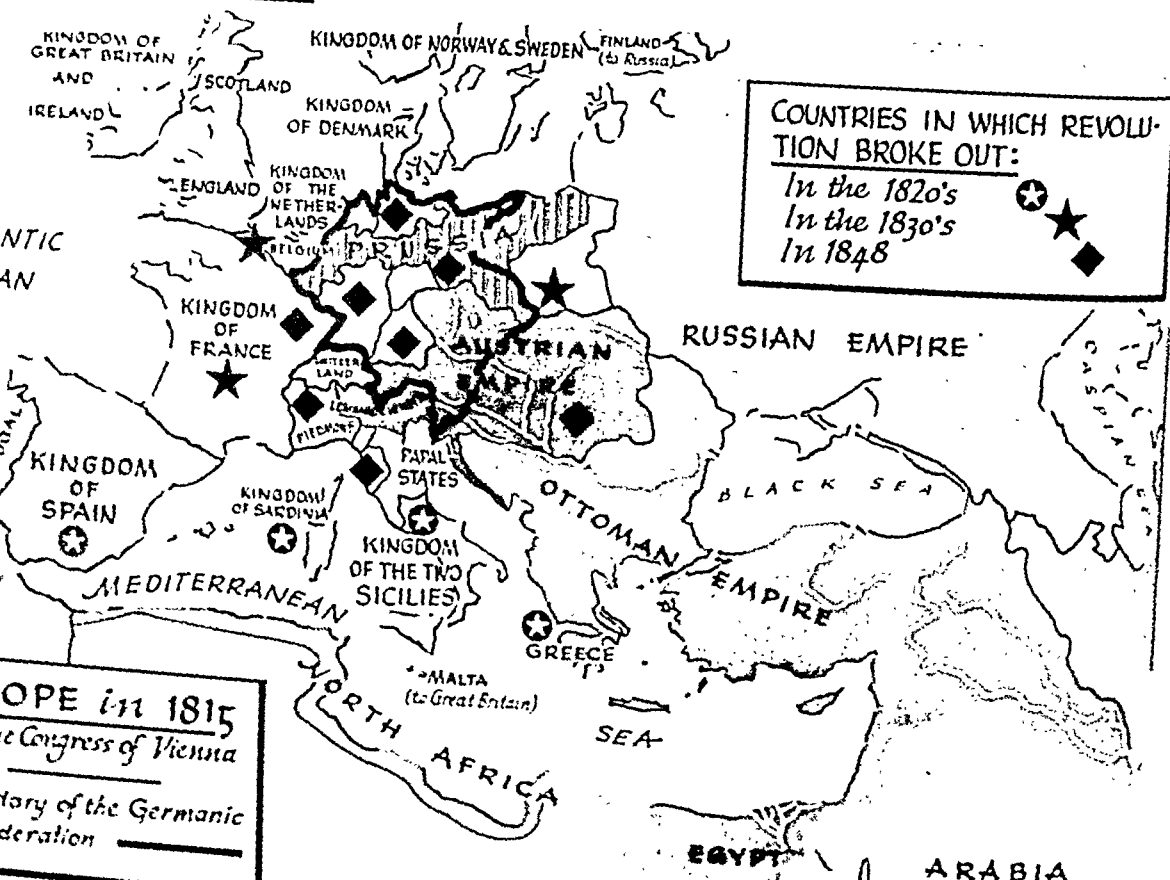
Trevelyan, *Illustrated English History*. Read the section on Tudor England.

• UNIT FIVE

# The Struggle for Democracy and National Unity

Some Symbols of the Struggle for Democracy and National Unity  
(Left) George Washington, Father of a Great Democracy. (Below)  
Parisians Storm the Bastille and Dramatize the Decay of an Old Society





## CHAPTER 12 . . . . SOME REVOLUTIONS WHICH USHERED IN MODERN DEMOCRACY

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**Need and Purpose of Law in a Democracy • Reviewing Some Legal Highlights • Reviewing the Few Instances of Democracy Before Modern Times • Democracy Stimulated in Early Modern Times • Autocracy Loses Its Grip on Holland • The Despotic Policies of Charles I Cost Him His Head • A Puritan Revolution Helps to Weaken English Autocracy • Strict Puritan Policies under Cromwell • The Restoration of a Stuart King Ends Strict Puritan Policies • Stubborn James II Refuses to Learn from History • The Glorious Revolution of 1688 Makes Parliament Permanently Supreme • Political Parties and a Cabinet System Increase Parliament's Power • An Intellectual Revolution Helps to Bring About the American and French Revolutions • Many Affirm That Reason Plus Freedom Equals Progress • The American Revolution Strikes a Mighty Blow for Freedom • Hot Words and Hot Feelings Give Way to Hot Lead • Effects of the American Revolution Within and Outside the United States**

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One day in 1685, an Englishman, Richard Rumbold, stood on the scaffold while his executioner tightened the noose around his neck. These were his last words: "I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden." This was a bitter comment on most of the governments which civilized man had had for sixty centuries. Throughout this long period, small privileged groups had claimed the right to govern because of their noble birth, great wealth, or high military or religious position. As a rule, hard work, unquestioning obedience, long military service, and heavy taxes fell to the governed.

Nevertheless, in time, the governed were more and more to resist being "saddled and bridled." Even a century before the hanging of Rumbold, the Dutch people had successfully revolted against their cruel aristocratic masters. What a pity that Rumbold died so soon! Had he lived only three years longer, he would have seen England's Glorious Revolution of 1688. Had he lived a century longer, he would have been stirred by such great democratic upheavals as the American Revolution of 1775 and the French Revolution of 1789. Thereafter, rule by the aristocratic few was to be on the defensive. Rule by the democratic many would henceforth be on the march.



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TEA PARTY**

## The Meaning of Democracy

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." This is the spirit of democracy. For democracy is a way of life. However, democracy is also a type of government. Abraham Lincoln's phrase, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people . . ." is a good definition of democracy as a type of government. A democracy is "of" and "by" the people, because the people rule themselves in a democracy, through representatives of their own choosing, responsible to the people whose will they express. How is the will of the people determined? Mainly through elections. Decisions are made by a majority vote. Yet in a true democracy the majority ought not to interfere with the rights of the minority. In short, democracy rightfully means "counting heads, not cracking them!"

A democracy which is truly "for" the people recognizes that all the people should have equal opportunity to enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Such opportunity would be difficult to maintain unless everyone were guaranteed equality before the law and freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly. In a true democracy, anyone with a grievance has the right to protest in writing. None is entitled to privileges because of his family connections, wealth, religion, or other consideration.

A definition of democracy which mentions only the rights and privileges of the people, and not their duties and obligations, is incomplete. After all, democracy is a partnership of all the people. It cannot afford silent and inactive partners. The best partners in a democracy are those who co-operate with others to make their country even more democratic. To vote intelligently and to obey laws are important duties of all the partners in a democracy. A person is a poor partner if he uses his liberty as a license to take advantage of the others. In other words, democracy does not give "the wolf the right to devour the sheep."

## Need and Purpose of Law in a Democracy

It is true that a community may have democratic laws on paper which are never enforced. But, in general, a good way to find out how democratic a community is, is to study its laws. In an undemocratic community, laws are usually so worded as to give privileges to a few rather than to meet the needs of the many. Frequently, theocratic, military, or political oligarchies have made knowledge of the law their own secret monopoly. Often conquering empires have maintained their control over the conquered by forcing their own code of laws on everybody. In a democratic community, laws state the rules of the game to prevent any person from taking unfair advantage of his fellow men.

## Reviewing Some Legal Highlights

As we have seen, it was undemocratic of Hammurabi's Code to punish nobles less severely than ordinary people for committing the same offense. But it was democratic to show concern for widows and orphans. Ancient Jewish law, the Mosaic Code, laid greater stress on religious and moral standards than did Hammurabi's Code. Sparta's legal system was just what one would expect of a military dictatorship. From birth to death, every action of every person was strictly controlled. In Athens, from Draco to Solon to Cleisthenes, Athenian laws became steadily more just. They were written down so that aristocrats could no longer claim that they were the only ones who knew what the law was all about. In some respects, as in the rights granted women, Roman law was more democratic than many modern codes of law. Furthermore, the Romans were the first to devise a kind of international law. As in Athens, the Roman law code became more democratic as the common people challenged the injustice of aristocratic judges. Yet both Athenian and Roman law recognized slavery.

The priests of ancient India tried to monopolize knowledge of the Hindu Code of Manu. By so doing, they were able to control lawmaking and to set up a caste system. No wonder the priest-class became the most powerful class in the Hindu caste system! As we have seen, the more democratic philosophy of such religious leaders as Confucius and Buddha was the basis for the laws of ancient China.

Medieval church law gave protection to women and children and tried to lessen the horrors of warfare. Germanic law stressed community rights rather than the rights of the individual. Trial by ordeal or by battle usually determined guilt. Thus, verdicts were really based upon might rather than right. And in serious offenses, any member of the community could act as both policeman and executioner. Medieval merchants drew up their own business law because they found the laws of the Church, of kings and emperors, and of feudal nobles conflicting and confusing. Such laws interfered with their freedom of enterprise. Unlike Roman law, feudal law upheld the sole right of the first-born male child to the entire family estate. This right is called *primogeniture*. Under the feudal system, once a woman married, she had few legal rights. Feudal law favored lords over serfs. Yet, because a contract existed, the serfs did have some protection.

As we have learned, an autocratic medieval English king, Henry II, gave a great boost to modern democracy by initiating England's system of common law and trial by jury. Yet, for many years, the law imprisoned bankrupt debtors. It forced men to work for low, fixed wages and even ordered men hanged for stealing a few shillings. In time, however, English common law proved throughout the English-speaking world that it could be adapted to changing conditions as democracy developed. And certain aspects of this common law have influenced areas in Asia and Africa which have been or still are under British control. English common law has stressed the rights and privileges of the indi-

vidual. It has been criticized for not giving enough emphasis to his duties and obligations.

As we shall see, the most famous of modern law codes is the Code Napoléon, which was based mainly on Roman law. Napoleon I, ruler of France from 1799 to 1814 (page 338), hired experts to draw it up. It stresses equality before the law. Many countries on the continent of Europe and in Latin America use basic principles of this code. So does our own state of Louisiana.

## Reviewing the Few Instances of Democracy before Modern Times

The most ancient Hebrew prophets and the first Christians preached the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Both groups stressed respect for the dignity of every individual and concern for "the poor and disinherited." Thus the spirit of democracy existed long ago in the Jewish-Christian tradition. Autocratic ancient Egypt held women in high esteem. And autocratic Alexander the Great dreamed of creating a world state in which intermarriage and world-wide trade would make people forget their differences. In the Athenian democracy, the first of its kind, rights and privileges were balanced by obligations and duties. Yet in the Athenian city-state, rights and privileges were reserved for citizens only, slavery was widespread, and women were considered inferior.

On the surface, the framework of the Roman government looked democratic. Yet under the Roman Republic, there were frequent struggles between the many (the plebeians) and the few (the patricians), who were in control. Sometimes, when the plebeians were needed for military duty, for example, the patricians might grant them some democratic rights. Later, while the attention of the common people was diverted by wars and empire-building abroad, some small groups tended to concentrate military, political, and economic power in their own hands at home.

In some respects, the Middle Ages made even less democratic progress than did ancient times. In the New World, the Inca emperor was worshiped as a god. He had total control over the life of each of his subjects. In India, democratic progress was handicapped by the caste system. In China, class distinctions were not so rigid. However, the progress of political democracy was held back in China by despotic emperors and tyrannical war lords.

In medieval Europe, neither feudalism nor serfdom was fertile soil for the growth of democracy. Only certain groups, such as guild members and university students, and certain classes, such as the nobility and clergy, had rights and privileges. However, in the Church, common people might rise to high positions. In the later Middle Ages, with the rise of towns and the decline of serfdom, men began to demand greater freedom. Furthermore, in England, Anglo-Saxon kings were required by custom to consult regularly with the Great Council. The jury system and English common law developed. In 1215, King John put his seal to the Magna Carta. In 1295, Edward I set up the Model Parliament.

Of modern nations, the first to become a republic was Switzerland (1291). Even young boys were given the right to vote in certain cantons (districts) of Switzerland. As in ancient Athens and as in New England town meetings beginning in colonial days, each voter was, in a sense, his own congressman. Thus, the Swiss had a form of direct democracy in the Middle Ages.

## Democracy Stimulated in Early Modern Times

As mankind crossed the bridge to modern times, the rate of democratic progress speeded up. As already noted, such pillars in the bridge to modern times as the Commercial Revolution and the rise of capitalism, which at first strengthened kings, also strengthened the business class. And it was this business class which led the fight for

freedom of speech, press, and religion, as well as for representative government. Finally, the Scientific Revolution spread the spirit of inquiry which is the very heart of democratic progress. Thus, these and other pillars supporting the bridge to modern times paved the way for modern democracy. Every one of these pillars is in some way connected with the Dutch, English, American, and French revolutions, which hurled crushing blows against autocracy in early modern times.



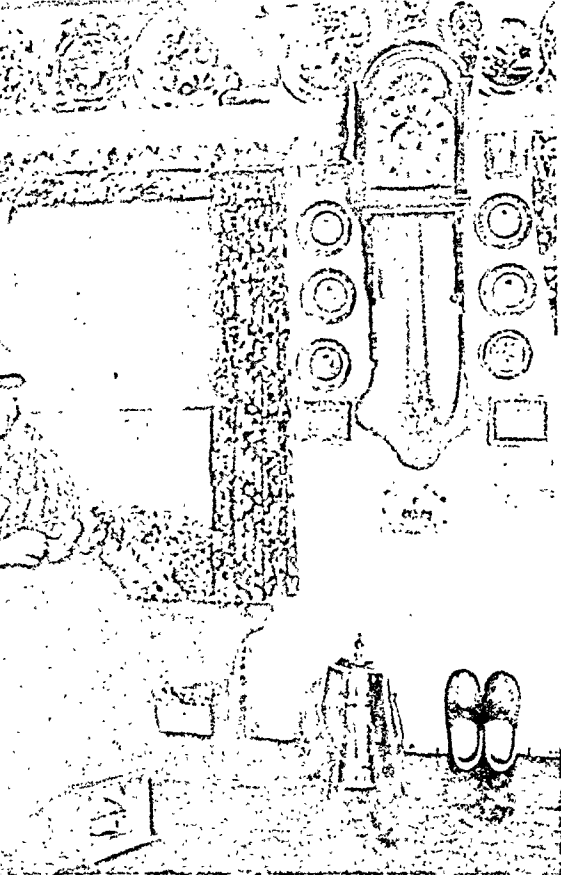
The Dutch say of their reclaimed land "Where we once fished, we now farm." But when floods break the dikes, as in this scene in 1953, the heartbreaking task of rebuilding the dikes keeps the Dutch busy.

## Autocracy Loses Its Grip on Holland

Tulips, windmills, dikes, wooden shoes, housewives scrubbing sidewalks — this is the mental picture that many of us have of Holland. Some include in the picture the welcome that Holland gave to English Pilgrims fleeing persecution, the recollection that New York City was once New Amsterdam, and perhaps some typically Dutch paintings by Rembrandt or Hals.

This tiny country was reclaimed from the North Sea by its industrious fishermen and peasants.<sup>1</sup> Most of the Dutch people still live

<sup>1</sup> With Belgium, Holland is like a delta created by the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt rivers. Such cities as Bruges and Antwerp in this area prospered greatly in early modern times.



The Interior of a Home on the Island of Marken in the Zuyder Zee in the Netherlands. (Elsewhere in Holland, homes and clothing are somewhat similar to those of most European nations.) Make a list of everything which you consider traditionally Dutch in this photograph.

several feet below sea level. In fact, the official name of their country is The Netherlands, which means "*Lower Lands*." The Dutch have been among the most prosperous people of Europe. Most of them are engaged in agriculture and the dairy industry. However, Holland has also long excelled in commerce, shipbuilding, diamond-cutting, banking, and fine printing. The Dutch are proud of their high health and educational standards and of their long tradition of freedom of the press and religious toleration. Theirs has been one of the richest empires in the world. After World War II, some Dutch colonial subjects were to revolt against their Dutch masters and gain independence.

Back in the sixteenth century, it was the Dutch people themselves who were revolting against their Spanish masters. Why? Because they hated Philip II and his harsh officials who refused them any say in the government. Because prosperous Dutch businessmen resented Spain's heavy taxation and favoritism to Spanish commerce. Because Catholic Philip was using violent means to stamp out Protestantism in Holland (page 268).

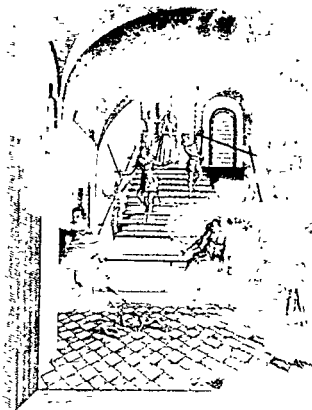
"If I take Alkmaar, I am resolved not to leave a single creature alive; the knife shall be put to every throat." This was the pledge that the Duke of Alva, Spanish Governor of the Netherlands, made to Philip II. But he was unable to take Alkmaar. Alva, always tyrannical, had become more so because certain Protestants had destroyed sacred objects in Catholic cathedrals. But the Council of Blood which the duke organized to try suspects made little distinction between the guilty and the innocent.

**William of Orange: Father of the Dutch Republic.** The terror tactics of the Duke of Alva only increased Dutch resistance. The man who organized this resistance and kept the flame of freedom burning in Dutch hearts was William of Orange (William the Silent).<sup>2</sup> Pious, tolerant, and courageous, William has been compared to George Washington. Hoping that the death of William would mean the death of the Dutch Revolt, Philip II offered rewards for his assassination. Finally, in 1584, this wicked deed was accomplished. Of William it was said: "As long as he lived, he was the guiding-star of a brave nation, and when he died, the little children cried in the streets."

This "guiding-star" had led his "brave nation" through some difficult times. For example, in 1574, Spanish troops were besieging the Dutch city of Leyden. All that the inhabitants had left to eat were cats, dogs, and rats. Hundreds died of hunger. William wanted to bring aid to the people of Leyden. But his soldiers could not break through the

<sup>2</sup> The so-called William the Silent was actually a brilliant orator!

William the Silent  
Shot at Delft in 1584.  
Describe the circum-  
stances which led to  
this assassination.



iron band of Spaniards encircling the city. Finally, in desperation, William ordered the dikes cut. He knew well that this step would devastate Dutch lands and probably cost many Dutch lives. But he also knew that the onrushing water would rout the Spaniards. He was right. The siege was lifted and Dutch ships were able to bring food to the famished patriots.

**The Dutch Win Their Independence from Spain.** In 1579, the southern provinces of the Netherlands,<sup>3</sup> mainly Catholic, made peace with Philip, and the northern provinces formed an alliance, the Union of Utrecht. Two years later, the Union of Utrecht declared its independence from Spain and called itself the Dutch Republic. After William's death, the infant Dutch Republic might also have died, had not the English de-

feated the Spanish Armada.<sup>4</sup> Finally, in 1648, in the Peace of Westphalia, the nations of Europe officially recognized the Dutch Republic. At the head of their republic the Dutch placed a *stadtholder*, a kind of president. About 1750, however, Holland became a limited monarchy. Members of the House of Orange were then made hereditary stadtholders. The world was amazed at the success of the Dutch Revolt against the autocratic ruler of the most powerful empire of the sixteenth century. This Dutch Revolt is important in the history of democracy because it is "the first great example of a whole people officially renouncing allegiance to their hereditary and consecrated monarch."

### Autocracy Gives Way to Democracy in England

"... Kings are not only God's lieutenants on earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by

<sup>3</sup> Today these southern provinces make up Belgium. While they belonged to Spain, they were known as the Spanish Netherlands. For about a cen-

<sup>4</sup> In this period, the Dutch navy was seizing rich Portuguese colonies in the East Indies. Dutch merchants were expanding their trade throughout the world.

God himself they are called gods." King James I of England (1603-1625), son of Queen Mary Stuart of Scotland, thus stated his belief in the divine right of kings. This Stuart king was convinced that the king was responsible to God alone and not to Parliament or the people. He and Stuart kings who followed him tried to rule like despots. Such a policy was to cost one Stuart king his head and the others plenty of trouble. It was to lead to two English revolutions: one bloody and one bloodless. As a result, by 1689, the English Parliament was to be supreme over the English king.

Tudors, such as James's cousin, Queen Elizabeth (page 258), had also believed in the divine right of kings. But they were too shrewd to antagonize the people by shouting such a belief from the roof-tops. Even the Tudors, however, would probably have had trouble governing as absolute monarchs in the England of the seventeenth century. Why?

The business class had grown rich.<sup>5</sup> They demanded that their representatives in Parliament have more to say about taxes. Feudalism was practically dead in England. Thus there was less need for a strong king to bring order by suppressing warring nobles. The defeat of the Spanish Armada, which lessened the threat of an invasion of the country, also made a strong king less necessary at this time.

**The Autocratic Policies of James I Anger Parliament.** Most members of Parliament in the seventeenth century were Puritans (page 244). James I was an ardent Anglican. The Puritans protested that the Anglican Church, which was Protestant, was too much like the Catholic Church. The Puritans also opposed the divine-right theory because they believed that, in the eyes of God, kings were no different from ordinary people. James

I warned Puritans that he would drive them out of England. Puritan clergymen who refused to use the Anglican prayer-book (*Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer*) were expelled from their pulpits. Fearful of persecution, many Puritans fled England, and settled in America.<sup>6</sup> Thus, just as Spain had expelled enterprising Moslems and Jews in 1492 and France had lost enterprising Huguenots in 1685, so England lost many enterprising Puritans in the reign of James. However, persecution only increased the numbers of the persecuted. Stubborn King James did make one concession to the Puritans. He authorized a simpler version of the Bible, the *King James Version* (1611).

Money matters also intensified the friction between James I and Parliament. Many of the Puritans in Parliament were members of the wealthy middle class. They denounced the king for squandering taxes on court favorites. One court favorite is said to have taken with him on a journey over six hundred servants and many diamond-studded suits. One of these suits was valued at over half a million dollars. When Parliament refused to vote James I increased funds, he used illegal methods to get money. He sold titles of nobility, forced individuals to make him loans, and levied heavy fines.

Parliament also hated James's foreign policy. He had become King James VI of Scotland before he became King James I of England. He wanted to unite his two realms, but neither the English nor the Scottish people liked the idea. James I wanted to be friendly with Spain. But Parliament looked upon Spain as an enemy because of its Catholic religion, commercial competition, and valuable colonies. The friction between James and Parliament became so strong that he finally dismissed Parliament in 1621.

**The Despotic Policies of Charles I Cost Him His Head.** Charles I (1625-1649), James's son, also used harsh methods to make the

<sup>5</sup> It was in the reign of James I that businessmen made the first permanent English settlement in America at Jamestown, Virginia (1607). Under James also, the English East India Company set up its first trading post in India (1613).

<sup>6</sup> One such group of Puritans, the Pilgrims, founded the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts in 1620.



King Charles I en Route to His Execution. Why would this scene promote concern even outside of England?





Show that, although Cromwell refused the English crown, he was just as powerful as a king.

Most of these were Puritans. Because they wore their hair cut short to show their contempt for the long curls of the king's supporters, these Puritans were called *Roundheads*. The supporters of the king, called *Cavaliers*, included nobles and big landowners. Most of these were Anglicans. Catholics also supported Charles.

The Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell, organized a most unusual regiment of cavalry, called *Ironsides*. They plunged into battle singing psalms. Their motto was: "Fear God and keep your powder dry." Tough as these Puritan fighters were, scarcely a single soldier dared to swear or get drunk. Their victorious regiment soon became the model for the entire Puritan army. In 1646, Charles surrendered. He was imprisoned for a few years. Meanwhile, members of the House of Commons were quarreling among themselves. One group of Puritans, the Presbyterians, was

willing to put Charles back on the throne; he would make Presbyterianism the national religion of England. The other group of Puritans, the Independents,<sup>5</sup> led by Cromwell and other army officers, felt that the king was not to be trusted.

The Independents used soldiers to bar the Presbyterian members from Parliament. The small group of Independents, known as the *Rump Parliament*, now controlled the House of Commons. They condemned Charles I as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy . . ." and beheaded him. Autocratic rulers elsewhere were alarmed at this serious threat to belief in the divine right of kings.

<sup>5</sup> The Independents were also known as *Separatists* or *Congregationalists*. They believed in complete separation of church and state. They were therefore just as much opposed to the establishment of a Presbyterian national church as they were to an Anglican national church.

**Cromwell Substitutes Military Dictatorship for Absolute Monarchy.** Frequently an ambitious leader with an army behind him takes advantage of disorder to make himself a military dictator. So it was with Cromwell. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, a kind of republic, called the *Commonwealth*, was set up. By 1653, Cromwell was the real ruler of England, but he refused the title of king. He always asserted that he preferred government by representatives of the people to a dictatorship. He was convinced, however, that it was his duty to assume great power in order to fight better what he considered to be God's battle. Under Cromwell's dictatorship, the first written constitution of any modern nation, called the *Instrument of Government*, was in effect. As chief executive of the Commonwealth for life, Cromwell was called *Lord Protector*. The Lord Protector and Parliament just could not get along. Parliaments were called into session and quickly dissolved.

When Charles I was beheaded, royalist rebellions broke out in Ireland and Scotland. Cromwell crushed the rebellion in Ireland, seized Irish lands, and distributed them among his supporters. He executed two thousand rebels, mainly Catholics. "I am persuaded," was his explanation, "that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future." But Cromwell's treatment of the Irish was to add fuel to the fire of the hate that the Irish had felt toward the English for centuries. Scotland's rebellion in favor of Charles II, son of the executed king, who had promised to favor Presbyterianism, was soon suppressed by the hammer blows of Cromwell's psalm-singing soldiers.

To weaken Holland, England's commercial and colonial competitor, Cromwell's fleet was sent to meet the Dutch, and fought some successful naval battles. Later English rulers were to continue the struggle against Dutch competition throughout the seventeenth cen-



How does this engraving indicate the attitude of the people toward the restoration of the Stuart kings in the person of Charles II?

tury. This was part of a long-term policy employed by England against colonial and commercial competitors.

**Strict Puritan Policies Under Cromwell.** Intensely religious Puritans believed that it was sinful to dance or go to the theater. The theater was blamed for encouraging indecency, lying, idleness, and extravagance and for emptying the churches. Criticism of the government was not tolerated. As always, the heavy hand of censorship hindered creative writing. The only truly great writer of this period was the poet, John Milton. Milton had once written, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience . . ." Yet Milton became Cromwell's secretary and a kind of censor for the government. Cromwell wanted to grant complete freedom of worship to all Protestants except Anglicans. He invited Jews to settle in England. But Catholics were forbidden to worship publicly.

**The Restoration of a Stuart King Ends Strict Puritan Policies.** On May 29, 1660, London's streets were strewn with flowers. Bells rang out. The Puritan Revolution had come to an end, and Charles II was home

from exile. Why this wild welcome to the son of the Stuart king who had been beheaded only eleven years earlier? By the time Cromwell died in 1658, the English people were sick and tired of military dictatorship. Most of them had always been royalists at heart. Besides, they were fed up with Puritan restraints on their pleasures. And Charles II had pledged himself to permit religious toleration, to live up to the Petition of Right, and to forget about divine right.

Charles II (1660-1685) loved a good time. He was determined to die in bed, not on the scaffold. That is why he used tact in dealing with Parliament. Yet this selfish but good-natured hypocrite was a typical Stuart in desiring great power.<sup>9</sup> Parliament had granted him only limited funds and had forbidden him to maintain a standing army. To keep up his extravagant court, and to provide himself with an army, therefore, Charles secretly obtained money from his cousin, King Louis XIV of France. The Restoration period, as the reign of Charles II is called, was the most immoral era in English history. Much Restoration literature mirrors the indecent and carefree spirit of the court and of much of the population. In fact, many Englishmen were ripe for riotous living. Their conduct was a reaction against their somber life under the Puritans.

**An Anglican Parliament Both Curbs and Extends Liberty.** For most of Charles's reign, an aristocratic Parliament was in session. It strongly supported the re-established Anglican Church and was intolerant toward all Dissenters (non-Anglican Protestants) and Catholics. Parliament feared that the king, who had lived a long time in Catholic France, was organizing a plot to restore Catholicism. It therefore passed a law, the *Test Act*, which for about one hundred and fifty years legally barred Dissenters and Catholics from gov-

ernment positions. Yet, in 1679 this intolerant Anglican Parliament declared that an imprisoned person must be given either a fair and speedy trial or his freedom. This is the famous *Habeas Corpus Act* which has been widely imitated. No longer could Englishmen be thrown into jail on flimsy evidence and left there to waste away their lives without a trial.

**Stubborn James II Refuses to Learn from History.** One day in 1688, King James II was on a boat bound for exile in France. He had reigned only three years after the death of his brother, Charles II. The bloody Puritan Revolution had taught autocratic James II nothing. His policies had been largely responsible for another revolution — the *Bloodless Revolution of 1688* — which forced his exile. He had shown contempt for the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and Parliament. An ardent Catholic convert, he had antagonized Anglicans and Dissenters by appointing Catholics to the best government positions. When his Catholic second wife bore James a son, Protestant England feared that this might mean a long succession of Catholic kings. Rumors were circulated that the baby was not really the child of the royal couple. That is how Parliament came to invite James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange (head of the Dutch Republic), to become queen and king. William could have executed his father-in-law. Instead, he practically put him on the boat for France!

**The Glorious Revolution of 1688 Makes Parliament Permanently Supreme.** No blood was shed in the Glorious (Bloodless) Revolution of 1688 which replaced James with William and Mary. But it sounded the death knell of the divine-right theory and of autocracy in England. It was revolutionary for Parliament to decide who was to be king. To insure the gains of the Glorious Revolution, Parliament passed the Bill of Rights.

In the Bill of Rights (1689), the king was forbidden to raise a standing army, to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament, and

<sup>9</sup> In the reign of Charles II, in 1663, the Carolinas were established in the New World, and named after him. In 1664, his fleet ousted the Dutch from New Netherlands. The city was renamed New York. In 1681, Charles granted a charter for the founding of Pennsylvania to William Penn.



William III, Who Reigned in England with Mary from 1689 to 1702.

to suspend any laws passed by Parliament. Neither he nor his queen could be a Catholic. Parliament gained complete control of taxation and of the army. Freedom of debate was guaranteed its members. Every Englishman was guaranteed the right to petition the king. Protestant Englishmen were guaranteed the right to bear arms. Accused Englishmen were guaranteed trials by impartial juries, and excessive bail or fines and cruel or unusual punishments were forbidden.

Many of these provisions have been imitated in our state constitutions and in our federal Bill of Rights. To Englishmen, their Bill of Rights, along with the Magna Carta, Petition of Right, and Habeas Corpus Act, meant important democratic gains. England's absolute monarchy had finally become a limited (or constitutional) monarchy. Thus, in the march of modern democracy, England was at least a century ahead of the rest of the world. But there were many steps yet to be taken (page 358).

To insure the supremacy of Protestantism

and Parliamentaryism in England, still other measures followed the Bill of Rights. In 1689, Dissenters were granted the right to worship publicly. The terms of this *Toleration Act* did not apply to Catholics, Jews, or Unitarians. However, in practice, there was little interference with their freedom of worship — in contrast to the situation in France, where, only four years earlier, Louis XIV had cancelled the Edict of Nantes. In 1689, too, the British Parliament weakened the power of the king by decreeing that military appropriations should be raised for one year only. If the king refused to call Parliament into session each year, soldiers would not be paid. Thus, by controlling the money, Parliament also controlled the military.

In the reign of Queen Anne,<sup>12</sup> Parliament passed the Act of Union (1707), which merged England and Scotland into the Kingdom of Great Britain. Ever since James I, England and Scotland had had the same king, but different parliaments. From now on, the British Parliament was to make laws for Scotland as well as for England. Queen Anne's seventeen children died before she did. Parliament's choice for her successor was the nearest Protestant heir, the ruler of Hanover in Germany. The descendants of this Hanoverian still reign in England under the name of Windsor.

**Political Parties and a Cabinet System Increase Parliament's Power.** Common religious bonds, as well as common business interests, affected the growth of political parties in England. As we have just seen, it was Puritan businessmen who revolted against the king and the Anglican aristocrats. Soon the supporters of the king were known as members of the Tory political party, and his opponents, as members of the Whig party. In the nineteenth century, the successors to the Tories were to be known as Conservatives and the successors to the Whigs, as Liberals. In the twentieth century, workers were to

<sup>12</sup> During Anne's reign (1702-1714), England was engaged in the War of the Spanish Succession, known in the Colonies as Queen Anne's War.

unite to solve their common problems. Thus a new party, the Labor Party, was then formed.

From 1689 to 1697, King William was kept busy aiding his native Holland in a war against Louis XIV of France. He therefore had to leave many domestic problems of the English government to a group of ministers, the *cabinet*. Since William and Mary owed the throne to Parliament, they were eager to keep on good terms with its members. That is why William picked his ministers from Parliament. A vote of both houses of Parliament was required to pass laws. However, William, as well as later English kings, knew that the aristocratic, hereditary House of Lords would usually support royal policies. Obviously, then, it was more important for him to try to win the co-operation of the elected House of Commons.

In the beginning, William appointed both Whigs and Tories to the cabinet. He soon learned, however, that there would be difficulty in getting laws passed if his cabinet included a majority of Tories and the House of Commons, a majority of Whigs. William therefore began the custom of selecting his cabinet only from the party which had a majority in the House of Commons.

George I, the first English ruler of the House of Hanover, could speak no English. He left the leadership of the cabinet, therefore, to a Whig leader, Robert Walpole. Since the king no longer went to cabinet meetings, the cabinet took over the reins of government. The head man in the cabinet, Walpole, thus became England's first real prime minister and remained so through the reigns of George I and George II. But George III wanted no competition from a powerful prime minister. He bent every effort to make the cabinet responsible to him and not to Parliament. His despotic policies were blamed for the loss of the American colonies in the American Revolution (page 312). No king of England has tried to be his own prime minister since. For nearly two centuries, English monarchs have reigned but not ruled.



Houdon's Bust of Voltaire, Who Said, "Intolerance begets only hypocrites or rebels." What did he mean?

## An Intellectual Revolution Helps to Bring About the American and French Revolutions

**Voltaire Challenges Authority and Champions Reason.** Voltaire was the most famous writer of the eighteenth century. Yet he experienced imprisonment, flogging, the burning of his books, and frequent exile. For Voltaire had made powerful enemies. In scores of novels, histories, letters, essays, plays, and poems, he denounced corruption in church and state, the privileges of the aristocracy, censorship, slavery, and warfare. He was intolerant of intolerance. He considered it his mission in life to expose ignorance, superstition, and injustice. Voltaire believed, like many writers of his day, that men should

apply reason to government, religion, business, and education. He felt that then they, like the experimenters of the Scientific Revolution, could expose errors and discover truth. Voltaire considered the scientist Newton more important than any conqueror in history. In Voltaire's words, "It is to him who masters our minds by the force of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence . . . that we owe our reverence."

Voltaire charged that for centuries man had failed to make much progress because he had been kept from reasoning for himself. He declared that man's thinking had been done for him by authorities in the government and in the Church. He asserted that the Church hindered reform by basing its doctrines on tradition and authority. In his attacks on the Church, Voltaire ignored its

many contributions. Voltaire considered every organized religion an obstacle to reason and progress. Yet he believed in God. "All nature cries out to us that He exists," he wrote. In other words, Voltaire was a deist, not an atheist. A deist believes in God, but does not believe in formal church worship.

A copy of Voltaire's book, *Letters on the English*, was burned as "scandalous, contrary to religion, to morals, and to respect for authority." But this only made more persons eager to read it. The book praised the relative freedom of speech, press, and religion in England so as to show up the lack of freedom in France. Voltaire, however, was not a real believer in democracy. He favored a government similar to the limited monarchy of England or to the enlightened despotism of Frederick the Great.

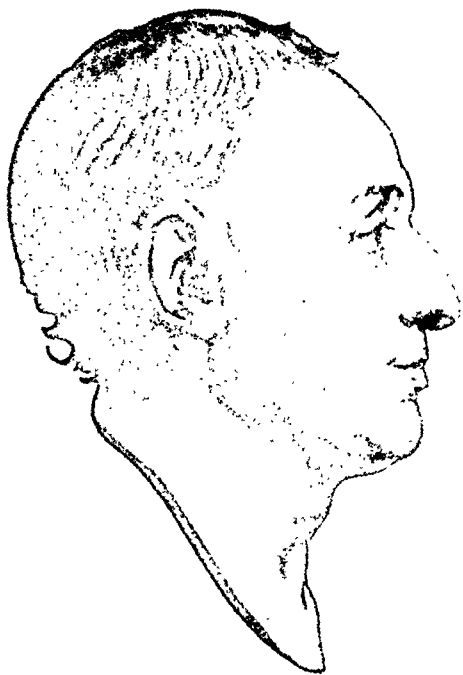
In his satire, *Candide*, Voltaire ridiculed those people who believe that this is "the best of all possible worlds." To him it was a world of cruelty and corruption. But he hinted that if man would only use his reason, he could build a better world. The modern idea of progress dates back to the writings of such philosophers as Voltaire. Their attack on authority and their glorification of reason for the purpose of promoting progress is called the *Intellectual Revolution*.<sup>11</sup> Because the eighteenth-century philosophers threw light on the abuses of their day, the Intellectual Revolution is often called the *Enlightenment*. The leaders of the Intellectual Revolution proved that ideas are weapons. Their ideas were to play an important part in bringing about the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1789, and many later revolutions.

Montesquieu Asserts That Separation of Powers Prevents Tyranny. The Constitution of the United States provides for separating the powers of our government into three departments: the legislative, executive,



"The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy," wrote Montesquieu in *Spirit of the Laws*. What did he mean?

<sup>11</sup> The Scientific Revolution is in a sense part of the Intellectual Revolution. The period in which the Intellectual Revolution occurred is appropriately called the *Age of Reason*.



Diderot, Who Sold His Library to Furnish His Daughter with a Dowry — So Little Did He Earn from His Remarkable *Encyclopedia*. But Catherine the Great bought the library and returned it to him.

and judicial. This idea was expressed by another French philosopher, Montesquieu, who strongly influenced the framers of our Constitution. His book, *The Spirit of Laws*, suggests that the English had avoided tyranny by separating the three branches of government so that each branch could check and balance the others. Actually Montesquieu was mistaken in believing that the English government had separation of powers. In another book, Montesquieu, fearing censorship and imprisonment, put his criticisms of eighteenth-century Europe into the mouths of fictitious characters.

**Diderot Collects Information to Promote Progress.** "We are on the eve of a great revolution in the human mind, and it is you above all to whom we are indebted," Voltaire wrote to a group of writers discouraged by censorship. These writers were called *Encyclopedists* because they were preparing

an encyclopedia of mankind's accumulated knowledge. Inspired by their editor, Diderot, the *Encyclopedists* turned out numerous volumes in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The *Encyclopedia* praised peace, natural science, and the achievements of workers and businessmen. It condemned the slave trade, religious intolerance, unfair taxes, and the privileges of the nobility and clergy. Above all, it asserted that governments should concentrate on promoting the welfare of the common people.

**Rousseau Recommends a Back-to-Nature Movement.** Rousseau placed his five children in a foundling home. Yet he wrote one of the most famous of all books on education! All his life he refused to abide by rules, customs, or laws. Yet he wrote one of the most famous of all books on government! There was a good deal of common sense in much of what he wrote. Yet at various periods in his life he was practically insane!

"God makes all things good; man meddles with them and they become evil." This quotation from Rousseau summarizes his philosophy. Civilization, he said, is responsible for hatred, jealousy, poverty, and tyranny. He also denounced civilization for enabling a favored few to have privileges because of their wealth or social position. In Rousseau's opinion, men enjoyed greater equality and happiness when they lived in the primitive state of nature. He urged all to go back to nature and simple living. Unlike other philosophers of the Intellectual Revolution, Rousseau had greater faith in emotion than in reason.

Modern educators have borrowed many ideas from Rousseau's book, *Émile*. They, too, stress the need for some vocational education. They, too, believe that children should be encouraged to express their ideas and feelings with great freedom. They hold that the school should develop well-rounded personalities, not merely cram facts into the heads of unwilling pupils. However, many educators feel that some of Rousseau's ideas went to ridiculous extremes.

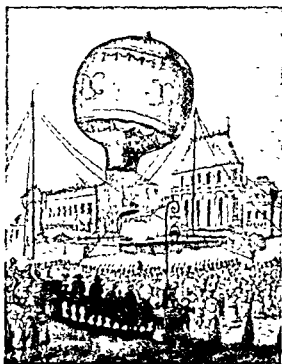
"Man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains." This sentence begins Rousseau's famous book on government, *The Social Contract*. He wrote that, far back in primitive times, men enjoyed "liberty, equality, and fraternity." However, as man became civilized, government was needed to insure justice. Rousseau considered this government a kind of contract among the people who created it. Government officials, even the king, were thus only the representatives of the people. Therefore, said Rousseau, as soon as their representatives interfere with liberty, equality, or fraternity, the people have the right to overthrow them. In other words, all governments should depend upon the consent of the governed, rather than upon the divine right of kings.

#### Philosophers of the Intellectual Revolution Outside France.

An Englishman, John Locke, Asserts Man's Right to Life, Liberty, and Property. Actually, Rousseau's ideas on government were not new. An English philosopher, John Locke, who died shortly before Rousseau was born, had written much about the right of the people to make or break their governments. According to Locke's philosophy, every man has certain natural rights: to life, to liberty, and to his private property. By using reason, man has created government to protect these natural rights. When a government fails to do this, the people have the right to overthrow it, Locke asserted. For these reasons, he justified the Glorious Revolution of 1688. When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence for the American Revolution, he practically quoted Locke's arguments. And Locke's views, passed on by Rousseau, were used to justify the French Revolution of 1789.

A Scot, Adam Smith, Urges Freedom for Business. If a government wants the nation to be wealthy, it should keep its hands off business. Businessmen should be permitted to go into any business and laborers, to take any jobs. Competition among businessmen,

not government regulations, should decide price and quality. This is the essence of a celebrated book, *The Wealth of Nations*, by the father of modern economics, a Scottish economist, Adam Smith (1722-1790). As a believer in greater freedom for business, Adam Smith opposed such government policies as the tariff and the granting of monopolies. He felt that tariffs, by interfering with the free flow of goods throughout the world, reduce the wealth of nations. This attitude explains his opposition to the regulations of both the guild system (page 191) and the mercantilist system (page 237). The French called the policy of letting business alone *laissez faire*. Laissez faire was popular among businessmen of the eighteenth century. Their desire to get rid of government restrictions on business was an important cause of both the American Revolution and the French Revolution. In the twentieth century, however, there has been a drift away from the laissez-faire policy (Chapter 17).



By the eighteenth century, science had become respectable. This old engraving shows one man's experiment with a balloon



*Others Affirm That Reason Plus Freedom Equals Progress.* A German, Kant (1724–1804), gave the Intellectual Revolution its motto: "Dare to use your own understanding." An American, Thomas Jefferson, declared: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of oppression over the mind of man." An English-born world-citizen, Thomas Paine<sup>12</sup> (1737–1809), said: "The world is my country; all mankind my brethren; to do good is my religion." Many similar quotations from men of many lands might be added to these. For the spirit of the Intellectual Revolution continues to live on around the world.

## The American Revolution Strikes a Mighty Blow for Freedom

"This glorious . . . spirit animates three millions in America . . . who will die in defense of their rights as men, as free men. . . . You CANNOT conquer America. . . ." The American Revolution was raging when an English noble, William Pitt,<sup>13</sup> hurled this warning at the British Parliament.

### Causes of the American Revolution.

*The Glorious American Spirit.* By and large, the American colonists were a hardy, independent people who loved freedom. From the settlement of the first English colony, many persons in the old world had come to look upon the New World as a Promised Land. Some settlers had come here to make their fortunes; others, to raise their pitifully poor standard of living; and still others because of political and religious persecution. It took courage to pull up stakes in Europe, travel three thousand miles on a leaky ship,

and settle in a strange land. Once landed, only the toughest of them could survive the disease, cold, hunger, and Indian raids. Aristocratic birth meant little to such people. On the American frontier, men were more respected for their skill with a rifle or an ax.

From the first, the colonists had proved that they loved freedom. In 1619, the Virginia colony had set up a representative assembly, the *House of Burgesses*. Before they landed at Plymouth, the Pilgrims had signed an agreement – the *Mayflower Compact* – to obey "just and equal laws." In the New England town meetings, as in ancient Athens, all the citizens had a voice in making laws. Under the leadership of Roger Williams, the Rhode Island colony had in 1636 granted religious freedom to all. In 1649, Maryland had extended religious tolerance to all Christians. Freedom of the press had been upheld in a famous court decision in New York, the *Zenger Case* of 1735. Again and again, the colonists had resisted the authority of royal governors. All this helps to explain the glorious spirit of the American colonists who declared their independence from Britain in 1776.

*Mercantilism Antagonizes Colonial Businessmen.* In line with mercantilist theory (page 237), the British passed laws forbidding the colonists to manufacture certain goods which competed with those manufactured in England. In typically mercantilist fashion, Britain tried to prevent foreign countries from getting a share of the trade of the American colonies. Even when a foreign ship docked in a colonial port with bargains for sale, the colonists were forbidden to make purchases. Foreign goods could be bought by the colonists, and colonial goods could be sold to foreigners, but only if they were shipped through British ports and in British ships. And certain colonial commodities, such as rice, tobacco, and furs, could be sold only in England. Such mercantilist policies in some ways also helped colonial businessmen. For example, in British markets many colonial products met with almost no foreign compe-

<sup>12</sup> This native Englishman fought in both the American and French revolutions. He insisted that he would always fight for freedom in any land where it was absent.

<sup>13</sup> William Pitt was one of the most famous of all English statesmen and orators. His political leadership helped to guide the British to victory in the Seven Years' War (the French and Indian War in America).



The Battle of Lexington, an Event Significant Not Only for the United States, But for the World.  
*Find out why.*

tion. To encourage colonists to produce certain needed products, the British government gave them sums of money. Besides, for a long time before 1763, the British had not enforced their trade laws strictly. This policy enabled many colonists to make big profits by smuggling.

*A Tougher British Policy Increases Colonial Resistance.* But by 1763, the British had defeated the French in India and Canada. Britain now possessed a vast empire throughout the world, of which the thirteen American Colonies were only a part. King George III and his supporters in Parliament now decided to bind the entire British Empire together by more rigid rules more rigidly enforced. They decided that the Colonies should be taxed to help pay the heavy costs of the French and Indian War. They demanded that the Colonies also be taxed to support an army for protecting the conquered territory against renewed attacks by the French or

Indians. The colonists resented both the taxes and the troops. The war had given the colonists great confidence. With the French defeated, no longer did they feel so dependent upon British troops for protection in the north and west.

Then the British passed the Proclamation Act of 1763, forbidding colonists to settle in the western lands won from the French. Fur traders and speculators in western lands felt especially cheated by this law. The British felt, however, that this was just a temporary measure to prevent conflicts between Indians and the colonists. Another hated British law, the Sugar Act of 1764, soured many merchants in the northern Colonies. The British wanted these merchants to buy sugar in the British West Indies instead of in the French West Indies where sugar was cheaper. Plantation-owners in the southern Colonies also had complaints. They usually got low prices for the farm products which they sold in

England. But the prices they had to pay for English manufactured goods were high.

Eloquent lawyers protested against a law, the Stamp Act of 1765, which required people to buy stamps and stick them on marriage licenses, wills, and newspapers. Publishers wrote fiery editorials protesting against "taxation without representation." By this they meant that, since the colonists were not permitted to elect representatives to the British Parliament, they should not be taxed by it. The British were surprised at the rioting against the Stamp Act, for a similar tax had long been collected in Britain. They also maintained that the colonists as Englishmen were represented in Parliament as much as any other Englishmen.

In protest against the Stamp Act, Patrick Henry, the famous Virginia orator, exclaimed: "Caesar had his Brutus; Charles I, his Cromwell; and George III may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it!" Although the Stamp Act was repealed, other unpopular acts followed. In violent protest against a small tax on tea, a group of colonists disguised as Indians raided ships in Boston Harbor and threw cargoes of tea overboard.

**Hot Words and Hot Feelings Give Way to Hot Lead.** What American doesn't know the rest? Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere; of "the embattled farmers" at Lexington who "fired the shot heard round the world"; of the sorrowful Christmas at Valley Forge in 1777 when George Washington's patriots were starving and freezing while some colonists sold food and blankets to the British; of how Washington crossed the Delaware and surprised Britain's hired Hessian soldiers at Trenton; and of the final victory at Yorktown when the French fleet co-operated with American troops to bottle up the British forces.

What American doesn't feel indebted to the heroes of this struggle for independence? To the noble schoolteacher, Nathan Hale, who, as the British tightened the noose about his neck, gasped: "I only regret that I have but



*Je n'aspire à l'Andrope nulle ambition, nul intérêt particulier. Le bonheur de l'Amérique est intrinsèquement lié au bonheur de toute l'Humanité.*  
A bord de "LA VICTOIRE", Août 1777

*Lafayette*

Translate this if you can. If not, get a student of French to help you. What do you think of Lafayette's statement?

one life to lose for my country"; to the Frenchman, Lafayette; to the Poles, Kosciusko and Pulaski; to the German, von Steuben, who fought so valiantly for the colonial cause; to the men who did most to finance the revolution: Christian Robert Morris and Jewish Haym Salomon; to Thomas Paine, who inspired the revolutionaries in the moments of their darkest despair with such words as: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man

and woman"; to Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence; and to that pious and persistent commander-in-chief and father of his country, George Washington.

Some Americans may not know, however, that many Englishmen favored the revolutionary cause, and that many colonists opposed it. In England at this time, George III and his Tory supporters were trying to win back some of the lost royal authority. Whig leaders, such as William Pitt and Edmund Burke, opposed this attempt. They felt that the colonists were, in a sense, on their side in the struggle against absolutism. On the other hand, in the Colonies there were wealthy landowners and royal officials who sympathized with the king. Many of these Tories, so-called *Loyalists*, fled to Canada or England. These American Tories were among the one-third of the colonists who opposed

the American Revolution. Still another third was lukewarm toward the struggle for independence.

Some Americans may also be unaware that French, Spanish, and Dutch aid to the colonists was based more upon hostility to Britain than upon sympathy for the colonial cause. No wonder! Had not England won Canada and India from France, and Gibraltar and Florida from Spain? Had not England also beaten Holland in the race for colonial supremacy?

**Effects of the American Revolution Within the United States.** In the Treaty of Paris (1783) American independence was recognized. Now American territory extended as far west as the Mississippi River, as far north as Canada, and as far south as Florida (which went to Spain). Was the new nation going to live up to the noble principles of the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776? The Declaration states that all men are created equal and that God has given each certain rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To safeguard these rights, men have created governments. Since governments obtain their power by the will of the governed, any government which violates the people's rights may be changed or overthrown. How much these ideas in the Declaration of Independence resemble those of Locke and Rousseau!

For a few years it looked as though the new nation would have little opportunity to make this democratic philosophy work. The framework of the government first drawn up, the *Articles of Confederation*, was so weak that there seemed to be thirteen nations instead of one. But not for long. In 1787 that remarkable document, the Constitution of the United States, was drafted. The entire Constitution is a safeguard against placing too much power in the hands of any one person or group. Although the central government was given enough power to operate efficiently, many powers were left to the states. This division of power is called a *federal* system. Each branch of the government (the



"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately," Franklin is believed to have said when the Declaration of Independence was signed. These were wise words. Why?

Congress, the President, and the Courts) was given special powers. This is Montesquieu's principle of separation of powers. However, each branch was also given certain power to check the other two branches. Thus, each branch tends to balance the power of the others. This is known as *checks and balances*. To protect certain rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, press, and religion, a Bill of Rights<sup>14</sup> was added to the Constitution.

By today's standards, the original Constitution had certain undemocratic features. For example, it recognized slavery. Furthermore, many state constitutions provided that persons could be barred from voting unless they were of a certain religion or possessed a certain amount of property. But many democratic changes were to be made through the years.

**Effects of the American Revolution Outside the United States.** In a sense, Britain was lucky to have lost the American Revolution. For one thing, no British king since

George III has ever tried to control Parliament. Many Englishmen put the blame for the loss of the American Colonies on his stubborn efforts to rule autocratically. The British defeat taught the British government that the loyalty of colonies cannot be won and held if they are not permitted considerable self-government. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many were given self-government. Finally, losing the American Colonies caused many Englishmen to doubt the value of mercantilism. They discovered, for instance, that after they had lost the Colonies their trade with businessmen in America increased tremendously. This also helps to explain why in the nineteenth century Britain was to remove tariffs and other restrictions on business.

The American Revolution helped to inspire the French Revolution. In the 1820's, encouraged by the successful American Revolution, many peoples of Latin America successfully revolted against Spain (page 378). Even in the twentieth century, colonial peoples in many parts of the world, struggling for their independence, have quoted the arguments of American revolutionaries.

<sup>14</sup> Constitutions adopted by the individual states also protected the people by bills of rights.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

primogeniture • William of Orange • Union of Utrecht • Puritan Revolution • Roundheads • Cavaliers • Oliver Cromwell • Independents • Commonwealth • *Instrument of Government* • John Milton • Charles II • Restoration period • Test Act • Habeas Corpus Act • William and Mary • Glorious (Bloodless) Revolution • Bill of Rights (English) • Toleration Act (English) • Act of Union • Tories • Whigs • cabinet system • Robert Walpole • George III • Voltaire • deist • *Letters on the English* • Can-

dide • Intellectual Revolution • Enlightenment • Montesquieu • Encyclopedists • Rousseau • *Emile* • *Social Contract* • John Locke • *Wealth of Nations* • laissez faire • Kant • Jefferson • Paine • House of Burgesses • Mayflower Compact • New England town meeting • Roger Williams • Toleration Act (Maryland) • Zenger Case • Loyalists • Treaty of Paris 1783 • Declaration of Independence • Articles of Confederation • federal system • checks and balances • Bill of Rights (United States)

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What does democracy mean to you?
2. List three dangers to any democracy.
3. Prove that democracy implies responsibilities

and duties as well as the guarantee of rights.

4. Trace some of the early steps in the development of: (a) law; (b) democracy. (See also the Index of this book.)

5. Prove that Switzerland was a pioneer in developing democracy.
6. What factors helped to speed up democracy in early modern times?
7. In what ways was the Dutch Revolt a fight for democracy?
8. Give reasons why the Dutch consider William of Orange their greatest hero.
9. 1579, 1581, and 1648 are important dates in Dutch history. Why?
10. What policies of James I were unpopular?
11. What was undemocratic about the policies of Charles I?
12. List reasons why it would have been difficult for any ruler to govern absolutely in seventeenth-century England.
13. Prove that promises meant little to Charles I.
14. Sum up (a) the causes, (b) the highlights, and (c) the results of the Puritan Revolution.
15. Concerning Cromwell's Commonwealth, discuss (a) political conditions, (b) foreign affairs, and (c) social conditions.
16. Contrast conditions in the Restoration period with those under Cromwell.
17. Tell the story of the Bloodless Revolution of 1688.
18. Show how the Bill of Rights finally converted England from an absolute monarchy to a limited monarchy.
19. What was (a) tolerant and (b) intolerant about the Toleration Act that was passed in 1689?

20. What steps did the English Parliament take after the Bloodless Revolution to insure its supremacy over the king forever? Explain each step.
21. Show how (a) political parties and (b) the cabinet developed in England.
22. What was Voltaire (a) for; (b) against?
23. How did Montesquieu influence our Constitution?
24. What criticisms of the times were made by the Encyclopedists?
25. Prove that Rousseau did not always practice what he preached.
26. Sum up Rousseau's ideas on (a) education; (b) government.
27. Give your views of John Locke's views.
28. Show that Adam Smith believed that business would prosper if governments kept hands off business.
29. Give examples to prove that democracy progressed in the thirteen Colonies.
30. Mention some political, social, and economic causes of the American Revolution.
31. Discuss five important personalities associated with the American Revolution.
32. Show that some Englishmen supported the American Revolution and some Americans opposed it. For what reasons?
33. Discuss two important effects of the American Revolution (a) here; (b) elsewhere.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. "... While democracy must have its organization and controls, its vital breath is individual liberty."—Charles Evans Hughes.

"Of all the tyrannies of human kind  
The worst is that which persecutes the mind . . ."  
—John Dryden

Give your interpretation of each of these quotations.

2. For what reasons do you enjoy living under a democracy?
3. Discuss the connection between law and democracy.
4. For what reasons did democracy make such slow progress for so long?
5. What qualifications did the Duke of Alva lack to be a good governor of the Netherlands?

6. What makes the success of the Dutch Revolt an important step forward in the march of democracy?

7. If the Tudors instead of the Stuarts had been ruling in seventeenth-century England, do you think English history would have been much different? Discuss.

8. If you had been James I or Charles I, how would your policies have differed from theirs?

9. By failing to use his head, Charles I lost it. Discuss.

10. Why should the business class which had supported strong kings earlier now oppose them?

11. Why is Cromwell's rise to power significant?

12. What was both tolerant and intolerant about Cromwell's policies?

13. Some say that Restoration immorality was a reaction to Puritan severity. Explain. If this is true, what lessons can be drawn from it?

14. Charles II had the heart of a Stuart, but the head of a Tudor. Discuss.

15. How does a country weaken itself by such a measure as the Test Act?

16. How does a country strengthen itself by such a measure as the Habeas Corpus Act?

17. For what reasons do you think Voltaire has been a favorite subject of biographers?

18. Although the views of the philosophers of the Intellectual Revolution were considered radical in their day, most of them are now generally accepted. How do you explain this?

19. In what respects were the ideas of all the philosophers of the Intellectual Revolution similar?

20. To what extent are Adam Smith's ideas (a) currently practical and (b) impractical today?

21. Give the significance of each of the quotations under the caption "Others Affirm That Reason Plus Freedom Equals Progress."

22. "The happiness of America is intimately tied in with the happiness of all humanity," said Lafayette in 1777. Show that this statement (a) was true then; (b) is true now.

23. There is a close connection between what happened in 1763 and what happened in 1776. Prove.

24. Out of the American Revolution came inspiring leaders and remarkable documents. Give evidence.

25. In what ways do our (a) federal system, (b) system of checks and balances, and (c) Bill of Rights serve as safeguards to democracy?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Ask three adults for their definitions of democracy. Record their answers. What, if anything, would you add to their definitions? Ask, also, what they consider the greatest obstacles to democracy in the world today. Give your reactions to their answers.

2. By checking the Index of this book, with a classmate review law to modern times. Jot down any evidences of democracy in past legal codes.

3. Contribute to a group-made chart indicating the political, social, and economic benefits enjoyed by a citizen of a democracy such as ours. Indicate also his political, social, and economic duties and obligations.

4. Prepare an oral report on either: "William of Orange," or "Creating Holland Out of the Sea," or "Dutch-American Ties."

5. Debate: Resolved, That Charles I deserved his fate.

6. With some classmates, look through the tables of contents of three books on Cromwell or his times. Select one to report on, and give reasons for the group's choice.

7. Write a speech (a) such as an opponent might

have made accusing Cromwell of being a cruel dictator, or (b) Cromwell's answer to such a speech.

8. Write a poem such as (a) a Puritan, or (b) a Cavalier might have written on the restoration of Charles II.

9. As a research project, make a comparative study of the English Bill of Rights (1689) and the American Bill of Rights.

10. For a class newspaper, write a newspaper editorial such as any one of the philosophers of the Intellectual Revolution might have written. See *Readings in Modern European History*, by Robinson and Beard, Volume I, Section 29.

11. In four parallel columns, list the following: (a) the philosophers of the Intellectual Revolution, (b) one book by each, (c) a major idea in each book, (d) your opinion of this idea.

12. Study the American Declaration of Independence and report on what ideas in it resemble those of John Locke.

13. To a committee project contribute a brief biographical sketch of any foreigner who aided us in the American Revolution.

### Summing Up

1. Select from this chapter three topics which would lend themselves to interesting radio panel discussions. How would you justify your selection to a prospective sponsor?

2. Write the conversation for an imaginary discussion among William of Orange, Oliver Crom-

well, Voltaire, and George Washington, concerning the respective revolutions in which they had a part. Assume that these men were contemporaries.

3. To what extent has the study of this chapter affected your thinking?

## CHAPTER 13 .... THE FRENCH REVOLUTION SPEEDS UP MODERN DEMOCRACY

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**The French Revolution Strikes a Mighty Blow Against Privilege • King Louis XVI: the Wrong Man for the Job • Queen Marie Antoinette: the Wrong Wife for the King • The National Assembly Replaces the Estates-General • Parisians Take the Initiative: the Bastille Destroyed • Peasants Imitate Parisians: Feudal Castles Destroyed • The Women Show Their Strength: the March to Versailles • The National Assembly Destroys the Old Regime • Royalty, Nobility, and Clergy Condemn the Revolution • Peasants and the Bourgeoisie Content with Revolutionary Gains • Radicals Demand Further Revolution • Violence Begins: the Proletariat Replaces the Bourgeoisie • The National Convention Establishes the First French Republic • The Reign of Terror Kills Off Aristocrats and Revolutionaries • Reforms of the Convention • The Directory Misrules France • Napoleon Makes Use of the French Revolution to Set Up a Military Dictatorship • From Consul to Emperor by a Show of Democracy • Napoleon's Victories Make Him Popular • Napoleon's Reforms Add to His Popularity • Reasons for Napoleon's Downfall • Napoleon Defeated and Exiled**

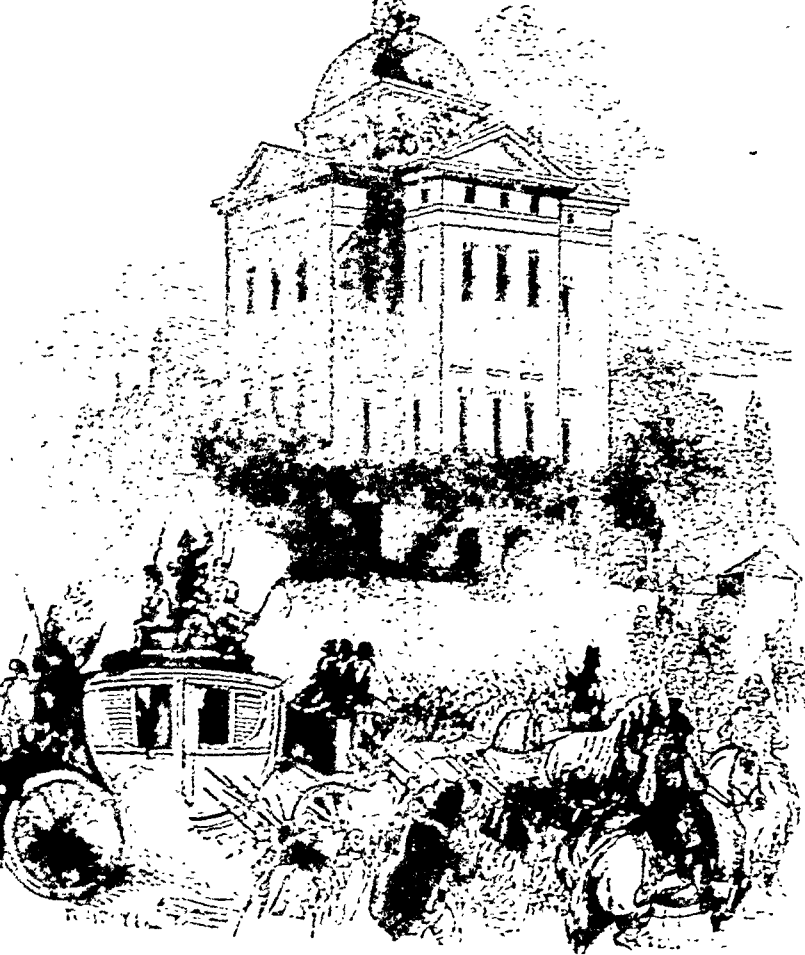
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### **The French Revolution Strikes a Mighty Blow Against Privilege**

One June night in 1791, a magnificent coach sped through the outskirts of Paris and headed for the French border. Within the coach sat what appeared to be an anxious Russian noblewoman, her children, and her nervous valet. Hours later, a postman in a little village caught a glimpse of the valet's face. It seemed to resemble one he had seen

pictured on paper money. Suddenly he remembered. Mounting his horse, he took a short cut to head off the coach at a town named Varennes. There, with the aid of another man, he blocked the bridge-exit from the village with a vanload of furniture. Soon soldiers arrived and arrested the occupants of the coach. For the Russian noblewoman was Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, in disguise, and her valet was actually Louis XVI, the French king. They had been fleeing their





In this scene of Louis XVI and his family returning from Varennes to Paris, many European monarchs might have seen the handwriting on the wall for themselves as well. Discuss.

own country to get foreign troops to invade it.

For exactly two years before the flight to Varennes, a revolution against autocracy and privilege had been going on in France. By this time, the king had lost much of his power. Both the king and the queen had sworn to support the revolutionary changes which had been made. In spite of this, they had engaged in secret correspondence with enemies of the French Revolution outside of France. But it was not until the royal family made this rash attempt to flee France that the French people began to talk about establishing a republic. To many, their king now seemed a traitor.

As the disappointed royal pair were escorted back to Paris, their subjects lined the streets of village after village to stare at the slowly moving coach. In Paris the grim crowds which viewed the spectacle neither cheered, jeered, nor removed their hats.

The flight to Varennes is but one of many gripping incidents in a great real-life drama, the French Revolution. This drama, which lasted from 1789 to 1799, is part of the age-old struggle for human freedom. It was enacted by millions of Frenchmen who were fed up with evil conditions. Conditions elsewhere on the continent of Europe in 1789, however, were even worse than in France. The setup of society in Europe before 1789, which was dominated by absolute rulers and privileged nobles and clergy, is called the *Old Regime*.

Why, if the French were better off than other Europeans, did the revolution break out in France? Extremely downtrodden people seldom have enough spirit or strength to rebel. Frenchmen had both. Their spirit had been roused by the sledgehammer blows which such philosophers as Voltaire had

hurled at the Old Regime. Many had also been inspired by the fact that Frenchmen like Lafayette had aided the American Revolution. They had the strength to revolt because the French bourgeoisie was richer than the middle class of any other country of continental Europe. And they resented paying heavy taxes to support an extravagant court.

Unlike the flow of water from a faucet, revolutions cannot be turned on or off, or even regulated at will. The middle class sponsored the French Revolution of 1789 as it had the Dutch Revolt of 1581, the English Revolution of 1688, and the American Revolution of 1775. This group wanted moderate changes made by moderate methods. The bourgeoisie never expected the French Revolution to take a radical turn. Who, in 1789, could have predicted that the French Revolution would change the absolute monarchy of Louis XVI to a limited monarchy, thence to a republic, and finally to a military dictatorship? Who knew that peaceful methods of reform would yield to methods of terror? Who suspected that international wars would result from these attempts at national reform? Later, much of the progress of the French Revolution was to be wiped out by rulers yearning for past privileges. However, the spirit of the revolution never died. To this day, colonial peoples, struggling for freedom, are inspired by the slogan of the French Revolution: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"<sup>1</sup>

## Prologue to the Drama, The French Revolution

In eighteenth-century French society, the privileged few (royalty, upper clergy, and nobility) lived in luxury. The underprivileged many toiled to support these privileged few.

<sup>1</sup> By "liberty" the French revolutionaries meant the right of all men to freedom of speech, press, and religion and freedom to own property. To them liberty was impossible unless the government was by the consent of the governed. By equality they meant that the law should not favor any individual, class, or group. To them fraternity meant the brotherhood of men everywhere.

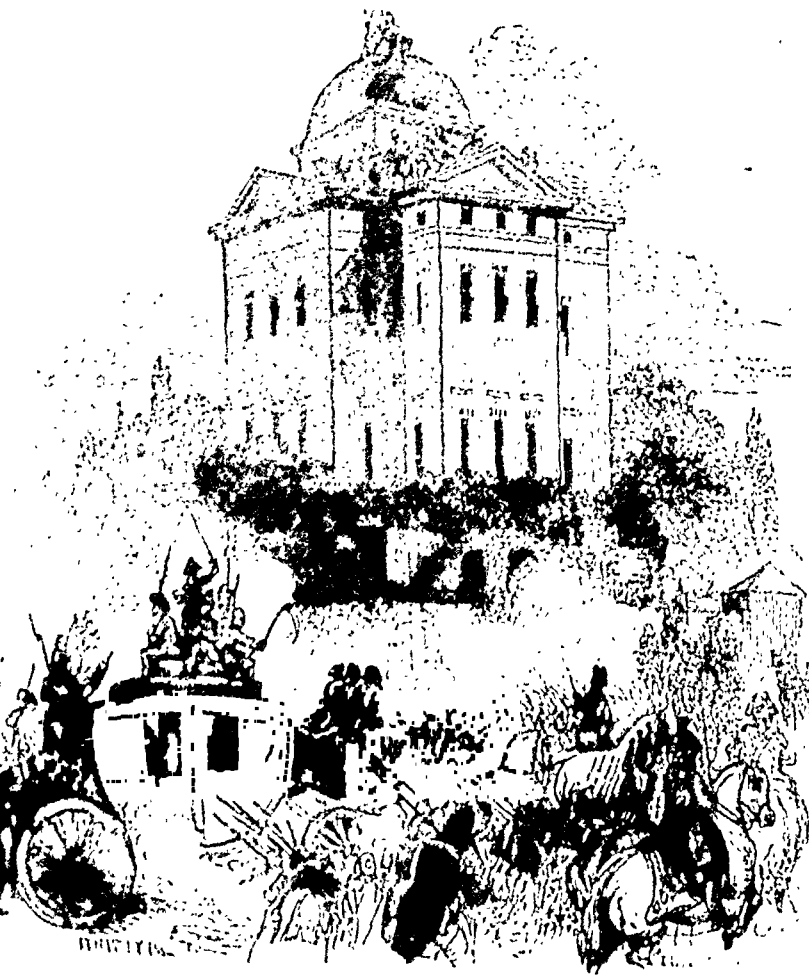
Wrapped up in these two sentences is the clue to the causes of the French Revolution.

**The Privileged First and Second Estates.** The people of France in 1789 were divided into three classes called *estates*. The first estate was made up of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Church owned extensive lands and collected a tax, the tithe. Churchmen paid no taxes. Most of the wealth of the Church was in the hands of the upper clergy — archbishops, bishops, and abbots. Most of these were of noble birth. Many of them lived extravagantly and performed few religious duties. The burden of the Church's work was performed by parish priests, many of whom enjoyed no more privileges than the average Frenchman. These parish priests often resented the abuses of the Old Regime as heartily as did their peasant friends and relatives. The Roman Catholic Church was the established church. This meant that it was supported and protected by the government. Newspapers and books were subject to censorship by Church officials. The Church also controlled schools.

The second estate was made up of nobles. They, like the clergy, had many privileges, including tax-exemption. Most of the high positions at court, in the army, and in the navy went to nobles. Merit meant little. There was one case where a boy of noble birth became a colonel in the king's army at the age of seven! Instead of working, most nobles lived off the income from taxes and fines levied on peasants. Many of them lived like parasites on government pensions at the extravagant court at Versailles. And the top noble, the king, was in a class by himself. His power was absolute, unchecked by any parliament. He considered himself responsible to God alone, not to his people.

**The Underprivileged Third Estate.** About 95 per cent of the people were members of the third estate. This group, which included peasants, serfs,<sup>2</sup> city workers, businessmen, and professional men, had no privi-

<sup>2</sup> Actually, serfdom had practically disappeared in France by 1789 except in a few districts.



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leges. But they did have to pay a bewildering variety of taxes. Most hated of all these was the tax on salt. All persons over seven were required to purchase annually seven pounds of salt at a high price from the government monopoly. Salt-tax evaders were flogged, exiled, or forced to work in the galleys. The heaviest taxes were on incomes<sup>2</sup> and on land. Besides, peasants were obliged to work on roads and bridges a certain number of days each year or else pay a fine. Some peasants had only one-fifth of their income left after paying taxes. Peasants were bitter, too, because of the feudal dues they were required to pay whenever they used the lord's oven or winepress or crossed his bridges. Nor did a peasant dare to complain if the hunting dogs or pigeons of nobles destroyed his crops.

The privileged classes made their biggest mistake in antagonizing the bourgeoisie. This

<sup>2</sup> Even he was expected to pay an income tax, but members of the privileged classes evaded payment.

class supplied the third estate with some of its most brilliant leaders. Guild restrictions on trade, heavy taxes, and the government's policy of granting business monopolies to royal favorites angered the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, goods passing from one province to another were subject to so many different taxes—actually internal tariffs—that business suffered.

The king's favorites could obtain blank warrants of arrest (*lettres de cachet*) for imprisoning their enemies without even stating a reason. Government officials sometimes tortured people to get them to confess to deeds they had never committed. Since there were hundreds of different sets of laws, how was one to know whether he was breaking the law?

Most members of the bourgeoisie in 1789 did not want to overthrow the king. What they wanted was a revolution which would give them a voice in the government so that they could end injustice, inequality, waste, and corruption. Aided by desperate peasants and workers, the bourgeoisie unhorsed the aristocrats who had been in the saddle under the Old Regime. Had the Frenchman enjoyed freedom of speech and press, had he had the right to vote and hold office, and had he had a parliament to express his will, he might never have resorted to violence. But the privileged classes would not budge an inch.

## Cast of Characters of The French Revolution

King Louis XVI, the Wrong Man for the Job. Louis XVI, King of France from 1754 to 1793, never really grew up. Lazy, incompetent Louis used to while away his hours shooting deer from the palace window or tinkering with locks. Yet Louis was more weak than evil. Had he been born earlier, when people accepted the authority of kings without question, he might have died in bed instead of by the guillotine—a knife for beheading. Louis's weakness was not his only handicap. His wasteful ancestor, Louis XIV,



**Why was Louis XVI the wrong man for the job?**

had burdened France with debt. His grandfather, cynical and immoral Louis XV, had done nothing to halt the wasteful wars or riotous living of the court. Like many unfit persons in power, Louis XV used violent suppression when the people asked for reforms. Said he: "It (the Old Regime) will surely last as long as I. My successor may take care of himself." But Louis XVI was unable to take care of himself.

**Queen Marie Antoinette, the Wrong Wife for the King.** Not the least of Louis XVI's troubles was the fact that he was henpecked by the queen, Marie Antoinette. Born an Austrian princess, Marie Antoinette had become Queen of France at nineteen. This rather heavy-featured beauty, thought charming by some, was unpopular with most of the French people. The people resented her as a foreigner. They also resented her rash attempts to dictate governmental policies. While hunger stalked her people, frivolous Marie Antoinette spent their hard-earned money on expensive gowns, on baubles for court favorites, and on extravagant entertainment. Yet probably she was more thoughtless than cruel.

**Turgot and Mirabeau: Their Good Advice Goes Unheeded.** Proof that Louis XVI meant well was his appointment of the bril-

liant economist Turgot as minister of finance. Turgot wanted government spending reduced and tax-exemption abolished in order to save France from bankruptcy. He advised the king to permit freedom of speech and press and to give the bourgeoisie more influence in the government. But Marie Antoinette and the privileged nobles unwisely persuaded Louis to reject this advice and discharge Turgot. Little did these nobles know that in turning down Turgot's mild reforms they were practically committing suicide. Necker, then Calonne, succeeded Turgot as finance minister. Neither was able to balance the budget. Louis XVI did not help matters when, in the hope of weakening England, he made a huge loan to the American revolutionaries.

Mirabeau was a noble and a loyal subject of the king. Nevertheless, he believed that France should have a constitution to check absolutism and to remove abuses. He advised aristocrats to avoid a revolution by making concessions to the people.



Write a paragraph entitled, "If Louis XVI had accepted the advice of Turgot (pictured here)."



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The privileged classes made their biggest mistake in antagonizing the bourgeoisie. This

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The king's favorites could obtain blank warrants of arrest (*lettres de cachet*) for imprisoning their enemies without even stating a reason. Government officials sometimes tortured people to get them to confess to deeds they had never committed. Since there were hundreds of different sets of laws, how was one to know whether he was breaking the law?

Most members of the bourgeoisie in 1789 did not want to overthrow the king. What they wanted was a revolution which would give them a voice in the government so that they could end injustice, inequality, waste, and corruption. Aided by desperate peasants and workers, the bourgeoisie unhorsed the aristocrats who had been in the saddle under the Old Regime. Had the Frenchman enjoyed freedom of speech and press, had he had the right to vote and hold office, and had he had a parliament to express his will, he might never have resorted to violence. But the privileged classes would not budge an inch.

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Charlotte Corday assassinates Marat in his bathtub. She blamed him for the assassination of the man she loved and she considered his radical methods a threat to France.

**Lafayette: Reformer Rather Than Revolutionary.** Another liberal noble who felt that France's salvation lay in improving conditions for the third estate was Lafayette. Early in the revolution, the bourgeoisie placed Lafayette in charge of a body of troops, the *National Guard*. Its function was to protect life and property when the revolutionary mobs of Paris began to riot, and also to prevent the king from suppressing the revolution. Lafayette was no radical. When radical groups seized control of the revolution from the bourgeoisie, Lafayette quit France and gave himself up to be imprisoned by the Austrian enemy.

**Danton: Bloodshed Within Limits.** When the revolution was at its height, a giant of a man, Danton, used to stride through the streets of Paris wearing on his head a red cloth. The red cloth was a symbol of his revolutionary spirit. Eloquent Danton, unlike eloquent Mirabeau, believed that France should become a republic. Radical Danton spoke out for the proletariat, the working class; moderate Mirabeau supported the bourgeoisie. At first, Danton favored executing anyone who opposed the revolution. Later, when he felt that the revolution was safe from its enemies, he wanted bloodshed stopped. As a result, more violent men accused him of being a traitor to the revolutionary cause. His attitude cost him his head.

As the guillotine descended, he courageously cried out: "No weakness, now, Danton!"

**Robespierre: Bloodshed Unlimited.** Before the French Revolution broke out, a thin little man with a thin voice and pale eyes gave up his job as a judge. He could not bear to sentence men to death. Yet this man, Robespierre, sent thousands of persons to their deaths later, merely because they were suspected of opposing the revolution. Radical Robespierre was convinced that the aim of a successful revolution justified any means, even terror and bloodshed. In 1794, this fanatic was guillotined himself. Another fanatic who believed in the use of force to win reforms, Dr. Marat, was stabbed to death.

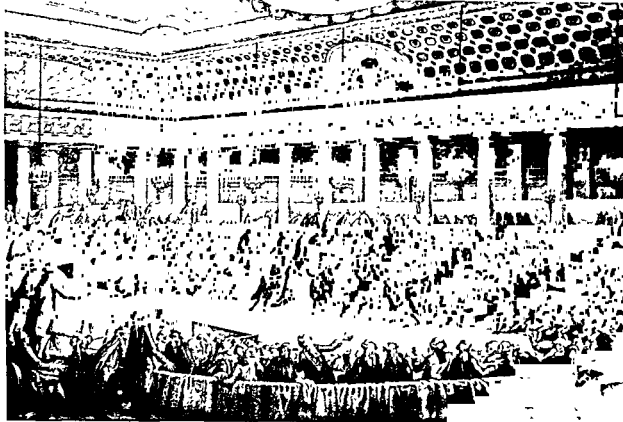
## Synopsis of the Drama, *The French Revolution*

The French Revolution, when considered as a drama, falls naturally into two acts. Act I, which portrays events from 1789 to 1791, is relatively peaceful. During this period, the most permanent reforms of the revolution were adopted. Act II covers the period from 1792 to 1799. It begins when the radical proletariat of Paris seizes control of the revolution from the bourgeoisie. During this period, terror is used against the suspected enemies of the revolution within the country. Wars are waged against the reactionary<sup>4</sup> rulers of Europe who attempt to invade the country. Act II ends with the conclusion of the so-called Reign of Terror, the return to power of the bourgeoisie, and the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte — who was soon to become dictator of France.

### Act I: The Peaceful Phase

By 1789, France was practically bankrupt. The third estate had been bled dry by taxation. Louis XVI begged the privileged nobil-

<sup>4</sup> A *reactionary* is a person who seeks to reverse the trend of progress. At the time of the French Revolution, therefore, anyone who wished to restore the Old Regime was considered a reactionary.



The French National Assembly Abolishes Privileges on the Night of August 4th and the Morning of August 5th, 1789. How do you explain the eagerness with which aristocrats are giving up their privileges?

ity and clergy to give up their tax-exemption. An indignant "No!" was their answer.

**The Estates-General Summoned to Save France from Bankruptcy.** Desperate, the king called a meeting of the Estates-General (page 259). This assembly had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. Louis XVI had one fervent hope: that the Estates-General would vote him new taxes and go home.

The Estates-General was made up of representatives of the three estates. The vast majority of the representatives chosen in 1789, even from the third estate, were prosperous and educated persons. The representatives of the third estate, and even some liberal nobles and churchmen, had come to the meeting with their minds made up to discuss reforms first and taxes last. Many had brought with them lists of people's complaints (*cahiers*). Although the *cahiers* denounced the evils of the Old Regime, they were filled with

pledges of allegiance to Louis XVI. Later, this loyalty was to turn to hatred as the people lost faith in the king's sincerity.

**The National Assembly Replaces the Estates-General.** Difficulties arose as soon as the Estates-General met. The question of voting was the Number One problem. The privileged classes insisted that, as in olden times, no bill should become law unless it was voted for by at least two of the three estates, and signed by the king. Under this system, the third estate would be outvoted two to one on every question. The third estate suggested that the three estates fuse into one, and that each representative have one vote, majority rule to decide. This suggestion was strongly resisted, for it violated the age-old belief that some are born to rule and others, to be ruled.

For some time the issue was deadlocked. Then the third estate courageously declared itself the National Assembly (1789-1791) with





The March of the Women of Paris to Versailles — a Contemporary Sketch. Make a list of adjective which you think best describe this scene.

the right to make laws for all of France. This revolutionary step so angered the king that he locked the third estate out of its meeting place. Unafraid, the National Assembly moved to an indoor tennis court. There it swore on June 20, 1789 never to disband until France had a constitution. This *Tennis Court Oath* marks the beginning of the French Revolution. Such a bold declaration meant the death of France's divine-right monarchy and the birth of a limited monarchy.

The angry king ordered the National Assembly to disband. But Count Mirabeau, who had joined the National Assembly<sup>2</sup> and become its leader, proclaimed: "We are here by the will of the people, and we will not leave our places except at the point of the bayonet!" The king gave in. He grudgingly ordered all the delegates to the Estates-General to meet as one body in the National Assembly. Many obeyed. At last France had a national legislature representing the French people, not three separate estates.

The People Support the National Assembly. Soon rumors were spread that the king was seeking the support of foreign troops to suppress the revolution. Fiery orators aroused the people to resist. Mobs, unemployed and hungry, surged through the

streets of Paris. Fireworks were set off. Firearms were stolen. Then the tocsin (alarm-bell) rang. This was the call to action. Three dramatic scenes followed, each a pledge of popular support to the National Assembly, each a challenge to the king.

*Parisians Take the Initiative: the Bastille Destroyed.* To the people, the Bastille, a prison in Paris, had always represented the tyranny of the Old Regime. The Bastille had served as a jail for political offenders, some of whom had been arrested by *lettres de cachet*. (Interestingly enough, Louis XVI had ceased issuing *lettres de cachet*.) On July 14, 1789, the Paris mob, led by soldiers from the king's army, stormed the Bastille, killed some of its garrison, and freed its seven prisoners. The mob was looking for guns with which to defend the National Assembly. To this day, July 14th (Bastille Day) is Independence Day to the French, just as July 4th is to Americans.

Bastille Day served as a warning to Louis XVI. He accepted the new local government, the *Paris Commune*, which was established by the bourgeoisie and recognized its National Guard as legal. Then he stuck a red-white-and-blue ribbon in his hat as a symbol of liberty! The tricolor (red-white-and-blue banner) was to replace the white fleur-de-lis of the Bourbon family as France's national flag.

<sup>2</sup> Other nobles, and many parish priests, had also joined the National Assembly.

*Peasants Imitate Parisians; Feudal Castles Destroyed.* The pent-up hatred of many peasants in the provinces for their feudal lords was also expressed with violence. Many feudal castles were ransacked and burned. Many lords were hunted down like wild beasts. But the main targets of the frenzied peasants were the books which recorded feudal dues and services.

*The Women Show Their Strength: the March to Versailles.* On October 5, 1789, a crowd of hungry women marched from Paris to Versailles to demand of the king "bread or blood." They had been roused by rumors of a lavish banquet at the Versailles palace. They had been angered at reports that army officers at this affair had stamped upon the tricolor. For ten long miles the furious women marched along, screaming and swearing. They were joined by men, some in women's clothes. The marchers were especially hostile toward Marie Antoinette. She had been accused of persuading the king to hire many more soldiers to suppress the revolution. The historian, Carlyle, describes the scene thus: "... squalid dripping women, . . . lank-haired male rascality, armed with axes, rusty pikes, old muskets . . . The rain pours . . . dark growlings against a queenly name."

To prevent violence to the king's family, Lafayette and his National Guard had accompanied the marchers. The mob did kill some of the king's guards. Had not the king promised to return to Paris, they might even have murdered the queen. Moreover, in the nick of time, bread arrived from Paris and was distributed among the hungry. Royalty throughout Europe was frightened and humiliated at what happened next. The French royal family had to ride back to Paris midst the cursing and howling of subjects on foot. Yet some were not entirely hostile. One woman implored pathetically: "Ah Madame, our good Queen, don't be a traitor any more and we will all love you! . . ." For the next two years, until 1791, the royal family lived in the Tuileries, the palace in Paris. Now the National Assembly really was the government

of France, for the monarchy was strictly limited in its powers.

*The National Assembly Destroys the Old Regime.* During the famous August days of 1789, the National Assembly wiped out the remnants of feudalism. Feudal dues and services, tax-exemption for privileged classes, the hunting monopolies of nobles, pensions for court favorites, and titles of nobility were abolished. Since the bourgeoisie was in control, it was natural that monopolistic guilds and internal tariffs would also be done away with. The former "paradise of privilege, haughtiness, and limitless expenditure" had come to an end.

*The Declaration of the Rights of Man Initiates a New Regime.* The National Assembly on August 21, 1789 adopted a great democratic document, the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Declaration reads as if it had been written by Locke, Rousseau, or Jefferson. Like the American Declaration of Independence, it was to influence charters of liberty later drawn up all over the world. Here are a few of its principles summed up:

Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.

Every citizen is entitled to freedom of speech, press, religion, and to a fair trial.

Citizens have the right to make laws directly, or through their representatives.

Man is entitled to the protection of such basic rights as liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

*Church and State Relations Change.* At first, many parish priests had enthusiastically supported the French Revolution. They had continued their support even when the National Assembly took over Church lands, abolished many monasteries, . . . . . toleration to . . . . . the summer of 1790, many of these former supporters became opponents of the revolution. Why? A law, the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, was passed, which said that priests and bishops were to be elected by the people — by non-Catholics as well as by Catholics — and paid

by the government. Many churchmen considered this most anti-Catholic.

With the seized lands of the Church as backing, paper money was issued. Such huge quantities of these paper notes, called *assignats*, were printed that they became practically worthless. As a result, prices climbed. In time, the assignats became so cheap that they were used as wallpaper. The National Assembly also raised money by taxes on land and incomes which were much fairer than those under the Old Regime.

*Government Centralized, King's Power Checked, Bourgeoisie Favored.* The many ancient provinces of France, such as Normandy, Brittany, and Burgundy, differed in size, government, and traditions. In place of these old provinces, the National Assembly set up eighty-three new provinces, called *departments*, which were fairly uniform in size and population. All France now looked toward the government at Paris for the administration of uniform laws.

By 1791, the National Assembly had drawn up a constitution establishing a one-house congress, the Legislative Assembly. France was still a monarchy, but the king had almost no power. Only taxpayers were eligible to vote and only property holders were eligible to hold office.

## A Guide to Act II of The French Revolution

The surgeon's scalpel had been applied to that cancer, the Old Regime. But not everybody agreed on the results of the operation. Here is the way it looked in 1791 from three different points of view:

**Royalty, Nobility, and Clergy Condemn the Revolution.** Most members of the privileged classes felt that the operation of 1789 should never have been performed. Monarchs elsewhere in Europe were fearful that their peoples might imitate the French and revolt. These rulers plotted to restore Louis XVI to his former absolute power. Many nobles fled France and joined the armies of these reac-

tionary kings. Such nobles, as well as churchmen who left France, were known as *émigrés* (emigrants). As for Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, their flight to Varennes in 1791 (page 519) proved that they loved their own class and their own privileges more than they loved their subjects. Otherwise, the French people wondered, why were they fleeing their own country to join the foreign kings who were planning to invade it?

**Peasants and the Bourgeoisie Content with Revolutionary Gains.** In 1791, most peasants and members of the bourgeoisie felt that the operation had been a success. They believed that no further treatment was necessary and that France should be permitted to heal its wounds. Most peasants were satisfied because they were no longer burdened by feudal dues and services. They had been able to buy the lands the government had seized from the privileged classes. Another reason for the peasants' opposition to continuing the revolution was their deeply religious nature. They considered the policies of the National Assembly toward the Church anti-religious. As a matter of fact, peasants living in all countries tend to be conservative. And conservatives are usually satisfied with things as they are.

By 1791, the bourgeoisie virtually controlled the government. No more were labor unions and strikes allowed. There were no more internal tariffs, no more guild monopolies, and no more tax-exemption for the nobility and clergy. Is it any wonder that the bourgeoisie was especially opposed to continuing the revolution?

**Radicals Demand Further Revolution.** Most members of the working class, particularly in Paris, insisted that another operation was necessary. Peasants and businessmen had won valuable gains. But what, the radicals asked, had the workers won, except the noble promises of the Declaration of the Rights of Man? It was the proletariat, they said, which had strongly supported the bourgeoisie in the National Assembly against the threats of the king. Now most of them were hungrier



The First Victory of the French Republican Armies, the Battle of Valmy (September, 1792). What made victory so important to the French at this particular time?

than ever. The flight of rich nobles had thrown thousands formerly employed in the luxury trades out of work. Many of the city workers felt that, instead of being dictated to by the nobility, they were now under the thumb of the bourgeoisie. These uneducated, radical workers were joined by many intellectuals from the bourgeoisie who considered the situation unjust. Actually it was professional men such as *Doctor Marat* and *Lawyers Danton* and *Robespierre* who became leaders of the radicals.

## Act II: Terror Takes Over

The summer of 1792 saw great excitement throughout France. Because of the threats of Austria and Prussia, the Legislative Assembly had declared war the preceding spring. This was a war in which France was to fight most of Europe on and off for twenty years. Reports were drifting in that the French army was suffering defeats and desertions. Rumors were spreading that the king

and queen were revealing military secrets to the enemy. Passions flared when the chief of the invading army, the Prussian Duke of Brunswick, proclaimed that Paris would be destroyed and its people massacred if the king's family were harmed. The duke, who thought he was helping the French king, was actually rushing him to the guillotine!

**Violence Begins: the Proletariat Replaces the Bourgeoisie.** Radicals like Danton were convinced that something drastic had to be done to stop the threat of invasion and the traitorous conduct of some Frenchmen at home. On August 10, 1792 Danton took steps to seize control of the Paris Commune from the bourgeoisie. Called together by the ringing of tocsins, the Paris mob, armed with guns, achieved this purpose. Then they attacked the Tuilleries, but the king had fled to the Legislative Assembly for refuge. The revolutionary Paris Commune ordered the Legislative Assembly to hold an election for a new representative body (the National Convention), which should decide

the king's fate and write a new constitution.

Early in September 1792, the invading armies were moving closer to Paris. Panic-stricken, the radicals arrested thousands suspected of opposing the revolution. They turned many of them over to hired killers to be murdered. These terrible *September Massacres* changed many former friends of the French Revolution in other countries into foes. Late in September, the Paris Commune breathed more freely. The invading armies had been stopped at Valmy by General Dumouriez and his courageous volunteers.

**The National Convention Establishes the First French Republic.** The day after the victory at Valmy, the National Convention (1792-1795) declared France a republic. In the Convention, the two leading political parties were the Girondists and the Jacobins, both favoring a republic. Most Jacobins wanted the king executed. But the Girondists were moderates who opposed excessive violence. Many of them were members of the wealthy middle class. They felt that it was dangerous to permit the proletariat of Paris under Jacobin control to run the revolution. Since the Jacobins sat on the left side of the convention hall, to this day radicals are referred to as *leftists*. Reactionary, and sometimes conservative, parties are called *rightists*. Jacobin influence prevailed. Louis XVI was accused of treason, given a trial, and sentenced to the guillotine. The king, undistinguished in life, made a distinguished exit. His last words were: "Sirs, I am innocent of that of which I am accused. I hope my blood will consolidate the happiness of all Frenchmen."

**Adult Problems for the Infant Republic.** Practically all the rest of Europe was now in arms against France. The execution of the king had electrified Europe's monarchs to action. The French revolutionary army had swept over the Austrian Netherlands. It had defeated the Sardinians. Flinging a challenge to the world, the Convention had proclaimed: "The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people


who, refusing liberty or equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with a prince and the privileged classes!" This call to world revolution caused the rulers of Europe to combine in an alliance later called the *First Coalition*. They wanted to restore the French monarchy under Louis XVI's son. In the summer of 1793, the coalition reconquered the lost territory and even invaded France. General Dumouriez deserted to their side.

In 1793, many peasants, urged on by nobles and priests, rose up in arms against the Convention. Many monarchists were boring from within France, hoping to cause the fruits of the revolution to rot. Prices were soaring. British ships were blockading many French ports, hurting business.<sup>6</sup> By attempting to fix prices and ration food, the Convention antagonized many businessmen. And in the Convention itself, quarrels between Jacobins and Girondists reached fever pitch.

**The Convention Meets These Problems.** To combat these threats against the revolutionary French Republic, a committee of Jacobins in the Convention was formed. This *Committee of Public Safety* was given dictatorial powers. Just as this Committee dictated the policies of the Convention, so the Committee had its own dictators, beginning with Danton and ending with Robespierre.

**The People's Army Saves France.** For the defense of the Republic and to spread "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" throughout Europe, the Convention created what has been called a nation in arms. A draft law was passed which made France's army a people's army rather than a professional one. A merit system for promotion was substituted for the old system where high rank depended upon noble birth. Filled with a crusading spirit and bearing the tricolor, this mighty army marched into battle singing a blood-tinging song. This song, the *Marseillaise*, written by Rouget de Lisle, became the

<sup>6</sup> Britain's main reason for joining the coalition was its fear that French expansion on the continent of Europe would interfere with British trade.



Marie Antoinette en Route to the Guillotine. Explain whether you think she deserved to be guillotined.

French national anthem. French generals had to win. Defeat might mean the guillotine. Civilian officials accompanied the armies to check upon the loyalty and efficiency of the officers.

On the home front, women were assigned to hospitals to care for the wounded, and to factories to make uniforms. Children made bandages. Soon foreign armies were driven from French soil. By 1795, when the Convention adjourned, France was once more to be in possession of the Austrian Netherlands. The French boundary had even been extended to the Rhine River. These victories indicated that a people's army fighting for country could defeat combined professional armies fighting for pay.

*The Reign of Terror Kills Off Aristocrats and Revolutionaries.* For about a year, beginning in the summer of 1793, terror reigned in France. The Committee of Public Safety had decided that everyone suspected of not being 100 per cent for the revolution was against it. Therefore, to terrorize opposition at home and abroad, the Committee sent fifteen thousand suspects to the guillotine. Many had no

trial at all. Some were given a farcical trial before the specially created *Revolutionary Tribunal*. In one province, hundreds of rebellious peasants were stripped naked and tied to leaky boats which were then sunk in the Loire River. These peasants, like those in many provinces, had rebelled against the new republic because of the execution of the king and the persecution of priests who resisted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

Among those guillotined early in this *Reign of Terror* were Marie Antoinette, many nobles, some churchmen, and even some Girondists. Mere spite sent many innocent persons to the guillotine. Many Frenchmen had become self-appointed spies. To make trouble for people they did not like, or to win favor with government officials, such persons manufactured much false evidence. Soon the Jacobins began sending one another to the guillotine. As we have seen, even Danton was a victim (page 324). Warned beforehand, Danton might have escaped, but he gave himself up, commenting: "Better to be guillotined than to guillotine!"

When Robespierre thus disposed of his



Explain whether you think Napoleon was a great man.

leading rival, Danton, the Reign of Terror became even more bloody. Each remaining member of the Convention feared that his turn might come next. Once, when Robespierre was making a threatening speech before the Convention, he stuttered. Someone then shouted "The blood of Danton chokes him!" Shortly afterward, Danton's prediction, "Robespierre will follow me," came true. The Convention blamed Robespierre for the horrors of the Terror, which ended with his execution.

**Reforms of the Convention: Radicals in Control.** The bourgeoisie in the National Assembly had put through laws to benefit the

businessman. So, too, the Jacobins, who in the beginning controlled the Convention, pushed through laws to benefit the workingman. "Great wealth is evil," Jacobin Saint-Just had asserted. The Convention helped poor people in many ways. It reduced their taxes. It punished those who raised prices above the limit fixed by the government. And it abolished imprisonment for debt. The Convention helped to make France a nation of small landowners. Land had previously been held in large estates. Under the Old Regime, when an owner died, according to primogeniture, his entire estate was inherited by his eldest son. When the Convention abolished primogeniture, a father's property, on his death, was divided equally among his children.

The ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity strongly influenced lawmaking in the Convention. Negro slavery was abolished. A free public school system was planned. Laws were made more uniform. Church and state were separated. And women were granted the same property rights as men. To encourage learning, the Convention established an art museum called the *Louvre*, a National Library, and many educational institutions. It also introduced the easy-to-use metric system of weights and measures now widely used in most countries.

By 1795, the Convention had accomplished its original task of preparing a constitution for the First French Republic. However, the framers of this constitution were not the representatives of the radical Parisian proletariat. For, on the death of Robespierre, the bourgeoisie had gained control of the National Convention. This group was once more running the revolution.

**The Constitution of 1795: the Bourgeoisie Back in Power.** The Constitution of 1795 shows the strong influence of the bourgeoisie. Only property owners were permitted to vote or hold office. The voters actually had little direct say in the new government. The Convention itself elected a law-making body, which in turn elected an executive committee of five men called the *Dirce-*

ry. Rationing and price control were abolished. Neither the royalists, nor the proletariat of Paris, nor even many of the bourgeoisie approved of all this. When mobs stormed the Convention Hall in protest, they were stopped by Artillery Officer Napoleon Bonaparte. This soon-to-be dictator of France cattered them with "a whiff of grapeshot."

**The Directory Misrules France.** From 1795 to 1799, the Directory was the actual government of France. In the main, the members of the Directory were dishonest rascals who cheated the government. Depression had struck France. The people were unemployed and hungry. Bankruptcy again threatened. The Directory insisted that Austria and England recognize the Rhine as France's natural boundary. When these persistent enemies of the French Revolution refused, the war continued. Corrupt government, economic misery, and constant warfare often pave the way for military dictatorships. So it was with France when Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the Directory (page 336)

## Epilogue to the French Revolution

The Dutch Revolt of 1581, the English Revolution of 1688, and the American Revolution of 1775 had all chopped away at the foundations of autocracy and privilege. But the French Revolution had cut much deeper. It had made radical changes in landholding, education, the legal system, women's property rights, and the relationship between church and state. Age-old privileges had been abolished. The iron grip of censorship had been loosened. By smashing medieval economic monopolies, such as the guilds, the French Revolution had given a boost to freedom of enterprise. But liberty, according to the Declaration of the Rights of Man, did not mean license to injure others.

To the peoples of the world, these great changes proved that progress lay in their own hands. Many nineteenth-century revolutions against despotism all over the world were to be modeled on that of the French. The

French Revolution caused fear to grip the hearts of privileged aristocrats everywhere. Nowhere, however, were privileged aristocrats to give up without a struggle.

The French Revolution had attacked the idea that men should give their loyalty to a single ruler. It helped to develop a spirit of fellowship which people feel when they have joys, sorrows, and problems in common. The French nation, rather than the French king, became the symbol of this spirit of fellowship. This spirit was henceforth to be known as *nationalism* (page 372). Wherever French armies marched, this spirit was admired, resisted, or imitated, but never ignored. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the spirit of nationalism was to make nations and break empires.

While democracy and nationalism were thus flowering as a result of the French Revolution, there was a weed, militarism, growing in the garden with them. Universal military service, which had been introduced into France by the National Convention, was to be copied all over the world. Nation after nation was to try to make its army bigger than the others. This rivalry was to contribute greatly to hatred and war.

All in all, few events have so influenced world history as the French Revolution. In a sense, the slogan, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," still expresses the dream of mankind.

## Napoleon Makes Use of the French Revolution to Set Up a Military Dictatorship

**The Coup d'État of 1799 Carefully Planned.** One November day in 1799, a popular French general, home from the wars, marched into a council chamber of French lawmakers. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte. He had already made a deal with some of the corrupt members of the Directory to turn the government over to him. Addressing the council, he warned that confusion and chaos were endangering the French Republic. It was, he said, his pa-





Napoleon I and the Relatives Whom He Made Rulers of Various Countries. How was he able to do so?

triotic duty to take control of the government temporarily to establish law and order. Opponents of his plan, he charged, were probably in the pay of France's worst enemy, Great Britain.

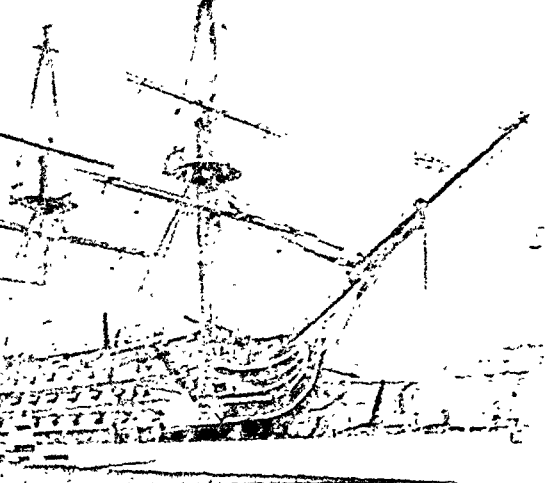
"Down with the dictator!" . . . "Outlaw him!" These cries rang through the hall. Napoleon's face paled. On the verge of fainting, he was helped from the council chamber. Outside, his brother Lucien begged the French troops to use their bayonets to drive the lawmakers from their meeting place. The soldiers hesitated. Then Lucien dramatically grasped a sword and pointed it at Napoleon's heart "I swear that I will plunge this sword into my brother's breast, if he ever dares to interfere with the liberties of Frenchmen!" he cried. Their emotions aroused, the soldiers shouted: "Long live Bonaparte!" With drums beating and bayonets fixed, they marched into the council chamber. Some of the terrified lawmakers even jumped out of the windows in their haste to escape!

This is how Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799 took his first step toward becoming Emperor of France. The French call such an attempt

to seize control of a government by force a *coup d'état*. In the years that followed his *coup d'état*, Napoleon built up a kind of Bonaparte dynasty throughout Europe. He personally governed an enlarged France. He made his brother Louis King of Holland, and his brother Joseph King of Spain. He placed one brother-in-law on the throne of Naples and another in charge of Haiti.<sup>7</sup> A stepson was made King of Italy and one of his generals, Bernadotte, received the throne of Sweden. Napoleon had even seized Louisiana, then owned by Spain, hoping to make it the nucleus for an empire in the New World. But in 1803, needing money and fearing that the British would capture Louisiana, he sold it to the United States. In 1811, the mighty emperor Napoleon boasted: "In five years, I shall be master of the world." But when the five years were up, Napoleon, who

<sup>7</sup> A former Negro slave, Toussaint l'Ouverture, had organized an army which ousted the British and the Spanish from Haiti and claimed it for the French. Later, he was treacherously imprisoned by Napoleon's brother-in-law. But the Negroes of this Caribbean island got revenge when they revolted and won their independence from Napoleon's empire in 1804.





The Flagship of Admiral Nelson, Who Was Napoleon's Nemesis. Tell why you would or would not consider the above an appropriate title for an essay.

campaign. Publicity-hungry Napoleon made sure that the French people were kept aware of his victories in Italy. Paris gave the conquering hero a welcome such as ancient Rome had given Caesar. But cynical Napoleon said, "Pshaw! The people would crowd around me just as eagerly if I were on my way to the scaffold!"

*Napoleon Loses the Egyptian Campaign But Wins France.* "Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me." Thus realizing the need of would-be dictators to keep themselves in the public eye, Napoleon set out to conquer Egypt, which was then part of the Turkish Empire. Egypt was on Britain's route to its richest colony, India. Conquest of Egypt would be an important step in Napoleon's proposed conquest of the British Empire.

In the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon went through his usual routine, giving a pep talk to his soldiers and sending home enthusiastic dispatches about his achievements. He won the Battle of the Pyramids in 1798. And one of his soldiers discovered the Rosetta Stone, the key to Egyptian hieroglyphics (page 22).

All in all, however, the Egyptian campaign was a failure. The famous British Admiral Nelson destroyed the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile. Napoleon's troops were

now stranded in Egypt, but not Napoleon! He deserted his Egyptian army and sped back to France. For news had reached him that the Directory was tottering. This was the moment Napoleon had been waiting for. He arrived in France on October 9, 1799, posing as the savior of the country. One month later, by engineering his *coup d'état*, he made himself master of France.

*From Consul to Emperor by a Show of Democracy.* But Napoleon was too shrewd to announce that he was now dictator. He realized that, although the French people wanted him to preserve law and order, they did not want to give up the democratic rights they had won in the French Revolution. Therefore, he used democratic forms to destroy democracy. He created an executive department made up of three men called *consuls*. But Napoleon as First Consul kept all the power for himself. And the legislature which he organized was left with almost no power. The period in which this government existed is known as the *Consulate*.

To carry his show of democracy still further, Napoleon held an election in which voters were asked whether they approved of the political changes he had made. (Such a vote is called a *plebiscite*.) Practically everybody voted "Yes."<sup>9</sup> In 1802 Napoleon again used the plebiscite to get himself approved as Consul for Life. In 1804, after he had made himself Emperor of the French, he used the plebiscite technique again. The Pope was present at Napoleon's coronation. But Napoleon, unlike Charlemagne (page 161), crowned himself. And Napoleon, unlike Charlemagne, was crowned in Paris, not Rome. For Napoleon wanted everyone to know that no one was his superior.

France once more had a hereditary dynasty — Bonaparte now, instead of Bourbon. France again had an aristocracy — that of new nobles created by Napoleon. Of such noble titles and medals of honor, Napoleon

<sup>9</sup> Discontent with the Directory, infatuation with a military hero, a censored press, and bribery help to explain many of the "Yes" votes.

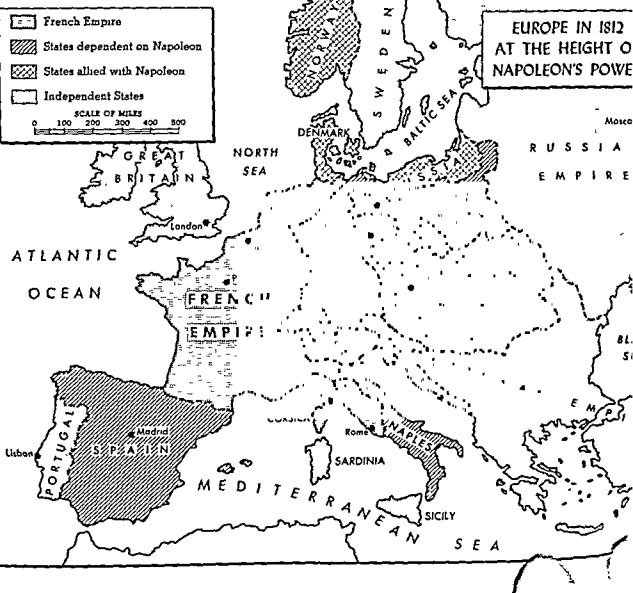
once said: "They are indeed meaningless knickknacks, but it is with such trifles that men are led."

**Napoleon's Victories Make Him Popular.** Why were the French willing to support this military dictatorship? Because Napoleon's government had established law and order. Because people like to be on the winning side. In 1800, Napoleon, copying Hannibal, had led his army across the Alps into Italy, where he defeated the Austrians at Marengo. In 1802, even his most powerful enemy, Britain, was willing to sign a favorable treaty of peace with him. He won victories over the Austrian and Russian armies

at Austerlitz (1805), over the Prussians at Jena (1806), and over the Russians at Friedland (1807). As a result of these and other victories, Napoleon was by 1803 practically master of the continent of Europe.

To make it clear that the Austrian emperor no longer had any control over any German states except Austria itself, Napoleon declared the Holy Roman Empire (page 161) at an end in 1806.<sup>10</sup> Soon he announced that he was the protector of all the German states except Austria and Prussia. He had combined

<sup>10</sup> Thus a new Napoleonic Empire was taking over the eight-hundred-year-old Holy Roman Empire.



hundreds of lesser German states into a much smaller number. This combination, called the *Confederation of the Rhine*, paved the way for a united Germany. Prussia's crushing defeat at Jena left it reduced in size and occupied by French soldiers. What a humiliation for the country whose own military genius, Frederick the Great, had thirty years earlier been invading other countries!

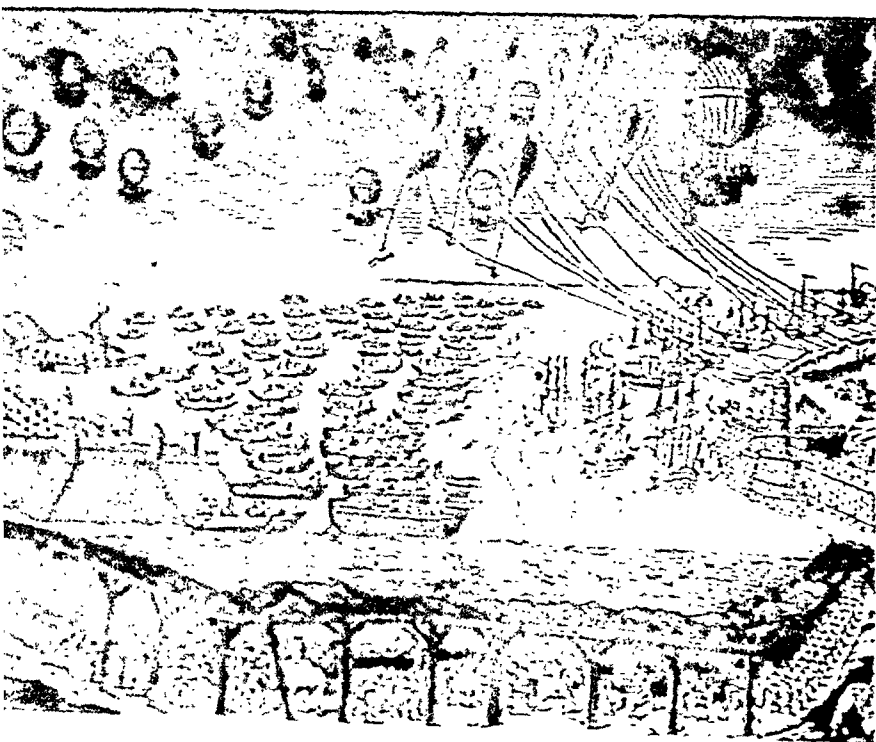
The defeated Tsar of Russia was glad to make an alliance with Napoleon. In signing the Peace of Tilsit (1807) with Alexander, Napoleon cleverly made it seem that he had no ambitions in eastern Europe. In return, the tsar promised to quit his British alliance and to stop trading with England.

In 1809, Austria tried again to defeat Napoleon. After its defeat in the Battle of Wagram, Austria was forced to become Napoleon's ally. Then Napoleon divorced Josephine and, in 1810, married the Austrian Habsburg princess, Maria Louisa. Napoleon was so eager to appeal to his bride, who was twenty-two years younger than he, that he took dancing lessons and dieted.

In this period Napoleon's only defeat was again on the sea. British Admiral Nelson, who had destroyed the French fleet in Egypt, annihilated the new French fleet at Trafalgar, near the Spanish coast, in 1805. This repulse doomed any plan Napoleon may have had for invading England.

**Napoleon's Reforms Add to His Popularity.** Napoleon strictly censored books and newspapers. His secret police suppressed all signs of opposition. Yet this dictator was wise enough to preserve and even extend many of the reforms of the French Revolution.

*The Legion of Honor and the Code Napoléon.* In every branch of government service, merit, not noble birth, was the basis for promotion. Napoleon created a special honor society, the *Legion of Honor*, which still exists. Any person, soldier or civilian, Frenchman or foreigner, may be elected to this society as a reward for serving France. The Napoleonic Code of Laws (page 298) stressed such democratic ideas as religious toleration and trial by jury. It also pro-



This is how one artist in 1803 thought that Napoleon would try to invade England — by means of kite-parachutes, balloon-borne troops, and a tunnel under the English Channel!



shall be a Catholic . . . and if I were to govern a nation of Jews, I would rebuild Solomon's temple."

*Napoleon Centralizes the Government and School System.* The *Code Napoléon*, the Bank of France and the Concordat were all planned to increase Napoleon's control. For this reason, too, Napoleon personally appointed the prefect (governor) of each department (province) and even the mayors of leading French cities. To this day, France has a highly centralized government.

Some dictators prefer to keep their people uneducated. Others establish schools, but for propaganda purposes. In the school system which Napoleon established, children were expected to memorize such questions and answers as: "What should we think of those persons who do not do their duty for the emperor?" (Answer): "According to the Apostle Paul, they are resisting the order established by God Himself and shall be punished by eternal damnation." Napoleon's school system was highly centralized under an organization called the *University of France*. The University of France, which still exists, is not a university where college students study. Its purpose is to maintain uniform educational standards for all of France.

In some respects, Napoleon's reforms justify his claim that he was a "son of the Revolution." So does the fact that he wiped out feudalism, serfdom, and class privileges in much of the territory which he conquered.

## Reasons for Napoleon's Downfall

*The Weakness of One-Man Rule.* Governing vast territories is more than a one-man job. No general can win every battle. Conquered peoples resent foreign rulers. The world grows weary of perpetual warfare. In time, other countries learn how to combat the military tactics of conquerors. These general statements help to explain Napoleon's downfall. Some specific ones follow.

*The Continental System Boomerangs.* Napoleon's threat to the balance of power (page

258) made Britain nervous. That is why most European armies which fought Napoleon had received financial aid from Britain. Napoleon made British businessmen especially nervous. With raw materials imported from such rich British colonies as India, British factories<sup>11</sup> were turning out tremendous quantities of manufactured goods. British businessmen feared that, with Napoleon in control of the continent, they would lose customers.

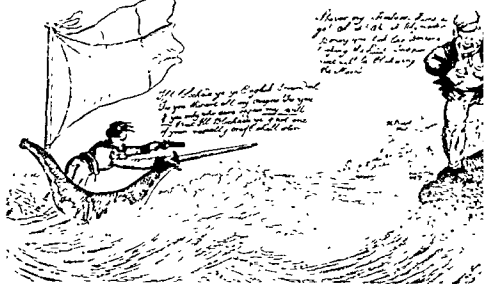
Losing the naval battles of the Nile and Trafalgar had taught Napoleon that he could not invade England. Therefore, he decided to defeat the "nation of shopkeepers" (as he called Britain) by ruining its trade with the continent. French businessmen, who did not want British competition, approved of this. Beginning in 1806, he ordered a blockade of British ports and warned nations on the continent of Europe to stop buying British goods. Later he announced that neutral vessels stopping at British ports would be seized. This attempt to prevent Britain from selling to or buying from countries on the continent is known as the *Continental System*. Napoleon's blockade failed. Since he had no fleet to enforce it, it was called a *paper blockade*.

On the other hand, the British, with their strong fleet, made it difficult for neutrals to trade with the continent. New British laws interfered with the shipping rights of neutrals. This was one reason why the United States declared war on Great Britain in 1812.

The Continental System was one of Napoleon's greatest blunders. Europeans felt it in sensitive spots — their pocketbooks and their stomachs. They missed the hardware and clothing from British factories and the sugar and coffee usually brought to them in British ships from tropical lands. Prices soared. Smuggling increased. Napoleon himself was obliged to buy secretly from England thousands of overcoats for his soldiers. Napoleon's plan to shut down British factories had boomeranged.

<sup>11</sup> At this time, England was the only country in the world which was manufacturing goods by machinery in factories (pages 407-408).

A British Satire of 1806 on Napoleon's Efforts to Blockade Britain. Why was it difficult for Napoleon to blockade Britain?



**Conquered Peoples Rise up Against Napoleon.** The French Revolution had helped to make Napoleon. It also helped to break him. Until about 1808, the peoples of Europe had done little to resist Napoleon. At first, many thought that he probably could not be any worse than their own kings. Later, many Europeans learned about liberty, equality, and fraternity from French soldiers. The French spirit of nationalism had become contagious. Soon the peoples of nations all over Europe objected to being ruled by a foreign tyrant or any of his relatives.

The people of Portugal flatly refused to give up to the Continental System. The people of Spain rose in rebellion against their king, Napoleon's brother, Joseph. In both Spain and Portugal, nobles, farmers, and workers fought from behind rocks and trees against the well-trained French army. Such fighting is known as *guerrilla warfare*. Taking advantage of this patriotic resistance, England sent an army to Portugal under the general who was later to become the Duke of Wellington. By 1813, the French had been driven out of the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) and the Peninsular War had come to a disastrous end for Napoleon.

**The Russians Retreat to Bring About Napoleon's Defeat.** In June 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia. He planned to capture Moscow and continue with his conquering

army into India. Napoleon's army was called the *Grand Army* because it numbered over 600,000 well-trained and well-equipped troops recruited from twenty different nations. In December 1812, fewer than 50,000 exhausted and diseased soldiers of this crushed Grand Army were to drag themselves across the Russian border en route home.

What had happened in six short months to blast Napoleon's dreams of world conquest? Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I, allies since Tilsit, had come to blows. Russians needed British manufactured goods and British customers for their farm products. So the tsar decided to take Russia out of the Continental System. Furthermore, the tsar realized that Napoleon wanted to compete with him for control of eastern Europe.

As the Grand Army kept advancing into Russia, the Russian army kept retreating. Occasionally, as at Borodino, for example, the Russians would engage in a fierce battle with the invaders. Although Napoleon won these battles, his losses were heavy. He even succeeded in seizing Moscow, but within a few hours it was practically destroyed by a tremendous fire, perhaps set by the Russians themselves.

What an empty victory for Napoleon! Winter was coming on. Food was running low. And there he was isolated in a hostile country. He decided to retreat. From the



fields and forests Russian guerrillas<sup>12</sup> and Cossack horsemen swept down upon the weary retreating soldiers of the Grand Army with their wagonloads of booty. Thousands were massacred. Thousands were taken prisoner. The corpses of thousands more who had frozen, starved, or died of wounds or typhus fever dotted the long route home. As in the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon soon deserted his defeated troops. Nor did he seem to have much sorrow for the corpses left behind. For, on arriving in Paris, he declared: "The emperor has never felt healthier!"

### Napoleon Defeated and Exiled

Wellington's victories in Spain and Napoleon's retreat from Russia were what all Europe had been waiting for. In October 1813, Russia, Prussia, and Austria inflicted a smashing defeat, the *Battle of the Nations*, on Napoleon at Leipzig, Germany. After

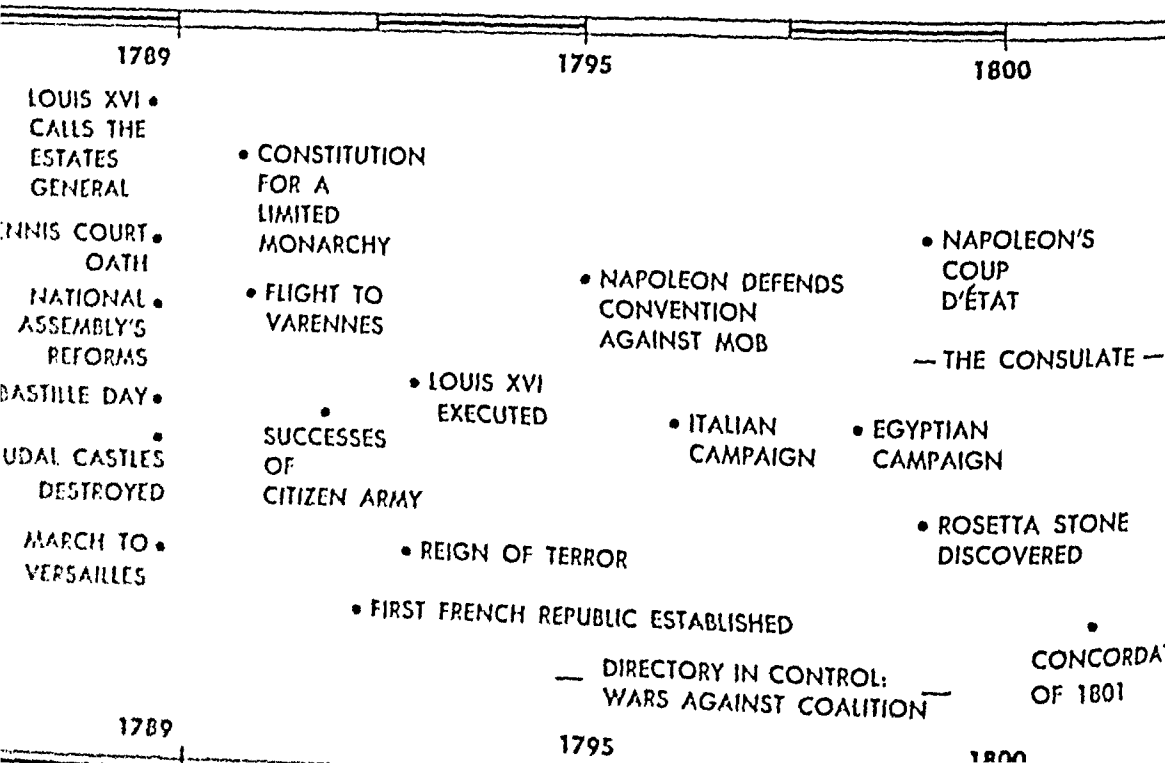
Leipzig, the allies pressed on to take Paris in March 1814. Napoleon was then exiled to the Mediterranean island of Elba.

*From Elba to the Hundred Days.* Obviously the great Napoleon could not be happy as emperor of a little island. In less than a year, he escaped. To the regiment sent to arrest him, Napoleon proclaimed: ". . . If there is among you a soldier who wants to kill his general, his emperor, he can do it." So saying, he dramatically bared his chest! "Long live the emperor!" they responded and joined him in the march to Paris. Soon thousands more came from all over France to help restore the emperor. In a few days, Napoleon was back on the French throne. The period of his second reign was short. It is known as the *Hundred Days*.

*From Waterloo to St. Helena.* In June 1815, at Waterloo in Belgium, Napoleon's army was completely destroyed. This time the allies exiled Napoleon to the island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821. In his memoirs, written at St. Helena, Napoleon insisted that he had always been interested in promoting peace, in building a united

<sup>12</sup> To Tsar Alexander, Napoleon complained that guerrilla warfare was unfair and an ungentlemanly departure from the rules of warfare.

## HIGHLIGHTS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



Europe, and in spreading the ideals of the French Revolution.

Time gradually erased the memories of the millions of lives destroyed in Napoleon's wars. Many Frenchmen soon forgot about his despotism. They remembered only his reforms and France's military glory under his rule. They began to believe everything that he had written in his memoirs and to worship his memory. This glorification of Napoleon is called the *Napoleonic Legend*.

During his exile Napoleon wrote to his little son: "Often study history and reflect on it, for it is the only true philosophy." What a wonderful thing it might have been for the world if this talented man had done more reflecting on the history he himself had studied!



The Tomb of Napoleon I. In the floor design are the names of his famous battles. How does this contribute to the "Napoleonic Legend"?

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

the flight to Varennes • the Old Regime • "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" • the three estates • *lettre de cachet* • Louis XVI • Marie Antoinette

• Turgot • Mirabeau • National Guard • Danton • guillotine • Robespierre • *cahiers* • National Assembly • Tennis Court Oath • July 14, 1789 • Paris

### 1) NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

1805

1810

1815

#### THE EMPIRE

• NELSON DEFEATS  
FRENCH NAVY  
AT  
TRAFALGAR

• NAPOLEON  
MARRIES  
MARIA  
LOUISA

• RUSSIAN  
CAMPAIGN  
FAILS

• THE  
HUNDRED  
DAYS

• WATERLOO

• CODE  
NAPOLEON

• HOLY  
ROMAN  
EMPIRE  
ABOLISHED

• BATTLE  
OF THE  
NATIONS

EXILE •  
TO  
ELBA

• NAPOLEON  
EXILED  
TO  
ST. HELENA

BATTLE OF •  
AUSTERLITZ

• CONTINENTAL  
SYSTEM

NATIONALISTIC •  
UPRISINGS IN  
PORTUGAL AND SPAIN

• BATTLE OF JENA

1805

1810

1815

Commune • the march to Versailles • Declaration of the Rights of Man • Civil Constitution of the Clergy • assignats • émigrés • September massacres • National Convention • Girondists • Jacobins • First Coalition • Committee of Public Safety • Marseillaise • Reign of Terror • the Louvre • the Directory • coup d'état of 1799 • Corsica • Admiral Nelson • the consulate • plebiscite • Confedera-

tion of the Rhine • Peace of Tilsit • Legion of Honor • Code Napoléon • Bank of France • Concordat of 1801 • University of France • Continental System • paper blockade • guerrilla warfare • Peninsular War • Duke of Wellington • Battle of the Nations • Elba • the Hundred Days • Waterloo • St. Helena • the Napoleonic Legend

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Many European countries were worse off than France in 1789. Why, then, did the revolution break out in France?
2. Classify the causes of the French Revolution under the headings *Political*, *Social*, and *Economic*.
3. What groups were especially bitter at the Old Regime? Tell why in each case.
4. What was sensible about Turgot's and Mirabeau's suggestions to Louis XVI?
5. In what ways were the views of Lafayette, Danton, and Robespierre: (a) similar; (b) different?
6. Outline the steps in the French Revolution from the calling of the Estates-General to the recognition of the National Assembly by the king.
7. What actions did the people take in support of the National Assembly? Discuss each.
8. For what reasons was the March to Versailles (a) a dramatic, (b) a significant, event?
9. Show how each of the reforms of the National Assembly tried to correct one or more abuses of the Old Regime.
10. Give reasons why the Declaration of the Rights of Man is considered one of the greatest documents of all time.
11. In what ways did the National Assembly change the relationship between church and state?
12. What threats from (a) inside France and (b) outside France were used as excuses by the revolutionaries to practice terror?
13. What methods did the National Convention use (a) to inspire the people and (b) to build up military efficiency?
14. What was terrible about the Reign of Terror besides the actual bloodshed?
15. Discuss three of the most important reforms of the National Convention.
16. Would-be dictators often take advantage of the kind of conditions which existed under the Directory. What conditions?
17. What evidence is there in the "Epilogue" that the French Revolution abolished the Old Regime and initiated a New Regime?
18. Discuss the tactics Napoleon used to seize control of France.
19. Napoleon's personality, the times in which he lived, what he knew, and whom he knew — all explain his rise to power. Discuss.
20. Describe the typical Napoleonic tactics used in the Italian and Egyptian campaigns.
21. Outline the steps by which Napoleon progressed from First Consul to Emperor.
22. Discuss Napoleon's most important reforms.
23. What blunders on the part of Napoleon help to explain his downfall?
24. Show how the allies made the most of Napoleon's defeat in Russia.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. If Louis XVI had used the *cahiers* as a guide, he might have saved his throne and his head. Discuss.
2. In what way was the Tennis Court Oath a milestone in the history of democracy?
3. If Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette had chosen different mates, both might have been better off and so might France. Discuss.
4. If all the nobles had been like Mirabeau and Lafayette, there might not have been a revolution. Give reasons.
5. For what reasons might it be said that Louis

XIV and Louis XV were more responsible for the revolution than was Louis XVI?

6. In what respects are you and your family better off than a common man in France before 1789?

7. In what respects was a *lettre de cachet* the direct opposite of a writ of *habeas corpus*?

8. In our country today we have many incentives. The French under the Old Regime had few. How was progress hindered thereby?

9. Lacking freedom of speech and press, the French people had no safety valve. Discuss.

10. Louis XVI should have lived in the sixteenth century. Explain.

11. The bourgeoisie played an important role in (a) the Dutch Revolt, (b) the Puritan Revolution, (c) the American Revolution, and (d) the French Revolution. Prove by examples.

12. Show how by violence and by law the Old Regime came tumbling down.

13. What actions of both the National Assembly and the National Convention do you consider: (a) wise; (b) unwise?

14. The story of the assignats is full of lessons for all countries today. Why?

15. With which one of the three attitudes toward the French Revolution in 1791 do you sympathize most? Why?

16. To what extent do you agree that the Reign of Terror was a revolution within a revolution?

17. Show how the revolutionaries themselves violated the Declaration of the Rights of Man during the Reign of Terror.

18. To what extent do you agree with Englishman Pitt's statements: "Through all the stages of the Revolution military force has governed, and public opinion has scarcely been heard."

19. Show how the new army, the new flag, and

the new song each expressed the spirit of the French Revolution.

20. By ending primogeniture, the Convention gave a hard blow to the Old Regime. Explain.

21. ". . . The nation wants a chieftain covered with glory and cares nothing for theories of government, fine words, or dreams of idealists." — Napoleon. In what ways is this statement a clue to Napoleon's (a) personality; (b) career?

22. Thomas Jefferson said, "But Bonaparte was a lion in the field only. In civil life, a cold-blooded, calculating, unprincipled usurper, without a virtue." Prove that Napoleon was "a lion in the field." To what extent do you agree that in civil life he was "without a virtue"?

23. The French are great lovers of democracy. Yet Napoleon's memory is sacred to millions of them. How do you explain this?

24. Prove by his specific policies that Napoleon wanted to be a dictator in all things.

25. Napoleon considered himself "a son of the Revolution." To what extent is this self-description true?

26. The French guillotined an absolute Bourbon but glorified an absolute Bonaparte. Explain.

27. Centuries of English history explain why Britain was Napoleon's most persistent enemy. Discuss.

28. Give examples to show that Napoleon promoted equality and fraternity, but not liberty.

29. What might Napoleon have done to remain in power to his death?

30. Show that, while the French Revolution helped to make Napoleon, it also helped to break him.

31. The Hundred Days were (a) one of the most useless, wasteful periods in history, (b) an anticlimax in which the leading actor returns to the stage after the show is over. Discuss.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. From Robinson and Beard's *Readings in Modern European History*, Volume I, Chapter 12, select proof that the *cahiers* expressed the spirit of reform rather than of revolution.

2. In collaboration, write an imaginary conversation between two Frenchmen observing the guillotining of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

3. Write up the most exciting day in the diary of a Frenchman who lived during the French Revolution.

4. Make up a cast of characters for a play on the French Revolution in which you indicate which persons would be villains and which heroes.

5. Look up the *Marseillaise* and select from it

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## CHAPTER 14.... THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY CONTINUES

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**Reactionaries Trying to Restore the Old Regime Provoke More Revolutions (1815-1848)** • The Congress of Vienna Shows Contempt for Democracy and Nationalism • The Metternich System Shows Strength in Spain and in the Italian States • The Metternich System Begins to Crack in Latin America • The Monroe Doctrine: a Promise and a Warning • Greek Independence: a Blow to the Metternich System • The Revolutions of 1830 in France and Belgium • The Revolutions of 1848: the Metternich System Breaks Down • A Revolution Leads to the Second French Republic • Revolutions Outside France in 1848 • Napoleon III Tries to Follow in His Uncle's Footsteps (1848-1870) • The Struggle for Democracy in Great Britain (c1800-c1870) • Democratic and Undemocratic Features of the British Government about 1800 • The Reform Bill of 1832 Benefits the Middle Class • The Chartist Movement: More People Demand Benefits • Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln: Democracy Thrives in the United States • The Status of Democracy by 1870 • Bringing Education to All • From Religious Persecution to Religious Toleration to Religious Freedom • The Struggle for Women's Rights • Promoting the Welfare of Unfortunates • Progress in the Treatment of Criminals • Some Answers to Critics of Democracy

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### Reactionaries Trying to Restore the Old Regime Provoke More Revolutions (1815-1848)

The Congress of Vienna Shows Contempt for Democracy and Nationalism. The eyes of all Europe were on Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. Glamorous women, beautifully gowned, danced at lavish balls with brilliantly uniformed kings, princes, and dukes. Millions were spent by the Austrian emperor on banquets and par-

ties to entertain royal delegates from all over Europe. Yet the main purpose of the delegates was not dining and dancing. They were there for a serious meeting called the *Congress of Vienna*.

Napoleon was now in exile. He had ousted kings. He had turned the map of Europe topsy-turvy. His soldiers had inflamed Europeans with the radical ideas of the French Revolution. Absolute kings and privileged classes were now, however, back in power. Their delegates at the Congress agreed that

those lines which seem to you the most inspiring.

6. Draw a poster illustrating (a) Bastille Day, (b) the march to Versailles, (c) the peasants storming feudal castles, or (d) the flight to Varennes.

7. Prepare a speech such as Danton might have made demanding an end to the Terror. Write Robespierre's response.

8. Write a brief biography entitled: *The Life and Death of Marat*.

9. Edmund Burke, an Englishman, favored the American Revolution but opposed the French Revolution. For a group research project, find out why.

10. With another pupil, prepare a lawyer's brief on Louis XVI either (a) pleading his innocence or (b) urging his execution. If possible, interview a lawyer for help.

11. Write an essay entitled: *If Mirabeau Had Lived, If the Girondists Had Won Out, If There*

*Had Not Been a Reign of Terror, If the Directory Had Been More Honest and Wise, If Napoleon Had Won at Waterloo, or If Napoleon Had Been a Man of Peace.*

12. Define *nepotism*. On an outline map of Europe, show how Napoleon practiced nepotism. Indicate also Napoleon's empire at its greatest extent.

13. Write a glowing dispatch such as Napoleon might have sent home after his victory at (a) Austerlitz, (b) Friedland, (c) Jena, or (d) Borodino.

14. Imagine yourself an uncensored war correspondent with Napoleon's army in Russia. Write up a dispatch.

15. Debate: Resolved, That the United States should set up a centralized system of education like Napoleon's.

16. Write a book report on one of the many biographies of Napoleon to submit for criticism to a class committee.

### Summing Up

1. Make a calendar of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period by means of main events, as the ancient Egyptians did, rather than by numbered years.

2. Show how the illustrations in this chapter attempt to express the spirit of the French Revolution

and the spirit of the Napoleonic period.

3. With others, make a chart comparing the Dutch Revolt, the Glorious Revolution, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution as to (a) causes, (b) leaders, (c) highlights, and (d) lasting results.

Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, as well as other rulers, thought this proposal silly. But to humor Alexander, they signed it anyway, forming with him the *Holy Alliance*. Behind his back, most of Europe's reactionaries laughed at Alexander, his liberal ideas, and his Holy Alliance. Later in life, Alexander lost his liberalism, censored the press, and suppressed opponents.

Handsone and cultured Prince Metternich, Prime Minister of Austria, was the perfect host for such a reactionary gathering as the Congress of Vienna. Metternich loved himself, admired his fellow aristocrats, and had contempt for the rest of the people. The ideas and personality of Metternich dominated the Congress and strongly influenced the history of Europe from 1815 to 1848. That is why this period of reaction is often called the *Metternich Era*.

*The Metternich System Tries to Prevent Change.* Under Metternich's influence, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England agreed to form a Quadruple Alliance. England soon dropped out, but France, under the restored Bourbons, soon joined this alliance. The major purpose of the Quadruple Alliance was to maintain peace, but a peace which would preserve the reactionary settlement made at Vienna. Meetings were held frequently to decide which troops could most conveniently be used when democratic or nationalistic revolutions broke out. This international action by Europe's autocratic governments was called the *Concert of Europe*.

Metternich used censorship as well as guns to suppress democracy and nationalism. Professors in many German and Austrian universities who praised freedom of speech and press soon lost their jobs. Hundreds of textbooks which expressed democratic ideas were burned. Spies reported on student clubs which made any criticisms of absolute kings or privileged classes. Censors examined every line in newspapers and magazines. Secret police checked up on all public meetings. Persons who preached the ideals of the French Revolution risked exile or execution.



Tsar Alexander I, Who Had High Ideals But Did Not Always Act Upon Them. Prove.

Metternich opposed democracy because it was a threat to the privileges of his own aristocratic class. He hated nationalism because in the Austrian Empire there were many different national groups, each desiring to form a nation (page 359). Metternich knew that, if nationalism continued to spread, the Austrian Empire would be torn apart by revolutions. Many other countries imitated Metternich's program of censorship. This use of censorship, combined with the use of armies to suppress revolutions, came to be known as the *Metternich System*.

*Revolutions Break Out Against the Metternich System (1820-1830).*

*The Metternich System Shows Strength in Spain and the Italian States.* In 1812, the leaders of the uprising against Napoleon's





Talleyrand — a Weathervane in Politics. Why?

the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era had been a horrible experience. To these men democracy and nationalism were dangerous ideas. Their hearts were set on restoring the Old Regime. To do this, they decided that royal families which had been ousted by Napoleon should be restored to their thrones and given back the lands they had lost since 1789.

But powerful Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain wanted more territory than they had had in 1789. Britain received Cape Colony in southern Africa, the islands of Malta in the Mediterranean, Ceylon off the coast of India, and other non-European territory. Since Britain had received some of its territorial gains from Holland, Holland was given Belgium as compensation.<sup>1</sup> Austria, which gave up Belgium, received two provinces in northern Italy — Lombardy and Venetia — in

compensation. Russia gained some Polish territory and Finland. Sweden, which had to give up Finland, was compensated with Norway. Prussia, like Russia, received some Polish territory, and also some lands taken from smaller German states. Many German states were united into a German Confederation, a weak union under the control of Austria. The delegates had parceled out territory without giving a thought to the wishes of the people. Countries having different languages and customs were united against their will. No wonder revolutions were to break out against the reactionary settlement at Vienna almost before the ink was dry on the treaties!

Yet some good work was done by the Congress of Vienna. For example, it guaranteed the borders of Switzerland against invasion. Switzerland, on its part, pledged not to make alliances with other countries or to permit warring powers to cross its territory. Thus by mutual agreement Switzerland's perpetual neutrality was guaranteed. The Congress also denounced the horrible slave trade in Africa.

**Men Who Made the Congress of Vienna.** Prince Talleyrand, the representative of defeated France at the Congress of Vienna, was a shifty person who always sided with the winner. He had shifted his support first from the Church to the Jacobins, then to Napoleon, and then to the restored Bourbons. It was this cunning diplomat who saved France from being divided up by the victorious powers. "Speech is given to men to disguise their thoughts," he is reported to have said.

When Tsar Alexander I (1777-1825) was young, he talked about giving Russia a constitution, abolishing serfdom, and introducing prison reforms. But, as a rule, he was talked out of putting his democratic ideas into practice. Alexander had suggested that the rulers of Europe pledge themselves to govern their people kindly by living up to the principles of "justice, Christian charity, and peace." The

<sup>1</sup> Holland and Belgium were united in order to create a powerful country on France's northern border. This was to prevent France from fighting further aggressive wars.

The Cartoonist Daumier Portrays a Change in Louis Philippe. What factors might have accounted for such a change?



ritory which Turkey controlled. Soon France, another member of the Concert of Europe, and Britain, a former member, also joined their fellow Christians. Perhaps Britain did not want the Greeks to feel that they owed their independence to Russia alone. In fact, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Britain has opposed Russian expansion in southeastern Europe. In 1829, allied victories forced Turkey to grant Greece its independence. Thus the reactionary Metternich system received another blow.

### **The Revolutions of 1830: More Cracks in the Metternich System.**

*France Again Substitutes a Limited Monarchy for an Absolute One.* From 1814 to 1824, except for the Hundred Days between Elba and Waterloo, Bourbon Louis XVIII ruled France. Louis was an old man who wanted to die in bed, not by the guillotine. That is why he did not try to restore the Old Regime. Instead, he granted the people equality before the law and freedom of speech, press, and religion. However, he kept practically all power in his own hands.

Louis's brother, Charles X, who succeeded him, made the mistake of trying to abolish many of the reforms of the French Revolution. Thus he antagonized every class except the nobles and the clergy. The bourgeoisie especially hated Charles, because he started

compensating nobles for property they had lost during the French Revolution. And the costs of this compensation meant heavier taxes. Charles also restored control of education to the Church and gagged the press.

Late in July, 1830, the people of Paris revolted against Charles's autocratic policies. Protected by barricades of furniture and cobblestones, Parisians fired at the soldiers sent to suppress them. In the narrow, winding streets, the large numbers of royal troops were at a disadvantage. Many of them were even sympathetic to the revolutionaries. In a few days, this *July Revolution* was over and frightened Charles X was in exile in England.

With Charles X out, who was to be in? The workers of Paris, who had done most of the fighting, wanted a republic. The bourgeoisie wanted a limited monarchy, having as their candidate for king Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had some Bourbon blood. Influential Lafayette persuaded the republicans to accept Louis Philippe as king. In turn, Louis Philippe promised to accept the reforms of the French Revolution. The Concert of Europe did not interfere in the July Revolution, mainly because Louis Philippe was not a radical interested in spreading liberty, equality, and fraternity throughout Europe.

*Belgium Revolts and Changes the Map Made at the Congress of Vienna* Metternich once warned that when France sneezes, all Europe catches cold. One month after the

brother Joseph had written a constitution for Spain which abolished feudalism and the privileges of the nobility and clergy. Bourbon Ferdinand VII, restored as Spain's king, had promised to recognize this constitution. Instead, this cruel despot restored absolutism, privilege, and the Inquisition. As a result, a revolution broke out in 1820.

Then the Concert of Europe swung into action. From France, Ferdinand's Bourbon relative, King Louis XVIII,<sup>2</sup> sent troops to crush the rebellion. How ironical that France, which had fought so hard to spread liberty, equality, and fraternity, should now be fighting to suppress these ideas! With rebellion suppressed, Ferdinand proceeded to hang, imprison, or exile thousands of rebels. So successful was the suppression that for a century Spain was almost completely isolated from the stream of democracy.

Naples — a part of the Italian Kingdom of Two Sicilies — also resisted the Metternich system in the early 1820's. But Austrian troops suppressed the uprising and restored another cruel Bourbon to the throne.

*The Metternich System Begins to Crack in Latin America.* The first important blow to the Metternich system came from the New World. Spanish rule in Latin America<sup>3</sup> had been autocratic, selfish, and inefficient (page 269). Consequently, a revolutionary spirit had existed there for some time. The success of the American and French Revolutions strengthened this spirit. After 1808, many Spanish colonists ignored Joseph Bonaparte's officials and began to govern themselves. Later, when Ferdinand VII tried to restore absolutism and mercantilism in the colonies, fierce revolutions broke out (page 378). This time, the Concert of Europe did not send troops to put down the uprisings. Why not?

<sup>2</sup> The son of Louis XVI, who would have reigned as Louis XVII, is said to have died in prison during the French Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Latin America* is commonly applied to the area south of the United States because these lands were settled by peoples who spoke languages derived from Latin (Spanish, Portuguese, and French).

*The Monroe Doctrine: a Promise and a Warning.* By 1823, the United States had recognized the independence of many Latin-American countries. In that year, President Monroe sent a message, the *Monroe Doctrine*, to Congress. In it the President promised that the United States would not interfere in the affairs of Europe. But he also warned Europe never to send troops to interfere in the established republics of the western hemisphere or to seek any more colonies in the New World.

What were the reasons behind Monroe's message? The United States had won its independence. It sympathized with others struggling for theirs. The United States had increased its trade with the independent republics of Latin America. If Spain were to recover its colonies, this trade would be lost. And, finally, Monroe feared that our own future might be threatened if the Quadruple Alliance got a firm grip on this hemisphere.<sup>4</sup>

But in 1823 the United States itself was not a powerful nation. Why was the Quadruple Alliance scared off from interfering in the Latin-American revolutions? Because Britain, too, in spite of its opposition to revolutions, had recognized the independence of the Latin-American republics. Britain had done so because its trade with Latin America was much more prosperous without Spanish restrictions. Thus, Britain was quite willing to support the Monroe Doctrine. And Metternich realized that the powerful British fleet could prevent troops from landing in Latin America.

*Greek Independence a Blow to the Metternich System.* In 1821, Greece revolted against the tyrannical Turkish Empire. In 1826, Russia allied itself with the Greeks. Strange, isn't it? As a member of the Concert of Europe, Russia was supposed to help suppress revolutions. However, the Russians, like the Greeks, were Christians, whereas the Turks were Moslems. Furthermore, for centuries Russia had longed for some of the Balkan ter-

<sup>4</sup> The Monroe Doctrine was also a warning to Russia, which was expanding southward from Alaska at this time.

The Cartoonist Daumier Portrays a Change in Louis Philippe. What factors might have accounted for such a change?



ritory which Turkey controlled. Soon France, another member of the Concert of Europe, and Britain, a former member, also joined their fellow Christians. Perhaps Britain did not want the Greeks to feel that they owed their independence to Russia alone. In fact, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Britain has opposed Russian expansion in southeastern Europe. In 1829, allied victories forced Turkey to grant Greece its independence. Thus the reactionary Metternich system received another blow.

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Parisians in 1848 Hail the Proclamation of the Second French Republic. Why was the republic short-lived?

July Revolution of 1830, the Belgians revolted against Holland. They soon declared their independence and set up a limited monarchy under King Leopold I.

It had not been smart of the Congress of Vienna to unite Belgium and Holland. Belgians spoke French or Flemish and worshiped in the Catholic faith. They were mainly merchants and manufacturers. In Holland, Dutch was the language, Protestantism the religion, and agriculture the leading occupation. Other countries have remained united in spite of such differences. But the Dutch king tried to force upon the more numerous Belgians Dutch officials, the Dutch language, and heavy taxes.

The Concert of Europe disliked seeing this first change in the map made at Vienna. However, the French were sympathetic to the Belgians. Moreover, Britain wanted Belgium independent. Even today, Britain prefers a

small, weak nation facing it across the English Channel to a large, powerful one. In 1839, most European countries agreed to recognize Belgium's independence and to guarantee its neutrality.

To sum up, the revolutions of 1830 had made some cracks in the Metternich system. In the main, however, reactionary rulers were still in control. For example, when the Poles rebelled in 1830, Tsar Nicholas I of Russia suppressed them with extreme cruelty. Rebellions in some German and Italian states also were easily crushed.

### **The Revolutions of 1848: the Metternich System Breaks Down.**

*A Revolution Leads to the Second French Republic.* In February, 1848, barricades were once more raised in the streets of Paris. Frightened, King Louis Philippe hustled off

to Britain disguised as a "Mr. Smith." What caused this revolution of 1848? At first, Louis Philippe had worked hard to appear democratic. He walked around simply dressed without a bodyguard. He shook hands with his subjects. Actually, however, just as Charles X had given privileges to aristocrats and the clergy, Louis Philippe gave privileges to bankers and wealthy businessmen. That is why his government is known as the *bourgeois monarchy*. Government contracts, loans, and monopolies, and titles of nobility were granted to a select few.<sup>5</sup> And most of parliament was bribed by the king.

In time, workingmen began to hate Louis Philippe's government. Out of a population of thirty million, only 200,000 well-to-do Frenchmen were eligible to vote. Furthermore, working conditions in the new factories were horrible. Poverty was widespread. Unions and strikes were illegal. Most workers had wanted a republic in 1830. Now they wanted one more than ever. Some of the more radical workers even wanted the government to take ownership of factories away from capitalists. Such radicals were called socialists (page 429).

Rightists as well as leftists (page 390) were opposed to Louis Philippe. One such rightist group would have preferred a Bonaparte king on the throne. Another wanted Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon. As opposition increased, Louis Philippe became more tyrannical. He suppressed meetings and newspapers, and jailed or exiled his critics.

**The Second French Republic Begins Socialism.** After Louis Philippe's flight, the second French Republic was established. Radicals wanted the government to be a socialist republic. One socialist republican, Louis Blanc, proposed a system of national workshops in which every man would be guaranteed a job. Factories would be set up by



"The gun is for the army from without. The ballot is the means of buying out my oppressors within," the Frenchman is saying in 1848. What are the dangers when ballots are substituted for bullets?

workers with the government's financial help. All the workers were expected to share the work and the income from the sale of the factored products.

But the conservatives in control of the republic were opposed to Blanc's plan. They were to prevent an uprising and to make the plan seem ridiculous. The government set up its own national workshops program. Unemployed men were given the lowest kind of food and labor on a half-day and time. Most of the work was unnecessary. Blanc intended the program as an anti-recession. The government grew so costly that it was soon absorbing disappointed workers then given no more. riots in the streets of Paris. The four days blood flowed through these streets. Thousands mainly workers set their lives. The government suppressed the uprising, but the workers were better than slaves. They

<sup>5</sup> Louis Philippe's reign was the time of the Industrial Revolution - the radical change from manufacturing goods by hand at home to manufacturing them by machinery in factories (Chapter 18). Louis Philippe even wore growing rich as the Industrial Revolution spread in France.



A Contemporary Cartoon on the Flight of Metternich in 1848. What made Metternich so unpopular?

*June Days.* Hostility between the bourgeois republicans and the socialist workers was to weaken French unity for a long time.

The constitution of the Second French Republic provided for a president and a parliament, and for freedom of speech and of assembly. For the first time, all adult men were permitted to vote. The first and only president of this republic was to be Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (page 356).

*Revolutions Outside France in 1848.* As in 1830, so in 1848, news of the revolution in France spread like wildfire throughout Europe. The year 1848 saw so many revolutions break out that it has been called *the year of revolutions*. Under the leadership of their hero, Louis Kossuth, the Hungarians in 1848 revolted and secured from their Austrian emperor their own parliament, freedom of speech, press, and religion, and the abolition of feudalism. Soon the fires of revolution were burning all over the Austrian Empire. In Vienna, barricades were thrown up in the streets. The home of the hated Metternich was set on fire by students and workers. Disguised and hiding in a laundry wagon, this

frightened old reactionary fled from Austria.

With Metternich in exile in England, revolutions immediately broke out throughout the Italian states. Some of these states had enjoyed a taste of national unity and even a little democracy under Napoleon. But the Congress of Vienna had torn the Italian peninsula into seven different states, most of them under Austria's autocratic control. In 1848, as the Italian revolutions spread, ruler after ruler was forced to grant his people a constitution. One such ruler, Charles Albert of Sardinia-Piedmont, even joined the people in the revolution to drive Austria out of Italy. He was soon joined by other rulers.

The German states had also been influenced by the French Revolution and Napoleon's soldiers. As revolutions spread here, too, in 1848, frightened rulers granted their peoples constitutions. In Berlin, as in Paris and Vienna, streets were barricaded. To calm the people, the Prussian king promised to grant them a constitution and to take the lead in uniting all the German states. The people of the German states elected delegates to a convention held at Frankfurt in 1848. These drew up a fairly democratic constitution for a united Germany, and asked Prussia's king to be its emperor. Thus, for a few months in 1848 it looked as though democracy and nationalism had made much progress.

*Results of the Revolutions of 1848.* Almost every one of the revolutions of 1848 was soon crushed. In the Austrian Empire, many of the different nationalities hated one another as much as they hated Austria's autocratic rule. The Austrian emperor encouraged quarrels between Czechs and Germans in Bohemia and between Magyars and Croats in Hungary. In other words, he practiced the policy of "divide and rule." The army, loyal to the emperor, ruthlessly crushed rebellions. Thousands of Russian troops helped the Austrians to suppress the Hungarian rebellion. Kossuth and some other leaders escaped, but many others were hanged or shot. The constitution and all the liberties which Hungary had won were canceled. The Austrian army

also crushed the Italians led by Charles Albert. Soon Austria was once more in control of large areas of the Italian peninsula.

The attempt to build a united Germany also failed. Hohenzollern Frederick William IV of Prussia believed that he ruled by divine right. Therefore, when asked to be the emperor of a united Germany, he scornfully refused to accept "a crown spattered with the blood and mud of revolution!" No doubt he knew, too, that the Habsburg rulers of Austria would not permit a Hohenzollern to be emperor of a powerful united Germany.

Autocracy, while weakened somewhat by the revolutions of 1848, still had a pretty strong grip on most of Europe. The democratic Second French Republic was soon to become the reactionary Second French Empire. The constitution which the Prussians won lasted until 1918, but it was most undemocratic. Both Germany and Italy remained disunited. If democracy and national unity had been won in 1848, the world might have been spared many wars in the late nineteenth century.

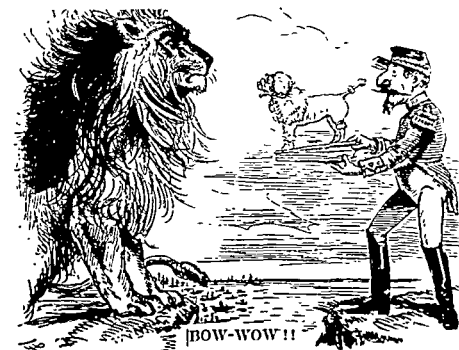
However, there were a few hopeful signs for liberals. The Metternich system was col-

lapsing. Feudalism had been abolished in most of Europe. Sardinia-Piedmont, strengthened by a constitution, was waiting for another opportunity to bring about the unification of Italy. And Frenchmen now had the right to vote without property qualifications.

### Napoleon III Tries to Follow in His Uncle's Footsteps (1848-1870)

Many a person watching a movie suddenly nudges his companion and says: "This is where we came in." In the middle of the nineteenth century, many an old Frenchman might have been justified if he had asked other old Frenchmen: "Isn't this where we came in?" As a youth he might have watched Napoleon I execute a *coup d'état* to make himself First Consul. No doubt he had voted in the plebiscites which legalized Napoleon I's climb to Consul for Life and then to Emperor.

Now, as an old man, he was watching Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon, getting himself elected President of the Second French Republic. No doubt the old man had voted in the plebiscite which legalized Louis



The British Ridicule a Threat of Napoleon III Made in 1859 to Invade England. How do they show their contempt for him here?



Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1851. He had probably also voted in the plebiscite which approved the establishment of the Second French Empire in 1852. By this step President Louis Napoleon had made himself Napoleon III, Emperor of the French.<sup>6</sup>

There are other similarities in the careers of the two Napoleons. Both suppressed liberties, yet both tried to win popularity with all classes. Both built public works and beautified Paris. Both tried to build colonial empires in the New World, and both failed. Both engaged in frequent wars and were eventually exiled.

### Reasons for Napoleon III's Rise to Power.

*Napoleonic Legend Plus Bourgeois Support.* In a sense, Louis Napoleon owed his election as first President of the Second French Republic to Napoleon I. Patriotic Frenchmen, inspired by the Napoleonic legend, had hoped that Louis Napoleon would make France once more the dominant power in Europe. In another sense, Louis Napoleon owed his election to the bourgeoisie. Frightened by the Terrible June Days of 1848, they hoped that Louis Napoleon would curb the socialists and preserve order.

*Dressing Despotism in Democratic Clothing.* Louis Napoleon dressed his despotic empire in democratic clothing. He kept the legislature, but most of its members were his bribed puppets. He allowed universal manhood suffrage, but the ballot boxes were stuffed so that his supporters were bound to be elected. He professed a belief in freedom of expression. Yet, during most of his reign, newspapers which criticized him were suppressed, and his opponents were jailed or exiled. Posing as the savior of democracy, he was actually destroying it.

*Appeals to All Groups.* To keep the support of the powerful bourgeoisie, Napoleon put through laws which helped to promote a bus-

iness boom. Many factories, banks, canals, and railroads were built. He acquired special trading rights in China and annexed what is now Indo-China, a valuable source of raw materials. To win over the working class, Napoleon III created jobs on many public projects. Late in his reign, he permitted workers to join unions and to strike. And when he visited factories, he made a practice of patting workmen on the back. To win the support of the Church, Napoleon III stationed troops in Rome to protect the Pope and gave the Church control of practically all education. The average patriotic Frenchman was proud because Napoleon III made Paris the most beautiful city in Europe.<sup>7</sup> His empress, Eugénie, was beautiful, charming, and fashionable.

Napoleon III believed that the French expected a Bonaparte to bring military glory to France. In 1854, he joined England and Turkey in the successful Crimean War (page 483) against Russia. In 1857, French troops won complete control over Algeria in North Africa. In 1859, Napoleon III joined Sardinia-Piedmont in a war to chase Austria out of the Italian states (page 385). However, after the allies had won a few battles, he made a separate peace with the Austrians and received Nice and Savoy.

### Reasons for the Downfall of Napoleon III.

*Napoleon III Begins to Lose His Appeal.* The Austro-Sardinian War was a turning point for Napoleon III. Many Catholics blamed him for encouraging the unification of Italy, which they thought might mean the loss of the Pope's Papal States. Many militaristic Frenchmen felt contempt for Napoleon for quitting the war.

To win back some of his drooping popularity, Napoleon decided to try to establish a French empire in Mexico. In 1862, a French army conquered the Mexican Republic, and

<sup>6</sup> The son of Napoleon I had died in 1832. He never reigned, but his supporters called him Napoleon II.

<sup>7</sup> By broadening the avenues of Paris, Napoleon III made it much more difficult for revolutionaries to set up barricades.

Napoleon appointed Maximilian, brother of the Austrian emperor, Emperor of Mexico. The Maximilian affair was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine (page 350). In 1867, after many warnings from the United States, Napoleon III withdrew his troops. However, Maximilian remained; the Mexicans revolted; and Maximilian was executed.<sup>8</sup> The Maximilian affair was one of Napoleon III's greatest blunders. Discontent spread throughout France. Frenchmen who expected a Bonaparte to make France the dominant nation on the continent of Europe were disappointed when, in 1866, Prussia defeated Austria (page 398). It looked as though Prussia might unite all Germany and thus become more powerful than France. The worried Napoleon decided to take France into a foreign war.<sup>9</sup> He hoped that by thus arousing their patriotism he would make the French people forget their grievances against him. This old trick of dictators was to be his ruin.

*The Franco-Prussian War and Its Results.* Since the Prussian government in 1870 was also eager for a foreign war, the Franco-Prussian War soon broke out (page 398). The French were easily defeated. Napoleon III was captured by the Prussians and finally forced into exile in England. The people of Paris declared the Second French Empire at an end and set up the Third French Republic (page 476). The tough terms demanded by Prussia in the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871) were a crushing blow to French pride. All of Alsace and much of Lorraine were annexed to Prussia. The French were obliged to pay the Prussians a huge sum and to support a Prussian army of occupation until payments were completed.

Napoleon III, by taking France into the Franco-Prussian War, had planted some of the seeds of World War I. For many French-

men were henceforth to dedicate their lives to seeking revenge against Prussia. To Prussia, victory in the Franco-Prussian War meant completion of the unification of Germany. Many German states which had hesitated to join Prussia's movement to unite Germany now did so. The new united Germany was to become a powerful industrial and military nation. Ironically, Napoleon III, who had tried so hard to make France the dominant nation in Europe, had helped to make Germany so.

## The Struggle for Democracy in Great Britain (c1800-c1870)

In Great Britain in 1812, two brothers were jailed for saying that the Prince of Wales was not especially handsome! Many newspapermen critical of British royalty or of the British government were imprisoned and some were exiled. In 1819, British cavalry dispersed a meeting of Englishmen demanding reforms. Many peaceful civilians were wounded and some even killed in this so-called *Peterloo Massacre*. Then Parliament passed laws gagging free speech and press and restricting public meetings. Thus Great Britain, too, had a kind of Metternich system.

The Reign of Terror and Napoleon had terrified the aristocratic British ruling class. Furthermore, as so often happens after wars, a depression had struck. Unemployed war veterans, businessmen protesting high taxes, and others angry because of the high cost of living were demanding reforms. The reactionary Tory party in control expected a revolution to break out. Why should the British want to revolt? Was not their government the most democratic in all Europe?

*Democratic Features of the British Government About 1800.* Compared to most countries about 1800, Great Britain was democratic. British kings had lost their power to tax, to suspend or veto Parliament's laws, to remove judges, and to imprison Englishmen without a trial. The British people had gained considerable freedom of speech and

<sup>8</sup> Some believe that Maximilian was sincere in his desire to help the Mexican people. When he was executed, his empress, Carlotta, went insane. Many blame Napoleon III for the sad fate of this romantic couple.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, he is quoted as saying, "Unless there is a war, my son will never be emperor!"

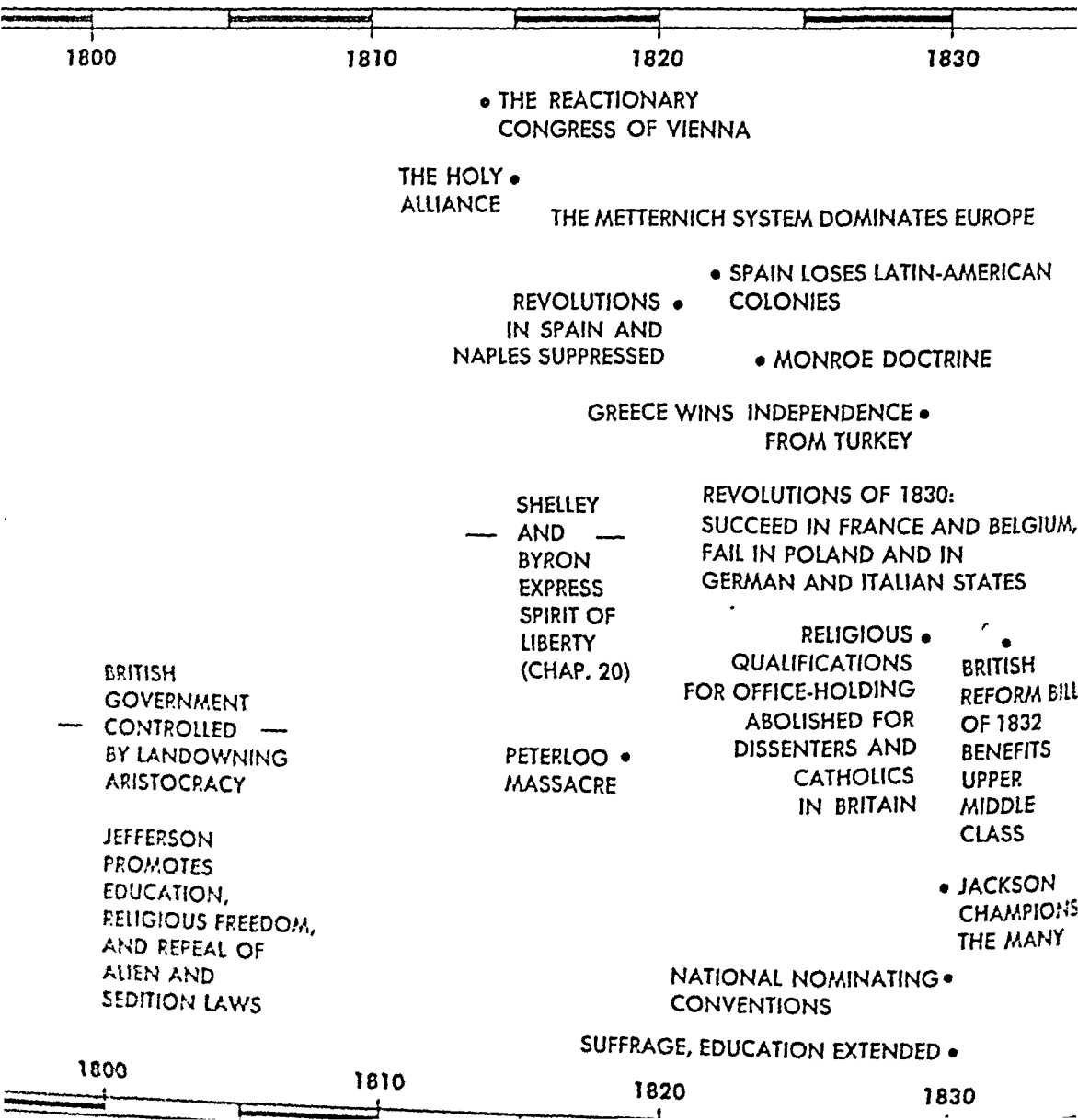
press. Protestant Englishmen had freedom of worship. Although Catholics and Jews were discriminated against, they were no longer actively persecuted. The British also had political parties, a Parliament which was destined to become the mother of parliaments everywhere, and a cabinet system. Moreover, the British people had built up a long tradition of resistance to oppression.

**Undemocratic Features of the British Government About 1800.** Compared to Great Britain about 1900, however, Great

Britain about 1800 was undemocratic. Many an ordinary Englishman must have wondered what the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had really done for him. Some radicals said he had merely changed masters. His government was now less of an autocracy and more of an oligarchy, but not much of a democracy. This oligarchy of a relatively small number of wealthy landowners and merchants ran the government.

There wasn't much democracy in the House of Lords. Its members included nobles and

# THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

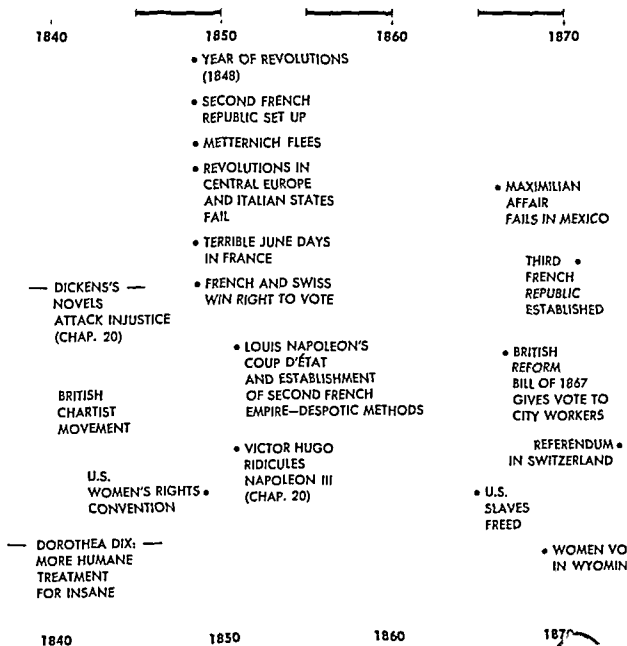


high officials in the established Church of England. The nobles kept their seats for life, and then passed them on to their eldest sons. The high church officials were appointed by the king. There wasn't much democracy even in the House of Commons. To become a member of it or even to vote for members, a man had to own much property. About five out of every six Englishmen were ineligible to vote. Catholics, Jews, and dissenters were barred from holding office. Since members of Parliament received no pay, only the rich

could afford to run for office. And on election day anyone could hear or see how others voted. What a grand opportunity for corrupt politicians! They advertised for votes, and they bribed or threatened voters.

In many democratic countries today, when the population of any district increases, that district gets more representatives in the legislature. When the population of an area drops, the area loses representatives. This is known as *reapportionment*. Such a reapportionment was badly needed in Britain in 1800. De-

## CONTINUES, 1800-1870





Chartists Riot. What might the British Parliament have done to prevent such incidents?

serted villages and even cemeteries were sending representatives to Parliament. Such areas, which had once been populated, were now known as *rotten boroughs*. Landlords who owned these areas could alone decide who the representatives would be. Sometimes they took a seat in Parliament themselves. Sometimes they sent a puppet representative. And sometimes they sold the seat for a fat fee. At this time many factories were being built. To get jobs in the factories, many people moved near by, thus creating new cities. Although the rotten boroughs had representatives in Parliament, the people of great industrial cities, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, had few or none. Labor unions were forbidden. Women were given few rights. Nor were free public schools provided.

Such was the government of Great Britain about 1800. Yet it was thus praised by an English noble: "The best that ever was since

the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better." The English people were to prove without bloodshed that it could be made better.

**The Struggle for Reform.** The Tories of Great Britain were shrewder than the reactionaries on the continent of Europe. They felt that a few reforms might keep the people sufficiently satisfied to prevent a revolution. In 1825, they passed a law which stated that labor unions were no longer considered conspiracies against the government. By 1829, religious qualifications for office-holding were abolished for both dissenters and Catholics. But the people were not satisfied. When the July Revolution succeeded in France in 1830, they became all the more demanding.

The Whig Party, made up mainly of wealthy businessmen, led the fight to obtain the vote for their members and representation for the new industrial towns. Radicals supported them by burning the manor houses of nobles. But the Tory prime minister, the Duke of Wellington, who knew more about soldiering than about statesmanship, would not budge an inch. This attitude caused the defeat of his party and the return of the Whigs to control in Parliament. Although fiercely opposed, the Whigs were finally able to put through the Reform Bill of 1832.

**The Reform Bill of 1832 Benefits the Middle Class.** The Reform Bill of 1832 was another bloodless revolution. Control of the government was now shared by the land-owning aristocracy and the middle class. This bill reduced property qualifications for voting, although it left them still high enough to prevent the working class from voting. The bill also abolished rotten boroughs and gave representation in Parliament to the new industrial cities. It was a vision of the future. In the years to come, the British were to continue to make democratic progress by evolution<sup>10</sup> rather than by revolution.

<sup>10</sup> By *evolution* is meant a gradual step-by-step process. Another sign of democratic progress at this time was the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833 (page 438).

**The Chartist Movement: More People Demand Benefits.** In 1848, French workers, dissatisfied with the results of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, used violence to win reforms. In 1848, English workers, dissatisfied with the Reform Bill of 1832, drew up a huge petition, called a *charter*, with over a million signatures. The Chartists, as the petitioners were called, demanded universal manhood suffrage, a secret ballot, abolition of property qualifications for membership in the House of Commons, payment of salaries to members of the House of Commons, and annual election of its members. Conservatives found these radical demands shocking. One wrote: "The Chartist doctrine of equality is diametrically opposed to nature and to the word of God." Parliament rejected the petition, and the Chartist movement died. Yet all but the last of its demands were eventually realized. For example, as we shall see, the right to vote was extended in 1867 to most factory workers and in 1894 to farm workers. In 1918 it was extended to women over thirty, and in 1928 to women over twenty-one.

## The Struggle for Democracy in the United States (c1800-c1870)

**The Alien and Sedition Acts: a Threat to American Democracy.** In 1799, a Pennsylvania newspaper editor was fined four hundred dollars and jailed for six months. Why? He had called the second President of the United States, John Adams, unfit for the job. The political party in power had little faith in the people. Furthermore, it had been frightened by the radicalism of the French Revolution. Adams's party accused many of its political opponents of being spies in the pay of the French government. To crush its critics, therefore, it had passed the *Alien and Sedition Acts*, a series of laws which suppressed freedom of speech and press.

**Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln: Democracy Thrives.** Many persons who agreed with Thomas Jefferson (page 312) that the Alien and Sedition Acts were un-American

voted for him for President in 1800. He won. And the Alien and Sedition Acts were repealed. In a sense, Jefferson's election was a bloodless revolution. It meant that the government was to be run in the interests of all the people rather than for the benefit of a select few. It meant a return to freedom of speech and of the press, for Jefferson believed, "Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." Jefferson also promoted education, religious freedom, and "the supremacy of the civil over the military authority."

It was a day of mourning for most of the conservative groups in the United States when Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828. All the Presidents before him had been well-educated men from the so-called better families of Virginia or Massachusetts. But Jackson was a plain frontiersman who had had little regular schooling and who came from a poor home. Some conservatives even called him a barbarian! They hated Jackson because he had become the champion of the many over the privileged few.

But to most of the farmers and city workers, Jackson was a hero. Great democratic progress was made in the Jacksonian period. In Jackson's time property and religious qualifications for voting and officeholding were abolished. For the first time, presidential candidates were nominated in a National Convention, instead of by small, select groups. More public schools were established. Trade unions developed. And the number of inexpensive newspapers increased. Jackson believed that any intelligent man was capable of holding any government job. Therefore, he ousted many conservative favorites who had held government jobs for a long time, and appointed plain people.<sup>11</sup>

After the War between the States ended in 1865, three important amendments were

<sup>11</sup> To Jackson, this seemed a democratic step because it cut the stranglehold which a privileged group had on important government jobs. Today millions of persons obtain government jobs by passing civil service examinations.



Direct Democracy in a Swiss Canton — a Fine Ideal Not Practical Everywhere. Why?

added to the United States Constitution. One abolished slavery. Another made the freed slaves citizens. And the third forbade the states to deny anyone the right to vote because of his "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The man most responsible for paving the way for these amendments was President Abraham Lincoln. Among Lincoln's many statements on democracy is this warning: "Trample on the rights of others . . . and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you!"

### The Status of Democracy by 1870

Thus, as we have seen, France, Great Britain, and the United States were pioneers in the development of modern democracy. But other countries have helped in this development, too. In the first modern republic, Switzerland (page 299), for example, all men won the right to vote in 1848 — although Swiss women still may not vote. For years Switzerland has been a haven for religious or political refugees. Beginning about 1870, the Swiss cantons gradually introduced a system whereby voters may propose laws — the *initiative* — and approve or veto laws — the *referendum*. As we shall see, much demo-

cratic progress has been made elsewhere, too, since 1870. This is especially true of the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. We shall also discuss the slow progress of democracy on the continents of Asia, Africa, and South America, and in parts of Europe.

### Making Democracy More Meaningful to More People

**Bringing Education to All.** For thousands of years, teachers whipped their pupils even for trivial reasons. Since many feel that respect for an individual's personality is the essence of democracy, they condemn such whippings as undemocratic. Until recently, there were many ways in which education was undemocratic. It was usually limited to boys, and only to boys with well-to-do parents. Few schools were free. Pupils were seldom given a choice of subjects. They were forced to memorize subject matter instead of being encouraged to think. Although universities sprang up in the Middle Ages, few persons went beyond what we would call elementary school. Even in such an advanced country as Great Britain a century ago, millions had to make a mark for a signature.

### *Democratic Features of Modern Education.*

In all advanced countries today, elementary education is free and compulsory<sup>12</sup> for both boys and girls. In some countries, free high schools and even some free colleges are open to all. Education is usually controlled by the government and supported by taxation. Modern educators feel that democracy thrives when the abilities of every child are understood and his needs met. That is why pupils are given a choice of a wide variety of subjects. The modern teacher is not a dictator who strikes his pupils<sup>13</sup> in order to force them to memorize subject matter. The modern classroom is a place where pupils work together democratically under the teacher's guidance.

*Why Free Public Education Expanded After 1800.* After the American and French revolutions, many persons began to realize that democracy decays when citizens are uneducated. Rousseau (page 310) had stimulated the French revolutionaries to plan a program of public education. In the United States, Thomas Jefferson recommended edu-

<sup>12</sup> Comenius (1592-1670), who lived in what is now Czechoslovakia, was a pioneer in promoting the idea of education for all.

<sup>13</sup> Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a Swiss, is considered one of the world's greatest educators. He suggested that teachers use sympathy and kindness rather than sarcasm and whippings.

cation for all, and even free college education for bright pupils. Moreover, government officials in many countries felt that free public schools were the ideal place to teach love of country.

As the Industrial Revolution spread, labor unions developed. These unions demanded free education for children. Workers wanted their children to get more out of life than they themselves had had. Unions also realized that compulsory education would reduce the competition of cheap child labor. Furthermore, when the use of machinery made the working day shorter, governments began to provide night schools so that adults could use their spare time intelligently.

*The Expansion of Education in Various Countries.* After Napoleon I crushed Prussia at the Battle of Jena, Prussian leaders wanted to make sure that Prussia would never again suffer such a shameful defeat. They built up a national system of public elementary education.<sup>14</sup> In the schools, they hoped to drill into the heart of every Prussian youngster a passionate love of country. Prussia became the educational model for many smaller German states. Soon Prussia also built more high schools, although these were mainly for the wealthier classes.

<sup>14</sup> Frederick the Great had laid the foundation for this system (page 286).

Illiteracy was so widespread until modern times that public letter-writers, such as this one, were needed.







Pupils in School in India.  
Tell in what way this  
picture is filled with  
heartache and hope.

The so-called public schools of Britain, such as Eton, are really private schools. In fact, until 1870, except for those who attended church schools, most of the British people received no formal education at all. In 1870, Great Britain started its national system of education. Not until 1918, however, was a national system of free, compulsory education to the age of fourteen established. After World War II the age limit was raised to fifteen.

Most French education had for centuries been in the hands of the Church. The French revolutionaries and Napoleon I had tried to create a government-controlled educational system without much success. However, in the 1850's, the Third French Republic provided free public elementary schools for all. Today school attendance to the age of fourteen is compulsory and some free high school and college education is available.

Over three centuries ago, the Puritans of

New England provided some free elementary education for many pupils. So did many states after the American Revolution. The father of the American public school system was Horace Mann, who believed that "the common school is the greatest discovery ever made by man." About 1850, he persuaded Massachusetts to furnish free public schools for all and to make attendance compulsory. Many states soon imitated Massachusetts. About 1870, many states began to provide free high school education for all and free college education for some.

In the main, the governments of northern and western Europe have provided education for all. The educational record of Spain, Italy, Portugal, and the countries of southeastern Europe has been poor. So was the educational record of Russia until 1917. As we shall see, under the Communists, Russian illiteracy has been reduced considerably. However, the main goal of education in Russia seems to be

to propagandize for Communism (Chapter 23). Except for Argentina,<sup>15</sup> Chile, Uruguay, Panama, and a few other countries, education has lagged in Latin America. In Asia, only Japan has provided education for all.

*Quality of Education More Important Than Quantity.* Widespread education does not necessarily make a country democratic. Education does promote democracy when pupils are encouraged to think for themselves and to co-operate with one another for the benefit of all. Education does not promote democracy when the schools are used to spread propaganda against national, racial, or religious minorities, or for military aggression. Newspapers, magazines, the movies, radio, and television also play a part in education. In some countries, as will be shown, these, like the schools, are sometimes used to destroy democracy rather than to promote it.

## From Religious Persecution to Religious Toleration to Religious Freedom

The laws of the United States do not favor one religion over another. No one is required to attend any church or to pay taxes to support any church. Thus, religion is a personal matter in which the government may not interfere. In short, the United States has separation of church and state. This permits complete religious freedom. So, for example, do the governments of France and Uruguay.

Many countries which have political democracy have state or established churches. By permitting freedom of worship to other faiths as well as to the official one, these countries practice religious toleration. However, they require all people to pay taxes to support the state church, or they give special privileges to members of the state church. Thus, such countries really do not have com-

plete religious freedom. Until the eighteenth century, there was little religious toleration in Europe or America, and there was practically no religious freedom. In fact, for centuries persons had been hanged, beheaded, burned at the stake, or persecuted in other ways for their religious beliefs.

Among the milestones in the progress of religious toleration are the French Edict of Nantes of 1593 (page 242) and the English Toleration Act of 1689 (page 307). In America, the colony of Maryland granted toleration in 1649 to Catholics and most Protestants. The colony of Rhode Island in 1636 was the first of all Christian communities to separate church and state. Rhode Island's policy of religious freedom under the leadership of Roger Williams was later written into Article I of the first ten amendments of our Constitution.

Serious setbacks to religious toleration and freedom were to occur in modern times, however. In 1915, a million Christian Armenians were massacred by Mohammedan Turks. Between 1939 and 1945, six million Jews were savagely put to death in Germany by order of dictator Hitler. In 1947 in India, thousands



—Berch in the Chicago Times.  
"I Can See Better Without Them."

make Argentina the most literate of the Latin-American republics

What point is the cartoonist trying to make?

lost their lives in riots between Hindus and Moslems. Moreover, religious intolerance is sometimes practiced even in the most democratic countries.

## The Struggle for Women's Rights

In the early twentieth century, many well-educated British women were thrown into jail. Some had planted bombs in public buildings. One had even thrown a hatchet at a member of Parliament. What did they want? These women who were determined to win the right to vote (*suffrage*) were called *suffragettes*. Their leader, Emmeline Pankhurst, felt that by getting publicity they would attract attention and embarrass Parliament into granting women suffrage. The fight for woman suffrage was part of a century-old movement known as *feminism*. Feminists (men as well as women) felt that women were unjustly treated. Feminists, especially in Great Britain, in the Scandinavian countries, and in the United States, had long been urging absolute equality of males and females.

Before the nineteenth century, women were barred not only from voting, but also from practically all jobs and professions. Girls lucky enough to go to school at all received an education inferior to that of boys. Women had few legal rights. All the property of a married woman, for example, belonged to her husband. Lawfully their children were his, not hers. Most men and many women were convinced that men should run the world. They thought that females should be delicate and charming creatures of whom intelligence was not required. When Mary Wollstonecraft wrote a book in 1792 recommending among other things that women become doctors, she was called "a hyena in petticoats." However, by 1870, when thousands of women were earning money in factories, they were no longer so dependent upon their male relatives. As time passed, their persistent demands won them many legal rights.

An American, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, or-

ganized the first Woman's Rights Convention, which met in 1848 at Seneca Falls, N. Y. It issued a Declaration of Independence for Women. In the 1830's, Oberlin College started admitting women students as well as men, and the first women's college, Mount Holyoke, was founded. Meanwhile, some European colleges also began to admit women. In time, elementary education for girls in many countries was even made compulsory. Educated women everywhere were soon making reputations as scientists, doctors, lawyers, writers, and artists. Fair-minded persons were forced to admit that males had no monopoly on intelligence or ability. Beginning with the territory of Wyoming in 1869, many western states in the United States granted suffrage to women. Before the outbreak of World War I, New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway had also done so. During or shortly after the war, numerous other countries, including our own,<sup>16</sup> followed suit. Not until after World War II was woman suffrage granted in France, Italy, and Japan.

However, women have not yet won complete equality with men in the eyes of the law. Moreover, many still consider females inferior to males. There are, even today, those who mutter against women drivers, who would hesitate to go to a woman doctor, and who resent having a female supervisor in business.

## Promoting the Welfare of Unfortunates

Even in modern times, many governments have done relatively little for the sick, the insane, the poor, and other unfortunates. Throughout history, however, religious organizations have shown a deep interest in the welfare of such people. For over two thousand years, Buddhists have been building hospitals and asylums and feeding the poor.

<sup>16</sup> Susan B. Anthony deserves much credit for the amendment to the United States Constitution which forbids the United States or any state to deny persons the right to vote because of their sex.

Over a thousand years ago, Moslem Caliph Harun al Raschid ordered that a hospital be built next to every mosque. And the noble work of the Christian Church in caring for widows, orphans, and the sick during the Middle Ages is well known.

In the seventeenth century, an Englishman, George Fox, founded a new Protestant sect called the Religious Society of Friends, known as the *Quakers*. Quakers have done much to establish hospitals and to care for the poor and the insane. In movements for the abolition of slavery and for prison reform, they have been leaders. For many years Quakers were severely persecuted. They were considered odd because they believed that no true Christian should go to war or take an oath of any kind. Furthermore, they held that an individual's conscience should be his guide. Therefore, in religious matters they denied the authority of the government and of priests or ministers. In their simple meeting houses, all men and women were encouraged to stand up and speak their thoughts.

Immorality and drunkenness were widespread in Great Britain in the early eighteenth century. Tavern-keepers promised patrons to get them drunk for a penny and dead drunk for tuppence! This troubled John and Charles Wesley, two brothers who were ministers in the Church of England. The Wesleys felt that the church could do more than it did to curb vice and to help unfortunate alcoholics. They preached so eloquently that they inspired thousands to become more deeply religious. The Wesleys and many of their followers devoted their lives to helping the sick and poor. Since this group methodically lived up to strict rules of conduct, its members have been called *Methodists*. In time, the Methodist Church became independent of the Anglican Church. Many Protestant groups, as well as Catholic and Jewish groups, maintain hospitals, asylums, and homes for orphans and the aged. Throughout the world, Christian missionaries have provided schools and medical care.

Unfortunates have other friends besides re-

Madame Pandit of India, First Woman President of the United Nations General Assembly.

ligious organizations. Among these is the International Red Cross, founded in 1864 by Henri Dunant, a Swiss, to give aid to soldiers wounded in battle. The Red Cross comes to the aid of victims of peacetime disasters also. Labor unions, too, have cared for needy members. Many agencies in the United Nations (Chapter 26) have aided unfortunates around the world.

Throughout the Moslem world, asylums existed for the mentally ill long before other areas recognized the need for them. Until recently, the mentally ill in most countries were either neglected or treated brutally. About 1800, a Frenchman, Philippe Pinel, declared that chaining the insane neither safeguards society nor helps the patient. A little later, in America, Dorothea Dix persuaded various state governments to establish state hospitals for the insane. Today, doctors rec-

ognize that insanity is a disease.<sup>17</sup> Statistics show that, in the United States, one out of every twenty persons spends part of his life in a mental institution. Scientific and humane treatment has restored many such mentally ill persons to a normal life.<sup>18</sup>

Many governments assume responsibility for the care of orphans and the needy aged. Laws have also been passed to prevent cruelty to and neglect of children. Some governments have provided housing projects for low-income families at low rentals. To give greater security to workers, governments have made old-age pensions and unemployment, sickness, and accident insurance for workers compulsory.

## Progress in the Treatment of Criminals

Comedians sometimes jokingly refer to modern prisons as "country clubs." They joke about prisoners' baseball teams, about the courses which prisoners take to learn a trade, or about the honor system which gives trusted prisoners much freedom. But the purpose of such practices is to reform prisoners. That is why many governments place young offenders in reformatories rather than in jails and sometimes release prisoners early for good behavior and place them on parole.

Before the nineteenth century, most prisons were pest-holes. Branding criminals, breaking their bodies on a wheel, hanging them, and burning them alive were common practices. The object of punishment then was retribution rather than reform. Torturing suspects to force confessions was widespread. In Great Britain, death was the penalty for at least two hundred offenses. In Massachusetts in 1789, a girl was hanged for stealing a few clothes.

An eighteenth-century Italian, Beccaria,

<sup>17</sup> Many believe today that alcoholism must be treated as a disease, also.

<sup>18</sup> However, there are still many mental hospitals where the treatment of patients is extremely backward.

was disturbed by such cruelties. In his influential book, *Crimes and Punishments*, he recommended the use of reason in dealing with criminals. Here are some of his suggestions: Make all trials public; abolish the death penalty and the use of torture; make the punishment fit the crime; and, above all, concentrate on crime prevention.

Another eighteenth-century prison reformer, the Englishman John Howard, wrote about the gruesome prison conditions throughout Europe. He told of wretched prisoners, even children, chained in dungeons overrun with lice. The Englishwoman Elizabeth Fry and humane persons of many other nationalities have contributed to this prison reform movement. In many areas of the Far East, the Middle East, and Africa, however, the treatment of prisoners is still almost as backward as it was in medieval Europe.

## Some Answers to Critics of Democracy

Some persons criticize democracy with words like these: "So much time is spent in discussion that action in an emergency is slow"; or "There are so many officials that it is hard to hold anyone responsible when things go wrong"; or "Freedoms are given to the intolerant as well as to the tolerant"; or "Small, powerful groups often have more influence than the majority"; or "Corrupt and selfish men may rise to power by playing on the emotions of the people."

But democracies preserve law and order while encouraging freedom for the individual. Democracies have shown great concern for the welfare of the many. Furthermore, when people have had a voice in making decisions, they are more patriotic and cooperative about carrying them out. Since it is hard "to fool all of the people all of the time," in a democracy corrupt and inefficient officials are usually exposed.

Lovers of democracy recommend a program something like this: Give all people a chance to get a good education. Allow them



John Howard During His Trip of Inspection of European Prisons. Why should Howard be included among the great men of history?

to express themselves freely, to take part in government, and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Such a program, they say, would soon cure democracy's ills. For, even in its

brief existence on earth, democracy has thus far done more to protect the rights of the individual and the welfare of the people as a whole than has any other form of government.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### **Persons to Identify and Terms to Define**

Congress of Vienna • Talleyrand • Holy Alliance • the Metternich system • Quadruple Alliance • Concert of Europe • Monroe Doctrine • Charles X • Louis Philippe • Second French Republic • Louis Kossuth • Terrible June Days • Frankfurt Convention • Louis Blanc • Napoleon III • Empress Eugénie • Austro-Sardinian War • Maximilian Affair • Franco-Prussian War • Treaty of Frankfurt • Peter-

loo Massacre • rotten boroughs • Reform Bill of 1832 • Chartist movement • Alien and Sedition Acts • Jefferson • Jackson • Lincoln • Initiative • referendum • Horace Mann • religious toleration • religious freedom • feminism • suffragettes • Seneca Falls Convention • George Fox • the Wesleys • Henri Dunant • Philippe Pinel • Dorothea Dix • Beccaria • John Howard • Elizabeth Fry

### **Questions to Check Basic Information**

1. Discuss (a) the aims, (b) the personalities present, and (c) the work of the Congress of Vienna.
2. With what territory was each of the major

- victors rewarded at the Congress of Vienna?
- 3 Show that the Congress of Vienna violated democracy and nationalism.
4. What tactics did the Metternich system use

in order to suppress democracy and nationalism?

5. Indicate some (a) successes and (b) failures of the Metternich system.

6. The Monroe Doctrine challenged the Metternich system. Explain. For what reasons did this challenge succeed?

7. Compare (a) the reasons for and (b) the results of the revolutions of 1830 in France and Belgium.

8. What problems brought about the Revolution of 1848 in France? Discuss the problems which resulted from this revolution.

9. Give examples to show that the revolutions of 1848 outside of France in general were unsuccessful.

10. Show that there were similarities in (a) the rise to power of Napoleon I and Napoleon III; and (b) their fall from power. Point out two important differences in (a) their personalities and (b) their careers.

11. Napoleon III spoke democratically but acted despotically. Prove.

12. What steps did Napoleon III take to win favor with his people?

13. For what reasons did he fall from their favor?

14. List (a) the causes and (b) the results of two of Napoleon III's wars.

15. In parallel columns, list three democratic and three undemocratic features of the British government about 1800.

16. What did the Reform Bill of 1832: (a) do for democracy; (b) fail to do?

17. How would the recommendations of the Chartists have advanced democracy?

18. Show how (a) Jefferson, (b) Jackson, and (c) Lincoln advanced the cause of democracy in the United States.

19. Give examples of democracy in education.

20. Make a brief outline of the expansion of education in modern times.

21. Show that, in general, the world has made progress from religious persecution to religious toleration to religious freedom. Give examples of exceptions to this progress.

22. Trace the progress made in the struggle for women's rights.

23. Mention three groups of unfortunates and discuss efforts made in modern times to help each.

24. Show what changes have been made in the treatment of (a) the insane and (b) criminals.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Which country made the wisest choice of territory at the Congress of Vienna? Why?

2. Which of the changes made at the Congress would you anticipate might lead to war? Why?

3. Show why it was not possible for the Congress to turn the clock back to exactly where it was before 1789.

4. Metternich was born too late. Explain.

5. The leaders of the Metternich system should have seen the handwriting on the wall in the revolutions of the 1820's and 1830's. Discuss.

6. For what reasons was it easier to enforce the Metternich system in Italy than in France?

7. For what reasons did the workers in several countries support the bourgeoisie against the Metternich system?

8. Millions of Europeans as well as Latin Americans should have been grateful for the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine. Explain why.

9. To what extent were the members of the

Metternich system inconsistent in their actions in Greece?

10. Give proof from the Metternich system that sometimes reactionaries are the real revolutionaries.

11. Even after Metternich fled from Austria, his spirit lingered on. Give proof.

12. What lessons might lovers of democracy learn by studying the methods of Napoleon III?

13. Napoleon III was once called "Napoleon the Little." To what extent was this description accurate?

14. Even a stronger emperor than Napoleon III would have had difficulty establishing an empire in Mexico in the 1860's. Give reasons.

15. Napoleon III used nationalism and militarism to strengthen his empire, but these two factors eventually weakened it. Explain and prove.

16. By taking France into the Franco-Prussian War, Napoleon III was in a sense issuing death

- warrants to generations as yet unborn. Discuss.
- Such incidents as the Peterloo Massacre are a sign of a government's weakness rather than of its strength. Explain.
  - Show that, even in Britain, democracy was in its infancy in 1800.
  - The British in 1832 proved once more that reforms can be won without bloodshed. Discuss.
  - What was un-American about the Alien and Sedition Acts?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

- On an outline map of the world, indicate the territorial changes made at the Congress of Vienna.
- Submit to the class current events committee newspaper clippings which indicate that there is a kind of Metternich system in certain areas of the world today.
- For a group project, write brief biographical sketches on (a) "Who Was Who at the Congress of Vienna" or (b) "Important Men Named Louis of the Metternich Period," including Louis XVIII, Louis Philippe, Louis Kossuth, and Louis Blanc.
- Look up the Carlsbad Decrees for an oral report.
- As a research project, find out why many Europeans were sympathetic to and active in the Greek War for Independence. Sum up the main reasons.
- With a collaborator, write a conversation such as might have taken place in an imaginary exiles' club in England among Charles X, Louis Philippe, and Metternich.
- Write a report on the Terrible June Days.
- Make time lines showing highlights in the careers of the two Napoleons.
- Write an essay entitled: (a) "Styles Set by Empress Eugénie"; (b) "Exhibits at the World's Fair in Paris in 1867"; (c) "Paris Beautified by Na-

- What do you think should be done to make education even more democratic?
- Why do you think freedom of religion was included as the first part of the first amendment to our Constitution?
- For what reasons are those who oppose women's rights today on the defensive?
- Give reasons why there has been ever-increasing interest in the welfare of unfortunates in modern times.

oleon III"; or (d) "Victor Hugo Versus Napoleon III."

10. Imagine yourself getting signatures for the Chartist's petition. What arguments might you use to urge people to sign?

11. Select any topic from Scott and Baltzly's *Readings in European History Since 1814* which is discussed in this chapter. Report on why you selected it and what interesting highlights you found in it.

12. Make a report showing how the views of (a) Jefferson, (b) Jackson, or (c) Lincoln were in direct opposition to the ideas represented by the Metternich system.

13. Prepare posters for a committee project on *Democracy in Education*. Include some on the contributions of (a) Comenius, (b) Pestalozzi, (c) Rousseau, (d) Jefferson, (e) Horace Mann, (f) Sarmiento, (g) Mary Lyon, and others.

14. For a series of radio programs on "Famous Women in History," (a) submit to the planning committee your list of the women you would include and (b) the reasons for your choice in each case.

15. With some classmates, visit such an agency as the Red Cross or the Salvation Army, and report to the class on what it does to promote the welfare of unfortunates.

### Summing Up

- Answer the questions under each of the illustrations in this chapter in your notebook.
- Either draw or tell what you would put into a class-planned mural designed to indicate the highlights in the development of democracy from

the time of ancient Athens to the present day.

3. From Chapters 12, 13, and 14, select: (a) the three persons who you think did most to promote democracy; and (b) the three who you think did most to hinder it. Tell why in each case.



# CHAPTER 15 . . . NATIONALISM MAKES RAPID STRIDES

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**Bonds Which Stimulate Nationalism • The Slow Development of Nationalism Before 1789 • Influence of the French Revolution on Nationalism • Nationalism in the United States and Canada • How Geography, Population Differences, and History Have Helped to Make Latin-American Republics Nationalistic • Latin America's Pioneers in Promoting Nationalism • Democracy Lags Behind Nationalism in Latin America • The Rocky Road of Nationalism in Russia • The Irish Struggle Eight Centuries for Independence • Mazzini Propagandizes for, Cavour Plans for, and Garibaldi Fights for Italian Unification • Bismarck Uses "Blood and Iron" to Unify Germany • The Franco-Prussian War Intensifies Nationalism in Germany and France • Nationalism Breaks Up the Austrian and Turkish Empires • The Great Powers Influence Balkan Nationalism • Nationalism Among the Turks Before 1914 • Japanese Nationalism Rooted in Japanese Feudalism • Many Asians and Africans Slow to Develop Nationalism • The New Nationalism Tends to Be Less Democratic • Nationalism Has Its Virtues • Nationalism and Internationalism Live Together**

---

Americans sing:

"America! America!

God shed His grace on thee . . ."

Englishmen sing:

"The land of my fathers, the land of my  
choice,

The land in which poets and minstrels  
rejoice . . ."

Swedes sing:

"I greet thee, most beauteous land upon  
earth . . ."

Every country has patriotic songs which express ideas similar to these. Such songs naturally arouse in people an intense emotion of loyalty toward their nation. This spirit is called *nationalism*. Nationalism gives individuals a sense of belonging to a group with

which they share common ideals, traditions, and culture, frequently a common language, and sometimes a common origin and religion. However, this is not always true. In the case of the United States, the people are nationalistic like those of other nations, but they are of many different origins and religions. Switzerland, which is a nation, has three national languages.

The French in Canada and the Welsh in Great Britain are nationalities because they have preserved their own culture, traditions, and language. Yet they are not nations because they are not politically independent. Usually, when a nationality desires to become a nation, its nationalism is exceptionally



Dances of Scotland and India. How do such dances give people a feeling of nationalism?

strong. This was true, for example, of the Irish while they were struggling for independence from Great Britain.

## Introducing Nationalism

### Bonds Which Stimulate Nationalism.

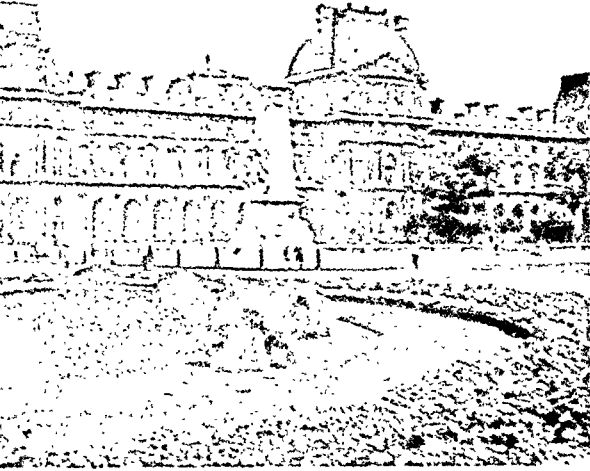
People having a common language, religion, or origin usually take pride in their nation's artistic and scientific achievements. Parades, festivals, native cooking, and national dances also help to arouse nationalism. So do national pastimes, such as baseball in the United States and bullfighting in Spain. National holidays in memory of heroes or martyrs, flag salutes, and victories (or even defeats) in wars tend to make people nationalistic. Nationalism among subject peoples is usually increased when they are persecuted.

**The Slow Development of Nationalism Before 1789.** Primitive tribes seem to have been somewhat nationalistic. Their members, united by common speech and a common religion, pledged undying loyalty to the tribal government. However, from about 4000 B.C. to about 1700 A.D., nationalism as we know it did not exist. Huge empires, feudalism, and universal religions (such as medieval Christianity and Islam) hindered the development of nations for centuries. Unlike nations, the universal religions stressed ways in which people are similar, rather than ways in which

they are different. But as mankind crossed the bridge to modern times, nations began to grow strong. Among the many early seeds of nationalism were British pride in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in Shakespeare's plays, and in their many colonies, and French pride in Joan of Arc and the Golden Age of Louis XIV.

**Influence of the French Revolution on Nationalism.** No event in history has done more to spread modern nationalism everywhere than the French Revolution. When invasion threatened, even French women and children pitched in to help save the nation. A national flag, a national anthem, a national holiday, a national army, all developed during the revolution. The national slogan, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, summed up the spirit of modern nationalism. The French revolutionaries upheld the right of people everywhere to decide their own form of government. This is known as *national self-determination*. As we know, French soldiers spread the nationalistic ideals of the French Revolution. Patriotic resistance to Napoleon also did much to promote nationalism in the conquered countries.

There are two sharp differences between the national spirit of early modern times and the nationalism promoted by the French Revolution. The allegiance of the people had now been transferred from the king to the



The Louvre in Paris. The art exhibits in this museum are a source of national pride and international interest.

nation itself. Furthermore, the nationalistic spirit began to shift from the aristocratic few to the people as a whole. Thus, a kind of marriage developed between nationalism and democracy.

## Nationalism in the Western Hemisphere

**Nationalism in the United States.** The United States is a good example of how persons of many different national origins, races, and religions can work together to make a united nation. During the colonial period, the English language, customs, and legal traditions were shared by many colonists. This common background served as a foundation for nationalism. Many immigrants who came to the United States sharing a heritage of oppression were proud of their adopted country. The Declaration of Independence was an inspiration to American nationalism. The creation of a citizen army to fight a common struggle (the American Revolution), the celebration of Independence Day (July 4th), and the adoption of a national flag, all contributed to American nationalism. As elsewhere, the middle class was the backbone of the American nationalist movement. Businessmen led the movement for independence and encouraged improvements in transportation

which would tie the new nation together and promote prosperity.

The Constitution of the United States grants important powers to the national government. As a result of the victory of the Union over the Southern Confederacy in 1865, the power of the national government increased. As the Industrial Revolution spread, more and more problems developed. The national government assumed greater and greater responsibility for solving these problems.

Nationalism increased as the United States expanded to the Pacific Ocean. In fact, many nationalists said that it was God's will for the United States to expand not only westward to the Pacific, but southward to Panama. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, *The Star Spangled Banner*, the folk songs of Stephen Foster, Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address," and the poems of Walt Whitman are a few of the inspirations to American nationalism.

**Nationalism in Canada.** Tourists in Canada have long had the impression that there are two Canadas: one English and one French. In a sense, there are. Yet Canada is a united nation. What explains this apparent contradiction? Before the eighteenth century such Frenchmen as Cartier and Champlain (pages 234, 261) laid the basis for the French Empire in Canada. Many Frenchmen then settled in Quebec and Montreal. In 1763, as a result of the French and Indian War, the British acquired Canada. Shortly after the British made it clear that they would never interfere with the French language, the Roman Catholic religion, or the French customs of the inhabitants. During the American Revolution, Loyalists (page 315) fled from the thirteen Colonies and settled to the west of the French in Canada. Soon they were joined by immigrants from Britain. Before long, disagreements developed between these settlers and their French neighbors. That is why the British government in 1791 divided Canada into what is now the English province of Ontario and the French province of Quebec.

During the War of 1812, soldiers from the United States tried to invade Canada. In spite of their differences, English and French Canadians united in resisting this invasion. However, there was considerable jealousy between the legislatures of English and French Canada. Furthermore, each wanted more self-government. For these reasons and because a severe depression had occurred, both provinces unsuccessfully rebelled against England in 1837. Great Britain then sent over Lord Durham to investigate the trouble. On his advice, in 1840, English and French Canada were united and granted much self-government. Durham realized that concessions could do more than force to hold the British Empire together. Lord Durham's report laid the basis for more self-government in other British colonies later.

Some of the remaining differences between the English and the French were solved by the British North America Act of 1867, which created the *Dominion of Canada*. Quebec, Ontario, and other provinces (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) were tied together in a federal union, similar to that of the United States. The constitution allowed much self-government to each province but gave the greater power to the central government. It intensified Canadian nationalism further by doing away with internal tariffs and by giving Great Britain still less authority over Canada. In time, westward expansion led to the creation of new provinces in western Canada, such as Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia. As these, too, were admitted to the federal union, national pride increased.

Why, then, do some tourists get the impression that there are two Canadas? Because French-speaking Canadians retain their own language, culture, and church schools. Some French Canadians regard Quebec rather than Canada as their native land. They feel no special loyalty to Great Britain. Yet, most French and English Canadians sing their patriotic song, *O Canada*, just as enthusiastically as other nationalistic peoples sing theirs.

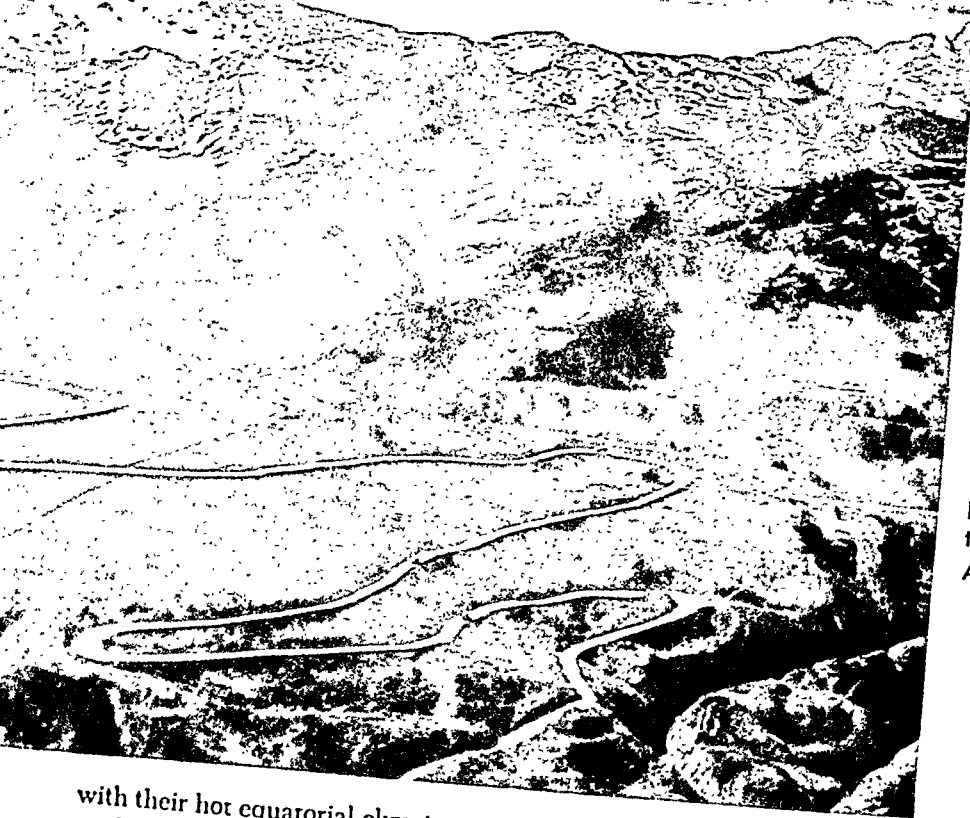
**Nationalism in Latin America.** In each of the twenty Latin-American republics there is considerable national pride. Yet some people mistakenly speak of Latin America as if it were one nation. This is not surprising. Most Latin Americans speak Spanish and worship in the Roman Catholic faith. Their law codes are largely Latin in origin. Shortly after the thirteen Colonies won their independence from Britain, the Spanish-American provinces revolted against Spain. They were united in their hatred of Spanish autocracy, corruption, censorship, and restrictions on their trade (page 269). But there were many reasons why each nation felt different from the others.

*Geography Helps to Make Latin-American Republics Nationalistic.* It is seven thousand miles from Mexico's northern border to Cape Horn at the southern tip of South America. Even today it would be hard to make this trip except by airplane. There is still neither a railroad nor a highway<sup>1</sup> which covers this entire stretch. In many places there are only mule trails.

The geography of Latin America helps to explain why it developed into many different nations rather than into one united nation. For example, Chile is cut off from Argentina by the second highest mountain range in the world — the Andes — and from Peru by the Atacama Desert. Landlocked Paraguay is practically buried in a deep forest. Another inland nation, Bolivia, is cut off from the west coast by high plateaus and volcanic mountain peaks. Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador are cut off from one another by offshoots of the Andes Mountains.

Great river systems also seem to form natural boundaries to separate nations. Argentina, for example, is separated from Uruguay by the Rio de la Plata and its branches. The Orinoco River forms part of the Colombia-Venezuela boundary. In northern Brazil is the largest river in the world, the Amazon. Its rain-soaked valleys,

<sup>1</sup>A Pan-American Highway is under construction which will eventually link Alaska to Cape Horn.



The Road in the A  
Between La Paz  
Yungas, Bolivia.  
do transporta  
problems affect  
tionalism in La  
America?

with their hot equatorial climate, are sparsely settled. These conditions have always hindered communication between Brazil and its northern neighbors.

Middle America, which includes Mexico, the Central American countries, and islands of the West Indies, is not a geographic unit either. Mountains, jungles, rivers, and the Caribbean Sea help to split this area into several different nations. How much easier it was for the thirteen Colonies to form one united nation after their revolution! They covered less territory, and they were situated compactly along the Atlantic seacoast.

*Population Differences Help to Make Latin-American Republics Nationalistic.* The population of such Latin-American countries as Argentina, Uruguay, Costa Rica, and Chile is almost entirely white. The population of others (Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay) is almost entirely Indian. Haiti is proud of its Negro nationalism. In the Dominican Republic, however, the Negro is treated as an inferior. Brazil's population includes Negroes, Indians, and the descendants of white immigrants from Portugal, France, Spain, Ger-

many, and Italy. Immigrants from Europe have settled in other Latin-American countries, but nowhere else has there been as much intermarriage among races and nationalities as in Brazil.

Often white persons born in the New World of European descent are called *Creoles*. Certain Latin-American countries whose population is mainly Creole, such as Argentina, tend to look down upon countries whose population is Indian, Negro, or mixed. Mixed populations include *Mestizos* (of Spanish and Indian parentage), *Mulattoes* (of white and Negro parentage), and *Zambos* (of Indian and Negro parentage). Language differences, too, have given some Latin-American countries distinctive personalities. Most Latin Americans speak Spanish. However, Brazilians speak Portuguese; Haitians speak French; and many Indians speak their native languages.

*How History Has Helped to Make Latin-American Republics Nationalistic.* Unlike our thirteen Colonies, the Spanish colonies revolted at different times and under different leaders. Thus, each of the newly established

republics wished to glorify its own contribution and its own heroes. In Latin America, the revolutionaries themselves disagreed violently on such questions as monarchies versus republics. This emphasized differences among the Latin-American nations.

A New Yorker would probably be more at home in Buenos Aires than would an Indian from Peru. For in many ways the Latin-American countries are as different from one another as they are from the United States. Frequent border wars have intensified national hatreds. Name calling here, as among other extreme nationalists, is common. Many of the smaller nations fear the larger ones. Frequently ambitious politicians stir up nationalistic feeling against other countries. By so doing, they hope to win the support of the people and rise to power. We shall later see many instances, nevertheless, of co-operation among the Latin-American republics, especially in the past fifty years or so.

*Some Obstacles to Nationalism in the Latin-American Republics.* Certain obstacles prevented nationalism from being even stronger in Latin America. In the thirteen Colonies, and also in many European revolutions during the Metternich period, democracy had been closely linked with nationalism. In Latin America, nationalism was on its own. Most of the people were so poverty-stricken and illiterate that they took little part in the nationalistic uprisings of the early nineteenth century.

Spanish kings had turned over huge tracts of land in the New World to their favorites. Millions of Latin Americans lacked land. They therefore had to work long hours at low wages on the estates of the Spanish aristocrats. Soon many fell so heavily into debt that they could no more leave the land than could a medieval serf. Such persons are known as *peons*. This was the kind of feudalism which developed in Latin America and hindered nationalism. The estates of these wealthy and powerful aristocrats were fairly self-sufficient. Therefore, the landowners saw no real advantage in forming a strong, united



This woman continually chews coca leaves, a common habit among miners' families in Bolivia. This drug habit, coupled with their extremely low standard of living, shortens their span of life.

nation. Furthermore, many such owners had armies whose orders were obeyed for hundreds of miles around. If there were a strong central government, the power of these military landlords would be curbed.

As we have noted, businessmen usually realize that when there is a strong central government, business prospers. But in the Latin-American republics nationalism was handicapped because for a long time there was almost no such middle class. Why? To Spanish aristocrats, only wealth in land counted. It was considered undignified to make a living from trade, manufacturing, or most of the professions. This attitude, imported to the New World, also checked the spread of an Industrial Revolution. All this helps to explain why at least half of the 150,000,000 people of Latin America live in shocking poverty.<sup>2</sup> The situation is especially shocking for an area fairly rich in resources.

<sup>2</sup> Many *peons* of Peru, for example, are paid only a few pennies a day plus their tin ration of food and clothing. The coca leaves, which are also part of the pay of some, contain the drug cocaine. Chewing these leaves helps to deaden their hunger pangs.



San Martín and Bolívar Meet.

Furthermore, many Spaniards had come to the New World, not to build homes and raise families, but to make their fortunes and return home. Their attitude was that of Cortez, who had said: "I came to get gold, not to till the soil like a peasant!" Many Indians were forced into hard labor extracting gold from the mines of Mexico and Peru. They died by the thousands. Under such conditions, how much patriotism could be developed? Moreover, in certain countries, such as Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, many natives live in isolated mountain communities where the national government has little control over them.

One aim of schools is to promote national pride. But in Latin America, where education has lagged, to fulfill this aim is difficult. In certain Latin-American countries, nearly eighty per cent of the people can neither read nor write. This illiteracy seems especially tragic because universities were established in Latin America long before they were any in the thirteen Colonies. Still another obstacle to nationalism has been the desire of some statesmen to build a united Latin America

rather than to develop strong, independent republics.

*Bolívar and Sucre Liberate Northern South America.* "I will not give rest to my arm or my soul till I have broken the chains that bind my fatherland to Spain." This was the pledge taken by Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), a Creole from Caracas,<sup>3</sup> when he was only twenty-two. He dreamed of building a united Latin America free from that brutal Bourbon, Ferdinand VII of Spain. Except for Brazil, all the present-day Latin-American republics were once part of Spain's colonial empire. Under Spain's autocratic rule, they had little opportunity to get experience in self-government. Colonials were even forbidden to read books expressing democratic ideas. They also had strong economic grievances against Spain (page 445). The Creoles, who usually had wealth and education, resented the fact that government positions were monopolized by men sent from Spain. Bolívar's efforts helped to liberate the area which now includes the republics of Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Bolivia, Ecuador, and northern Peru.

Bolívar had been strongly influenced by an earlier Venezuelan Creole patriot, Francisco Miranda. Miranda had fought autocracy in both the American and French revolutions and had unsuccessfully worked for Venezuela's independence from Spain in 1811. In 1816 Miranda died in a Spanish dungeon broken-hearted.

Then Bolívar assumed leadership of the independence movement in northern South America. In 1819, after having freed his native Venezuela, he startled the Spaniards by scaling the Andes with his army. His victory over the enemy led to the establishment of Great Colombia (the entire northern coast of South America). The *Liberator*, as Bolívar was called, was made its President. Five years later, his brilliant general, Sucre, gave the finishing blow to the Spaniards in the Battle of Ayacucho, high up in the Peruvian Andes.

<sup>3</sup> Caracas is the capital of Venezuela today.

But the last years of Bolívar's life were sad ones. Many suspected him of wanting to be a dictator. Some even intrigued to murder him. His dream of building a united South America was shattered when his own Great Colombia broke up into three separate republics—Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Bolívar, who had spent his own fortune on the independence movement, was given a small pension and ordered into retirement. He died at forty-seven, a sick and disillusioned man.

*San Martín and O'Higgins Liberate Southern South America.* Just as Bolívar has become the hero of northern South America, José de San Martín (1778-1850) has become the outstanding hero of southern South America. San Martín, also a Creole, helped to oust Spain from his native Argentina. Like Bolívar, San Martín led his troops over the perilous Andes. This daring feat led to the liberation of Chile and contributed to that of Peru. He, too, had an able general like Sucre: the Chilean patriot, Bernardo O'Higgins.<sup>4</sup> In 1822, Bolívar from the north and San Martín from the south held a dramatic meeting at Guayaquil, Ecuador. It would seem that at this meeting San Martín wanted the liberated areas to become monarchies and Bolívar wanted them to become republics. Shortly afterward, San Martín exiled himself to France, leaving the stage to Bolívar.

*Dom Pedro Liberates Brazil.* There was little difference between the way Portugal governed Brazil and the autocratic way in which Spain governed its colonies. But, strange as it may seem, the man who brought about Brazil's independence from Portugal was heir to the Portuguese throne! This is how it happened: In 1807, Napoleon I conquered Portugal, and the Portuguese king fled to Brazil, Portugal's colony. He then became Emperor of Brazil. After Napoleon I was exiled, the Portuguese Parliament called the ruler home. His son, Dom Pedro, stayed on as ruler of Brazil. The Portuguese Parlia-

ment soon asked him to return home, too. Instead, Dom Pedro led a successful bloodless revolution for Brazil's independence. Dom Pedro, who became Emperor Pedro I of Brazil, ruled autocratically from 1822 to 1831, when strong opposition forced him to return to Portugal. His five-year-old son was left as heir to the Brazilian Empire.

Pedro II, who reigned in Brazil from 1840 to 1889, invited thousands of Europeans to settle in Brazil. Many Italians settled around the coffee port of São Paulo. Many Germans settled in the cattle areas of southern Brazil. Pedro II built many schools. His strongest opposition came from Brazil's big landowners, who objected to his abolition of slavery. When he was dethroned, Brazil became a republic. However, a great tribute was paid to Pedro's democratic reign when another Latin American remarked: "The only republic in South America is ended, the Empire of Brazil!"

In territory and population, Brazil is larger than any other Latin-American republic. This bigness, together with poor means of transportation, has hindered unity in Brazil and thus prevented the development of a strong spirit of nationalism. All of Brazil is east of the United States. Therefore, it could be more easily invaded by European nations than could other Latin-American countries. Unity in Brazil is thus very important. To win the co-operation of its states, Brazil in 1891 adopted a federal constitution<sup>5</sup> similar to ours.

*Mexico's National Leaders* In 1811, a priest, Father Hidalgo, was shot by the Spaniards who ruled Mexico. He had abolished slavery and had divided up seized land among the Indians and Mestizos. In 1815, another priest, Father Morelos, also was shot because he and his followers had fought the Spaniards and had declared Mexico inde-

<sup>5</sup> Frequent disputes between those who wanted a strong central government and those who wanted strong local governments have occurred in other Latin-American republics as well. Like Brazil, Argentina and Mexico have tried to solve this problem by setting up a federal-type government.

<sup>4</sup> O'Higgins, who was the son of an Irish peddler, became the national hero of Chile.





pendent. In 1821, Mexico finally became an independent nation. Agustín de Iturbide, the Creole leader of this successful revolution, was an officer in the Spanish army who had joined the Mexican nationalists. Iturbide proved to be less interested in Mexico's welfare than in his own career. He made himself Emperor of Mexico. He even tried to dominate all of Central America,\* which had also won its independence from Spain. Soon, however, a revolution broke out, a Mexican Republic was set up, and Iturbide was shot.

In 1864, Maximilian, supported by the troops of Napoleon III, made himself Emperor of Mexico (page 356). This invasion inflamed Mexican nationalism. Led by a well-educated Indian, Benito Juárez, Mexican patriots successfully fought to save their homeland. Juárez became a great Mexican hero. As president of the Mexican Republic, Juárez tried to help the Indians by giving them land and by establishing schools. He also decreed the separation of church and state.

*Democracy Lags Behind Nationalism in Latin America.* Latin America has had many leaders who have taken steps forward in the march of democracy, only to be succeeded by dictators who have taken steps backward. For example, Rivadavia, Argentine leader from about 1820 to 1827, promoted education, strove to introduce universal suffrage, and worked for a more just legal system. But terror, torture, corruption, and murder were the tactics of Juan Manuel de Rosas, his successor, who controlled Argentina until 1852. Another tyrant, Francisco Lopez, dictator of Paraguay from 1862 to 1870, tried to fight Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay all at one time. So many males were slaughtered that Paraguay became practically a land of women. Such dictators and the hundreds of others who have frequently dominated the Latin-American republics usually seized power by force and ruled by fear.

Actually, most Latin-American revolutions

have been *coups d'état* caused by competition for power between small groups. Millions of Latin Americans are too wretchedly poor and too weakened by tropical diseases to revolt against dictators. However, peons and other workers have participated in revolutions in hopes of raising their standard of living. Foreign nations trying to increase their trade or influence in Latin America have been accused of encouraging revolutions there.

Latin-American republics have formed constitutions and elected presidents. But many of these constitutions have been drawn up by men with little practical experience in government. The presidents elected are often soldiers who expect rigid army obedience from their people. Frequently such presidents disregard the constitutions and become dictators. The few Latin Americans who own extensive lands and mines usually also control government policies. Such persons have tended to discourage the expansion of education, for educated persons usually demand higher standards of living and more democracy. Moreover, even today elections there are not always free from force and corruption. Yet, as we shall see, democratic progress is slowly being made in Latin America.

## Nationalism in Europe

*A Synopsis of Nineteenth-Century European Nationalism.* The Congress of Vienna (1815) tried to destroy the union between nationalism and democracy and to kill off both. The attempt failed. Throughout nineteenth-century Europe, the people revolted in order to win democracy and national unity. We have seen how, in the early 1820's, uprisings of the people against tyrannical rulers in the Italian states and in Spain were suppressed by the Metternich system. The Greeks, with foreign aid, won their independence from the Turks in 1829. Using guns, the Belgians won their independence from the Dutch in 1830. Without guns, the Norwegians were to win their independence from the Swedes in 1905 (page 492). In 1831,

\* Since 1839, there have been five independent republics in Central America. They are Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica.



A Typical Irish Scene. How do you explain the strong spirit of nationalism of the Irish?

and again in 1863, the Polish people unsuccessfully rebelled against the Tsar of Russia. Yet Polish nationalism did not die.

The disunited German and Italian peoples wanted their own unified nations. In 1848, they, like many of the peoples of the Austrian Empire, unsuccessfully rebelled (page 354). However, by the end of the nineteenth century, nationalism had triumphed in many areas of Europe. Germany and Italy had become united nations. Hungary had become an equal partner with Austria in the Habsburg Empire. And such Balkan states as Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Rumania had broken away from the Turkish Empire.

**The Rocky Road of Nationalism in Russia.** Russia was far behind western Europe in developing a strong spirit of nationalism. Its vast size, poor transportation, long Mongol rule, and many different peoples were all obstacles to Russian unity (page 275). The backbone of nationalism in other countries, a strong middle class, was lacking in Russia. In fact, Russia still had a kind of feudal system until fairly recently.

However, there were some signs of Russian nationalism in early modern times. Such rulers as Peter and Catherine extended Russian territory and centralized control of the government by subduing the nobility. Another stimulus to nationalism was the establishment of a national church with the tsar at its head. Russia had its national legends,

too, such as the one on which the opera *Prince Igor* is based.

For centuries many Russian tsars dreamed of uniting all peoples of Slavic origin, even non-Russians, in eastern and southeastern Europe, under Russian guidance. This movement was called *Pan-Slavism*. Tsars in the late nineteenth century were to use Pan-Slavism to promote an aggressive type of nationalism. This nationalism was based upon the idea that the Slavic peoples were superior to other peoples, and that the Russians were superior to all other Slavs.

Nineteenth-century tsars tried to compel the many different peoples in their empire to speak only Russian, to read only Russian literature, and to adopt the Russian Orthodox faith. This unpopular policy which forced nationalism on the people was called *Russification*. The Communists, who overthrew the tsar in 1917, then preached internationalism. However, they too soon began to practice intense nationalism (Chapter 23).

**The Irish Struggle Eight Centuries for Independence.** Easter Monday, 1949, was a great day for the Irish. On this day the new Republic of Ireland cut its last tie to Britain. The Irish trace their claim to Ireland to the first landing there of their ancestors, the Celts, in 350 B.C. But ever since the British invasions of the twelfth century (page 253), Ireland had been more or less under British control. Frequently, over this eight-hundred-year period, the green pasture lands of the *Emerald Isle*, as Ireland is called, have been soaked red with the blood of Irish nationalists and British soldiers.

**Reasons for Irish Bitterness Toward the British.** After England became a Protestant nation, Ireland remained Roman Catholic. Yet the Irish were compelled to pay taxes to support the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland. Not until 1793 were Catholics allowed to vote. And not until 1829<sup>7</sup> were

<sup>7</sup> Before 1829, all members of Parliament were required to swear allegiance to the king as head of the Anglican Church. Catholics refused to take such an oath.

they permitted to become public officials.

For centuries conquering English kings had been handing out Irish lands to their favorites. In time, almost all the land in Ireland was owned by British landlords. Thus, most of the Irish were obliged to become tenants or laborers on lands which they felt belonged to them. Since most of the landlords lived in England, they were called *absentee landlords*. Their agents in Ireland collected high rents but seldom made improvements. The poverty-stricken Irish peasants lived in dilapidated cabins with thatched roofs and little furniture. They had little to eat but potatoes and milk. When a potato famine struck Ireland in 1846, thousands of Irishmen either died of hunger or left the country. In less than a century, Ireland's population fell from eight million to four million, with most of the emigrants going to the United States.

The Irish also had a political grievance against the British. The Act of Union (1801) had abolished the Irish Parliament at Dublin and granted the Irish the right to send representatives to the British Parliament. Thereafter, for over a century, Irish nationalists had demanded either a parliament of their own (*home rule*) or complete independence from Great Britain.

An important obstacle to the nationalist movement was the desire of six counties in northern Ireland (usually referred to as *Ulster*) to remain united with Great Britain. Northern Ireland is inhabited mainly by English and Scottish Presbyterians. They asserted that independence for all of Ireland would mean Catholic domination of the Protestant north. They also asserted that the farmers of the south would impose heavy taxes on the businessmen of the north.

*Settling the Differences Between Britain and Ireland.* In 1869, British Prime Minister Gladstone put through a law which provided that the Irish no longer had to pay taxes to support the Protestant Church of Ireland. Gladstone also initiated a policy which enabled Irish tenants to buy the lands which they rented from the absentee landlords. The

British government lent them money, to be repaid over a long period of time. Gladstone supported home rule for Ireland, too, but without much success. Some disappointed Irish nationalists were to seek by bloody rebellion what they could not gain by parliamentary methods. Bit by bit the British government was forced to make more and more concessions (page 459). However, as late as 1949, when the independent Republic of Ireland was born, one Irish nationalist was to declare: "Our joy on this occasion is marred by the fact that six of our northern counties remain arbitrarily cut away from us." Thus the present aim of the republic is the annexation of Ulster.

### Nationalism Unifies Italy.

#### *Italy Long Disunited.*

"Two seas and the Alps shall our Italy bound;  
The oppressor no more in our land shall be found!"

— From the Garibaldi Anthem.

This song expresses the dream of nineteenth-century Italian nationalists. But from the days of ancient Rome, Italy was not a united country free from foreign oppressors. In the early nineteenth century, part of Italy had been temporarily united under Napoleon I. However, in 1815 the Congress of Vienna had made of Italy once more what has been called just a *geographical expression*. In the north, Austria had annexed Lombardy and Venetia. Habsburg relatives ruled Parma, Modena, and Tuscany. The Pope ruled the Papal States of central Italy, including Rome. A Bourbon ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Kingdom of Sardinia (made up of Piedmont and the island of Sardinia) was governed by a king of the House of Savoy.

*Bonds Stimulating and Obstacles Hindering Italian Unification.* Italian nationalists gloried in the achievements of ancient Rome and of the Italian Renaissance. Other bonds which stimulated Italian nationalism were a common basic language, a common religion, and common customs. The fact that the Italian peninsula is so naturally bounded by



Mazzini and Garibaldi Meet.

"two seas and the Alps" also explains why many Italians wanted a unified nation.

Although Napoleon I had given Italians a taste of national unity, many nationalistic Italians deeply resented French domination. Even more they resented the settlement at the Congress of Vienna which divided Italy. They showed their resentment by rebelling in the 1820's and again in 1848.

But winning Italian unification was not easy. Italian nationalists were constantly watched by spies. Their meetings were broken up. Horrible torture in foul dungeons was the fate of many. Austria opposed a united Italy because it would mean the end of Austrian control in the peninsula. Furthermore, a successful revolution in Italy might encourage many discontented peoples in the Austrian Empire to revolt. The Pope feared that a united Italy might threaten his position as the head of the Church and as ruler of the

Papal States. And many Italian Catholics were unwilling to act against the wishes of their Pope. Illiteracy, poverty, and backward agricultural and industrial conditions also hindered unification. And the nationalists disagreed as to how Italy should be unified. Some wanted a loose union of Italian states headed by the Pope. Some wanted a limited monarchy under the King of Sardinia-Piedmont. Others wanted a republic.

*Mazzini Propagandizes for a United Italy.* To Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), the struggle for Italian independence was like a religious crusade. His speeches and pamphlets aroused passionate patriotism. Although Mazzini wanted a democratic Italian republic, he was not a narrow nationalist. His belief in the brotherhood of man led him to support the cause of downtrodden subject peoples in other lands as well as in Italy. In his youth, he had joined a secret revolutionary organization, the *Carbonari*, which often used terrorism. Once when he was arrested for his revolutionary activities, a government official warned him: "We don't like young people thinking unless we know what they are thinking about!"

Mazzini himself realized how valuable to a cause enthusiastic young people can be. To arouse and direct this enthusiasm, he left the *Carbonari* and created the Society of Young Italy, composed of educated Italian youths. Their slogans were: "Liberty, Equality, and Humanity" and "Unity and Independence." Inspired by Mazzini, similar youth movements—including a Young Germany and a Young Poland—sprang up in various parts of the world. Many members of Young Italy died in unsuccessful attempts to establish republics in parts of Italy in 1848. Mazzini himself was forced into exile. But his propaganda had lit a flame in Italian hearts which was not to be extinguished.

*Cavour Plans Italian Unification.* Count Cavour (1810-1861), Prime Minister of Sardinia-Piedmont, was just as practical as Mazzini was idealistic. He realized that the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont was best fitted to

lead the fight for a united Italy. Why? In 1848, its king had gone to war to drive Austria from the Italian peninsula and had granted his people a constitution.

Although he served his king, Victor Emmanuel II, loyally, Cavour believed in the English type of parliamentary government. To prepare Sardinia for the coming struggle with Austria, Cavour sought the support of the middle class. That is why he helped Sardinian business by building railroads, modernizing agriculture, and reforming taxation.

Careful Cavour realized that tiny Sardinia could never defeat big Austria alone. So he tried to get European help. First, he became an ally of Britain and France against Russia in the Crimean War (page 483). Then, in 1856, at the peace conference in Paris, he dramatically called attention to the injustice of Austria's domination over Italy. Next, he made a secret deal with Napoleon III, promising France two provinces, Nice and Savoy, if Napoleon would help to oust Austria from the Italian peninsula. Finally, cunning Cavour deliberately provoked the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), which lasted two months. After the French and Sardinian forces won important battles, Napoleon suddenly quit the war. In the peace treaty, Sardinia gained Lombardy but not Venetia. Even though Napoleon III had not fulfilled his bargain, France was given Nice and Savoy. In admiration of Sardinia's success, some smaller states (Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Romagna) rebelled against their rulers in 1860 and voted to join Sardinia.

*Garibaldi Fights for Italian Unification.* What a movie the adventures of Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) would make! This blond-haired, bronze-skinned native of Nice had in his youth participated in rebellions against the tyrants who ruled the Italian states. In the early 1830's, with a price on his head, he fled to South America. There he joined the fight for democracy and nationalism in some of the Latin-American countries. For Garibaldi believed that the fight for freedom everywhere was his fight. In South Amer-

ica Garibaldi trained other Italian exiles for another attempt to unify Italy. There, thirty-two-year-old Garibaldi fell in love with lovely eighteen-year-old Anita, who became his wife. She rode by his side in many raids and returned with him to Italy. There, in 1849, Garibaldi bravely but unsuccessfully defended the short-lived republic which Mazzini had set up in Rome. Next came a relentless man-hunt by the Austrian secret police to track down Garibaldi. It was too much for brave Anita, who tragically died. After burying her on a beach, Garibaldi escaped to the United States.

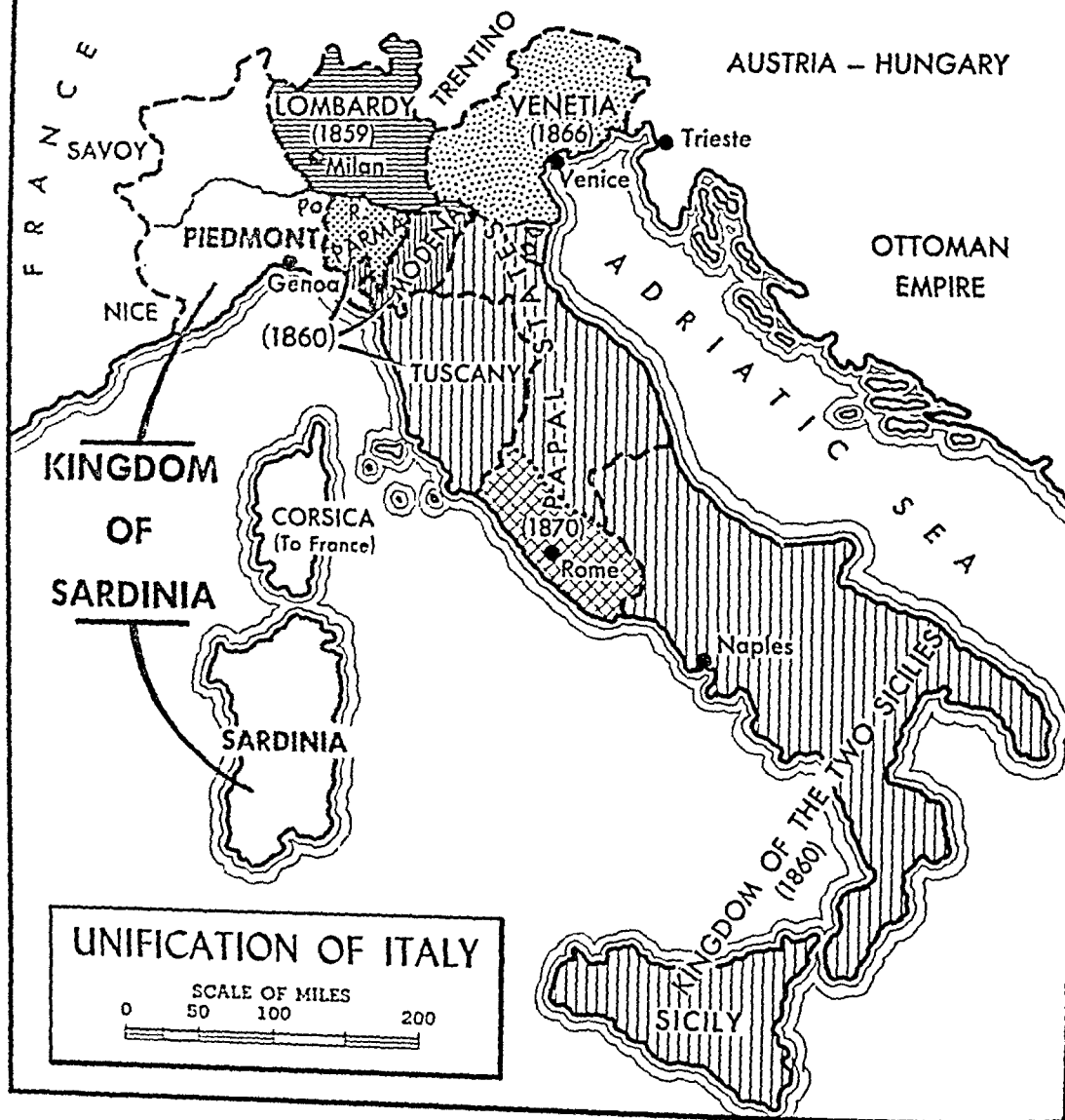
By this time, Garibaldi, unlike Mazzini, had become convinced that the unification of Italy could be speeded up by co-operating with Cavour and the Sardinian monarchy. In 1860, with a thousand poorly armed men, he invaded and conquered the island of Sicily and Naples on the mainland. Supported by his Red Shirts\* and by the cheers of Italian patriots, Garibaldi could have become dictator of the Two Sicilies. Instead, he encouraged the holding of a plebiscite, in which the Two Sicilies voted to join Sardinia. At about the same time, all the Papal States except Rome were also annexed. In 1861, an Italian Parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy.

Garibaldi was offered riches, high positions, and titles. He accepted none. Before retiring to his farm, he advised: "... Instead of fighting each other, let Italians now band together to fight poverty, illiteracy, superstition, and disease."

*Italy Finally Unified.* Italy became Prussia's ally in a war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 (page 388). When Prussia won, Italy was given Venetia. Now all Italy "between the two seas and the Alps" was united, except for Rome.

Since 1849, Napoleon III had stationed French troops in Rome to protect the Holy City. But when the Franco-Prussian War

\* Garibaldi's soldiers were so called because their red shirts were the only part of their garb that looked like a uniform.



broke out, Napoleon called his troops home. Italian troops then marched into Rome. In a plebiscite the people overwhelmingly voted in favor of annexation to the new kingdom. Thus, when Rome became the capital of Italy in 1871, Italy was finally unified.

From 1870 to 1929, Italian unity was to be hindered by the hostile relationship between Church and government. Yet Italian nationalism remained strong. For example, many Italians were resentful because there were still areas ruled by Austria but inhabited by Italians. They called these areas on the Austrian border near the Adriatic Sea *Italia Irredenta*

(unredeemed Italy). After World War I, under a dictator, Italy became aggressively nationalistic. After World War II, Italian unity was to be handicapped by fierce feuds between radicals and conservatives.

**Nationalism Unifies Germany.** For many years many Germans had dreamed of building a united German nation out of the many German states. In 1871, this dream came true. In the unification of Italy, nationalism and democracy had been at least engaged to each other, if not married. In the unification of Germany, however, nationalism and democracy scarcely flirted with each other!

*Obstacles Hindering and Bonds Stimulating German Unification.* From 862 to 1806, many German states were combined with non-German states in a weak union called the *Holy Roman Empire*. In 1800, Prussia and Austria were the two strongest states in this union. Because of its large non-German population, however, Austria did not want a united Germany. A united Germany might mean Prussian domination of the smaller states. Nor did France like the idea of a strong united German neighbor. Many of the hereditary rulers of such small German states as Bavaria and Saxony feared that a united Germany might mean the loss of their own power. Besides, the Thirty Years' War had left a heritage of bad feeling between the Protestant states in the north and the Catholic states in the south. Finally, the leading occupation in the eastern German states was farming. Industries were beginning to grow up in the western states, which were rich in coal and iron. Frequently the agricultural and industrial areas favored different policies.

Nevertheless, German nationalists could build upon a common language and pride in the accomplishments of great German musicians, writers, and philosophers (Chapter 20). Moreover, Germans lived in the same general area in central Europe.

*Early Steps in German Unification.* Napoleon had aided German unification by abolishing the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 and uniting many small German states.

Vengeful because of their defeat by Napoleon at the Battle of Jena in 1806, the Prussians became especially nationalistic. Serfdom was abolished and land made available to peasants. This made the Prussian people feel that they had a greater stake in their fatherland. The philosopher Fichte preached that the only pure race<sup>a</sup> in Europe was the German. He recommended a state system of schools for all, in which nationalistic propaganda would be spread. Even world-famous German historians found it difficult to con-

ceal their prejudice in favor of the Hohenzollerns and the glories of German history.

Prussia was determined to dominate German unification. Part of its plan was the establishment of compulsory military training, a practice which had been introduced by French revolutionaries in 1793. This practice of requiring military training of all able-bodied men was soon imitated in many countries. Rivalry between Prussia and Austria for control of the weak German Confederation formed by the Congress of Vienna also stimulated Prussian nationalism.

In the early nineteenth century, many non-Prussian Germans began to feel that Prussia was the state which could unite all Germany. After the Napoleonic wars, many German states had followed Prussia's lead in building railroads and factories. Businessmen realized that, if the many tariffs dividing the German states could be eliminated, commerce would flow more freely.<sup>10</sup> In 1819, Prussia organized a tariff union establishing free trade in territories under Prussian control. By 1844, most of the other German states — but not Austria — had joined this tariff union, called the *Zollverein*. Consequently, the business class in the German states supported Prussia's, not Austria's, leadership. The Frankfurt Assembly in 1848 (page 354), called to plan for a united Germany under Prussia's leadership, was unsuccessful. Yet it indicated that a strong spirit of nationalism existed.

*Bismarck Uses Blood and Iron to Unify Germany.* In 1862, a tall, blond man with a heavy mustache stood up in the Prussian Diet (parliament) and made this startling statement: "The unification of Germany is to be brought about, not by speeches, not by votes of parliamentary majorities, but by blood and iron." This bold noble was Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), Prussia's new prime minister. He was a bitter opponent of democ-

<sup>10</sup> One of the most important reasons for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1789 was a similar demand by American businessmen that tariff barriers among the thirteen Colonies be wiped out.

<sup>a</sup> This, of course, is a misuse of the word race (page 13).





roy" and a strong supporter of Hohenzollern absolutism. His views were typical of his own aristocratic, militaristic landholding class, called *Junkers*. Bismarck's "blood and iron" speech was his way of warning the Diet that he would fight wars and rule with an iron hand to achieve his goal of uniting Germany under Prussian leadership. When the Diet refused to vote taxes to strengthen the army, Bismarck imposed the taxes himself. Many of those who protested were imprisoned. The new king of Prussia, militaristic William I, backed Bismarck's policies to the hilt.

In three wars, Bismarck achieved his goal. In each, Prussia won quickly and easily. Bismarck had helped to make Prussia's army the world's strongest and best trained. By shrewd diplomacy he made sure that neighboring nations would be either neutral or sympathetic.

In contrast, Cavour had said: "Parliamentary government . . . has its inconveniences. In spite of this, it is better than any other form of government."

In the war with Denmark (1864), Prussia and Austria were allies. Their dispute with Denmark was over two border provinces, Schleswig and Holstein. The allies won. Then a dispute arose between them over the control of the two provinces. Bismarck now had his long-planned war with Austria to establish Prussian leadership. Prussia won in seven weeks. However, since Bismarck had already planned a war with France, in which he wanted Austria's help, his peace demands on Austria were fairly generous. Austria yielded only Venetia to Prussia's ally, Italy, and gave up its claim to Schleswig and Holstein. However, Austria had to accept the breakup of the German Confederation and to agree to stop meddling in German politics. Then Bismarck annexed many of the north German states which had fought on Austria's side. Unlike Cavour, Bismarck held no plebiscites in the newly acquired territories.

The Franco-Prussian War Intensified Nationalism in Germany and France. But Bi-



Napoleon III, Defeated, Meets Bismarck. Ambitions realized and hopes dashed. Discuss.

mark still had to win over such south German states as Bavaria and Baden. He felt confident that, in a war with foreign France, nationalism would swing these south German states to Prussia. Napoleon III was also eager for a Franco-Prussian War (page 357). Prussia was getting to be too powerful a neighbor. An incident soon arose which led to the desired war. A Hohenzollern prince had laid claim to the vacant throne of Spain. In fear of having Hohenzollerns on the south as well as on the north of France, Napoleon III protested. A telegram (the *Ems Dispatch*) reporting an interview between the Prussian king and the French ambassador about this matter was sent to Bismarck. Before turning the telegram over to the newspapers, Bismarck fixed it up to make it seem insulting to both the Germans and the French. War fever ran high. Angry crowds in Paris shouted: "On to Berlin!" Angry crowds in Berlin shouted: "On to Paris!" France declared war first. In the eyes of the world, Prussia appeared to be the victim of aggression.

Unlike the French army, the Prussian army was thoroughly prepared and efficiently commanded. After Napoleon III was defeated at Sedan, he was forced to abdicate. Bismarck's triumph was complete when the south German states joined in forming the German Empire. In January, 1871, in the palace at Versailles near Paris, King William of Prussia was crowned William I, German emperor.

Nationalism in both Germany and France increased tremendously as a result of the harsh Treaty of Frankfurt which Bismarck imposed on the French (page 357). The humiliated French people were determined to win back the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, so rich in iron and coal. In fact, a statue in Paris representing a city in Alsace-Lorraine was kept draped in black so that Parisians would not forget their loss. Aware of France's desire for revenge, many Germans became increasingly nationalistic. The aggressive militarism and nationalism of the German Empire were important causes of World War I. An important cause of World War II was the propaganda of a German dictator that the Germans were a master race. After Germany's defeat in World War II, the victorious allies were to find the strong spirit of German nationalism a major problem.

**Nationalism Breaks Up the Austrian Empire.** For centuries the Austrian Empire had been inhabited by Germans, Hungarians, Rumanians, Italians, and many Slavic peoples. The largest group was the Slavic peoples, including Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Serbs. By playing off one group against the other, it had been easy for the emperor to



The Proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871. This German triumph contributed to tragedy in both German and French families. How?



Emperor Franz Joseph I Opens the Hungarian Parliament, 1865. What light does this scene throw on nineteenth-century Austrian history?

prevent a united movement for independence (page 354). But as nationalism spread, these various groups having little in common split the empire into several different nations.

Defeat in the Austro-Prussian War had convinced the Austrian government that it needed strong supporters. Therefore, in 1867, the Austrian emperor gave much self-government to the strongest nationalistic group in his empire, the Hungarian Magyars. The name of the Austrian Empire was changed to *Austria-Hungary*. Ruler Francis Joseph, who reigned from 1848 to 1916, became Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. The arrangement which created this dual monarchy was called the *Compromise of 1867*. It gave both Austria and Hungary their own parliaments, constitutions, and courts. In addition, a joint parliament to which both groups sent delegates handled such common problems as foreign affairs.

The Germans, who ruled Austria, numbered only about thirty per cent of the population. In 1907, in order to promote Austrian unity, they gave all men, including non-

Germans, the right to vote. But this and other reforms failed to satisfy the subject peoples, especially the Slavs, who demanded independence or at least self-government like Hungary's.

The Magyars who ruled Hungary discriminated mercilessly against non-Magyars. In the schools and in the courts, everyone was required to speak the Magyar language. Very few non-Magyars were permitted to vote or hold office. How ironic that Hungary, which had for centuries clamored for self-government, should deny democracy and nationalism to others! How sad that nationalism, which had once been practically married to democracy, should now be giving it such severe blows!

The dissatisfaction of the many subject peoples under the rule of Austria-Hungary was to be a major cause of World War I. After Austria-Hungary's defeat in World War I, this empire of many nationalities was to be split into many different nations.

**Nationalism Breaks Up the Turkish Empire.** A map of the Balkan peninsula

today shows the following nations: Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Albania. A map of the eastern Mediterranean area shows such nations as Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt. All these, as well as northern Africa, were for centuries part of the Ottoman Empire.

*Obstacles to a United Balkan Peninsula.* Although the Bulgars, Croats, Serbs, and Greeks living in the Balkans despised Turkish rule (page 283), they often despised one another just as much. A few of these national groups claimed the same areas, and each remembered with pride some famous period in its history. Like the Austrian emperor, the Turkish sultan practiced a "divide and rule" policy among such rival nationalistic groups

Their rivalry was to be a major cause of World War I. Even within the various groups, national unity was handicapped for centuries because many Christian serfs hated their Christian feudal lords more than they hated their Moslem rulers.

*The Great Powers Influence Balkan Nationalism.* In the nineteenth century, Balkan independence movements were both helped and hindered by rivalries among the great European powers. Russia, for example, wanted to break up the Turkish Empire in order to realize its age-old dream of acquiring Constantinople and the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the Russians were angered because their fellow Slavic Christians were being persecuted by the Turks. Austria-Hun-



gary wanted the Turkish Empire broken up because thus it might acquire a long coast line on the Adriatic Sea.

Great Britain, on the other hand, wanted the Turkish Empire to remain strong enough to control Constantinople. Great Britain did not want to have strong Russia threatening British routes to India and other Far-Eastern lands. That is an important reason why Great Britain has for centuries opposed Russia's attempts to get Constantinople.

The spread of nationalism and the rivalries of the great powers in the Balkans—often called the *Near Eastern Question*—helped to cause the breakup of the Turkish Empire. Both these causes helped the Greeks to win their independence in 1829 (page 350). In the same year, because the great powers had weakened Turkey by wars, the Serbs were granted self-government, but not independence. If Russia had not been stopped by Great Britain and France in the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Turkish Empire might have been smashed then and there (page 483). In 1878, the Russians were to defeat the Turks, and more Balkan states were to win independence (page 484).

*Nationalism Among the Turks Before 1914.* For some time now, Turkey had been called "the sick man of Europe," because the Turkish Empire had been growing steadily weaker. In the eighteenth century, Catherine the Great had seized Turkish lands on the Black Sea. In the nineteenth century, France had won Algeria and control over Tunis, and Great Britain had taken control of Egypt in northern Africa. To cure the "sick man" and to modernize their country, young nationalist Turks staged a revolution against their corrupt government in 1908. Even though they substituted another sultan for Abdul Hamid II and won a constitution, this was not a democratic revolution. The revolutionaries were eager to build a strong Turkish nation, but they were even more intolerant than preceding sultans toward non-Turkish subjects. The Young Turk Revolt of 1908 did not cure the "sick man." In fact, shortly be-

fore and shortly after World War I, Turkey was to lose vast territories. Nationalist Turks, resentful because of these losses, were to give strong support to a strong dictator.

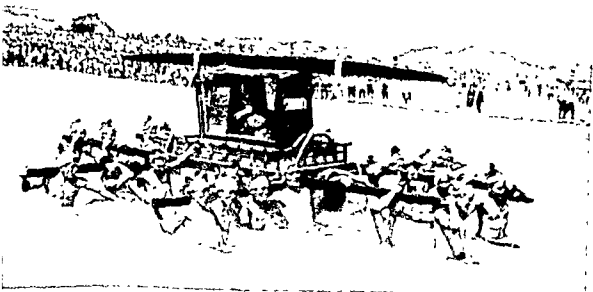
## Nationalism Elsewhere

*Japanese Nationalism in a Class by Itself.* During World War II, many Japanese boys of high-school age sacrificed their lives as human torpedoes. They would hurl the bomb-laden planes directly on the deck of an American battleship. Other Japanese boys became human torches when they refused to surrender even though threatened by flame-throwers. These examples throw light on Japan's extreme nationalism, the roots of which go far back into Japanese history.

*How Japan's Location Has Affected Japanese Nationalism.* To the Japanese, Japan is *Nippon*, Land of the Rising Sun. Only four of Japan's nearly four thousand islands are very large. Most of the Japanese people are descendants of invaders who came mainly from nearby Korea and Siberia, from southeast China, or from the islands of the South Pacific. Thus, like other peoples, the Japanese are of mixed origin. Yet Japan's island position has protected it from any large-scale invasion, such as the Mongol conquest of China. Thus isolated, the Japanese tended to feel different from others and to develop nationalistic tendencies even before modern times.

*How Shinto Stimulated Japanese Nationalism.* The Japanese youth in the suicide plane believed, along with millions of his fellow Japanese, that his country was created by the Sun goddess. He also believed that his emperor was a direct descendant of this goddess, and that all the other Japanese people were her indirect descendants. These beliefs are part of the Japanese national religion, *Shinto*.

Shinto is unlike any of the world's great religions. It has no sacred book, no great prophet, and no golden rule. Believers in Shinto worship such natural objects as ma-



This festival, held every four years, revives an old feudal custom: the procession of a feudal lord across the river. Why should nationalistic Japanese today want to revive such feudal customs?

festic, snow-capped Mount Fujiyama. Many Japanese paintings show this sacred mountain in the background. For twenty-six centuries, according to Japanese count, the Japanese have worshiped as gods not only their emperors but their direct ancestors as well. From the beginning, *Shinto* preached that all people must give blind obedience and even their lives to their sacred rulers.

*Japanese Touches Added to Imported Chinese Culture.* By the sixth century A.D., the Japanese were importing Buddhism from China by way of Korea. By the eighth century, the emperor himself had become a Buddhist. For centuries thereafter Buddhism was more influential than *Shinto*, although many Japanese worshiped in both faiths. Buddhist monks often owned extensive lands and formed private armies. About one hundred years ago, however, *Shinto* made a tremendous comeback (page 395).

Besides Buddhism, the Japanese imported from China agricultural knowledge and skills in handicrafts. They borrowed ideas from Chinese painting, sculpture, architecture, and literature. From Confucius they got the idea of making detailed rules as a guide for everyday living. Even in modern times, Japanese

government officials frequently dictated methods of housekeeping and rules on what to wear. Japanese writing uses Chinese symbols. Most of these ideas were brought to Japan during China's Tang dynasty in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. (page 162). To the imported Chinese culture the Japanese added Japanese touches. For example, the Japanese adopted the Chinese civil-service examination scheme for a time, but, unlike China, they permitted only nobles to take the tests. Really democratic civil-service tests would have been a serious threat to the nationalistic *Shinto* belief that people belong in fixed classes.

*Japanese Nationalism Rooted in Japanese Feudalism.* In eighth-century Japan, laws forbade most men to carry any swords at all, but permitted some men to carry two! These two-sword men, *samurai*, wore armor in battle as did the knights of medieval Europe. In fact, from the ninth to the nineteenth century, Japan was a feudal country. Japanese

frequently waged war. Like the vassals of medieval Europe, the *samurai* pledged military



July 14, 1853: Commodore Perry Lands to Open Negotiations with the Japanese. He and the more than 300 officers and men in his party were the first Americans to land in Japan.

service to these overlords. The warriors and their overlords were supported by the back-breaking work of serfs and craftsmen over whom they had power of life and death.

Somewhat similar to the European knight's chivalry was the samurai's code of *Bushido*. Both codes of honor glorified the warrior over merchants and scholars.<sup>12</sup> Both emphasized courtesy to aristocratic women but held women inferior to men. Both stressed courage and allegiance to the leader above all other virtues. Cunning and brutality in battle were encouraged. Like the ancient Spartans, the samurai were taught never to show emotion. Every samurai whose honor was even slightly stained was expected to commit suicide. This he accomplished by plunging a sword into his abdomen and twisting it according to a prescribed ritual, *hara-kiri*. The traditions of *Bushido* have been handed down to the present day. However, allegiance is no longer to the daimyo, but to the nation and the emperor.

From about 1200 to 1868, the emperor of Japan, the *mikado*, was a kind of figurehead. In this period, military dictators, called *shoguns*, had the real power. The first shogun

was a powerful daimyo whose conquest over other daimyos practically forced the emperor to appoint him shogun. As always under feudalism, there were frequent civil wars when rival daimyos challenged the shogun's authority. Although the shoguns allowed the emperors little power, they shrewdly encouraged the practice of worshiping these puppet emperors. They knew that the emperor as the symbol of the nation had a powerful hold on the people.

*Japan Shuts Its Door on the West (1616-1853)*. In 1549, the Roman Catholic missionary, St. Francis Xavier, was cordially received by the Japanese people. Thousands of Japanese were quickly converted to Christianity. Merchants from almost every European country were now exchanging goods and ideas with the Japanese. After 1616, all this changed. Christians were accused of meddling in politics and dividing the Japanese people. Persecution followed, and Christianity almost disappeared in Japan. Japanese were refused exit from the country, and foreigners (except some Dutch) were denied entrance to it. To the nationalistic Japanese, all westerners became "hairy barbarians." It was feared that Christianity might destroy Shinto (and with it, emperor worship) and

<sup>12</sup> Compare the prestige of the warrior class in Japan with their traditionally low position in China.

Buddhism (and with it, the privileges of Buddhist priests). Furthermore, the shoguns saw that European merchants were grabbing the riches of the East Indies. They feared that their Japan might suffer a similar fate.

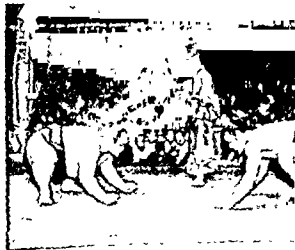
*Japan Greatly Changed by Western Contacts.* One day in 1853, four American battleships under Commodore Perry docked in Tokyo harbor. Perry's orders were to ask the Japanese to trade with Americans and to permit American ships to refuel in Japanese harbors. The shogun refused. The next year, Perry returned with ten warships. This time, the shogun agreed. Perry had shown the Japanese the advantages of trading with the West. He had brought with him, among other things, rifles, a telescope, a sewing machine, and a model railroad. Other nations followed America's example and obtained trade treaties with the Japanese.

Perry had arrived in Japan at about the right time. The once-despised merchant class had acquired great wealth. As in Europe in early modern times, this class was looking for new markets. The trade treaties were only one indication of the great changes which were taking place in Japan about 1850. Shinto was coming into its own once more. This revival of the national religion was encouraged by those who wished to overthrow the shogun and restore the emperor to power. In 1868, a revolt against the shogun, led by certain lords and their samurai, restored the emperor to power. By 1914, backward Japan was to become a world power. The country which had for centuries barred its gates to westerners now not only welcomed them but imitated them in a thousand different ways. The Japanese imitated the Prussian army, the British navy, and western industrialization.

*Japanese Nationalism a Mixture of the Old and New.* In spite of these radical changes, ancient Japanese traditions were to remain strong. For example, even though feudalism and serfdom were abolished, feudal customs remained. As in feudal Japan, there remained a tremendous gap between the poor and the rich, without much of a middle class. Even

though baseball and tennis were imported, such ancient Japanese sports as jujitsu remained popular. For centuries, the Japanese had been taught blind obedience to authority—to the family, to the clan, to the nation, to the rich, and to the military. Thus thinking for themselves was new and difficult for many Japanese people. Shinto, with its emperor worship, was made the state religion. The public-school system, which was established after 1868, glorified the idea of service to the emperor. The Japanese people would reverently lower their eyes on the rare occasions when their emperor appeared in public. Recently a famous Japanese said: "Japan is a mixture . . . feudal and modern . . . buses and rickshas, *kimonos* and *bobby-sox*. . . It will take a long time to get us all going in the same direction."

The building of a powerful army and navy especially pleased the descendants of the warlike samurai and daimyos. China had become a victim of western aggression in the nineteenth century (page 454). Many Japanese were convinced that without their strong army and navy they might have similarly suffered. The Japanese were to use their military strength to wage aggressive wars (page 462 and Chapter 25). Between World War I



A Popular National Sport in Japan Is Sumo (Wrestling). Contestants must weigh at least 250 pounds. Mention some other national sports which are identified with other countries.





Japan: Old and New. Explain this caption.

and World War II, Japanese nationalism was to reach fanatical heights. Persons who have studied such Japanese traditions as Shinto and Bushido can better understand why Japanese boys became human torpedoes and human torches in World War II.

**Many Asians and Africans Slow to Develop Nationalism.** As we shall see, nationalism was to become strong in the twentieth century in many Asiatic countries besides Japan, notably in China and India after World War I and elsewhere after World War II. There were some well-organized and powerful Negro states in Africa which had developed systems of law and were using iron tools and weaving cloth long before the Europeans. Their wood carvings and bronze work were original and often full of humor. Thus, many African communities had the cultural basis for building nations. But thick forests and rivers that were difficult to navigate made communication poor. Tribal warfare also hin-

dered national unity. Moreover, by the end of the nineteenth century, practically all of the African people were to be the unwilling subjects of European powers (page 454). Of the very few nations in Africa, Ethiopia has long been independent. Its people of different origins and different religions (Christian, Moslem, and native) still live much as Europeans did under medieval feudalism. Another nation, Egypt, has always been more closely bound to peoples of the Middle East than to Africans. And although four-fifths of the population (about 130,000,000 persons) in Africa are Negroes, Liberia is the only Negro republic. As in other undeveloped areas after both World War I and World War II, nationalism was to spread among African peoples (Chapter 28).

### Some Viewpoints on Nationalism

**The New Nationalism Tends to Be Less Democratic.** During the nineteenth century, as we know, there had been a fairly close connection between democracy and nationalism. Toward the end of this century, nationalism in many countries tended to become intolerant, militaristic, and undemocratic. Leaders desiring to seize colonies would sometimes stir up nationalism to win their people's support. Nationalistic fanatics in many countries used history and science falsely to make their people appear superior to others. One writer asserted that it could be proved scientifically that all great men since the first century had been of his nationality.

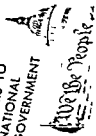
Nationalistic rivalries helped to cause many wars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Every nation involved in these wars felt that it was 100 per cent right. Wartime propaganda fed the fires of nationalism. Would-be dictators were to take advantage of this intensified nationalism to seize power and ruthlessly suppress their opponents.

Many persons in many nations with a large white population consider their nations superior to nations with, for example, a large

1830

TRANSFERS  
LOYALTY  
FROM  
KING TO  
NATION

• U.S. CONSTITUTION  
GIVES STRONG  
POWERS TO  
NATIONAL  
GOVERNMENT



**BOLÍVAR  
FREES  
NORTHERN  
SOUTH AMERICA**

**ITURBIDE LEADS  
SUCCESSFUL REVOLT  
IN MEXICO**

• DOM PEDRO LEADS  
BLOODLESS REVOLUTION  
IN BRAZIL

## METTERNICH SYSTEM SUPPRESSES REBELLIONS IN ITALIAN STATES AND SPAIN

• GREEKS WIN  
INDEPENDENCE  
AND SERBS  
SELF-GOVERNMENT  
FROM TURKEY

• BELGIUM WINS  
INDEPENDENCE  
FROM HOLLAND

**POLES REBEL  
AGAINST RUSSIA**

HEGEL PRAISES  
RUSSIAN

CONGRESS OF •  
VIENNA  
REGARDS  
NATIONALISM  
3.

INTERNATIONALISM

CHOPIN'S NATIONALISTIC  
MUSIC (CHAP. 20)

UPRISINGS IN  
CENTRAL EUROPE  
AND ITALIAN  
STATES FAIL

RUSSIAN TSARS PRACTICE PAN-SLAVISM  
AND RUSSIFICATION

**CRIMEAN WAR EXPOSES •  
WEAKNESS IN TURKISH  
NATIONAL UNITY**

**BISMARCK'S WARS  
TO UNIFY GERMANY**

**NATIONALISTIC  
UPRISING  
RESTORES  
EMPEROR**

• LORD DURHAM'S REPORT: ENGLISH AND FRENCH CANADA UNITED

**JUAREZ •  
DEFEATS  
MAXIMILIAN  
IN MEXICO**

## HOME RULE MOVEMENT BEGINS IN IRELAND

**HUNGARY •  
BECOMES  
EQUAL PARTNER  
WITH AMERICA**

GERMANY  
AND  
ITALY

1860

1850

1840

1830

1830

024

yellow population. Some intolerant inhabitants of the United States look upon people of Latin-American nations as lazy playboys who spend most of their time doing the samba, the rumba, or the conga. Similarly, some Latin Americans and Europeans think of our people as vulgar chasers of the dollar. The expression "dirty foreigners" has unfortunately been translated into many languages!

**Nationalism Has Its Virtues.** Without nationalism the world might not have such a wide variety of art, literature, and music. National pride stimulates a desire to excel other nations. Thus it has contributed to much progress in education, science, industry, trade, agriculture, and athletics, too. Nation-

alism, especially in time of emergency, insures greater co-operation among a nation's people. This spirit is especially strong among colonial peoples struggling to be free.

**Nationalism and International Co-operation Live Together.** In 1945, most of the nations of the world were to become members of the United Nations (Chapter 26). By joining an international organization, these nations felt that they obtained some insurance against having war destroy their national existence. Such nations also believed that they would benefit from exchanging ideas on many problems with other nations. More and more people are beginning to feel that international co-operation supplements but does not replace nationalism.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

nationalism • nationality • national self-determination • Lord Durham's report • British North America Act • Creoles • Mestizos • peons • Bolívar • Miranda • San Martín • O'Higgins • Dom Pedro • Pedro II • Father Hidalgo • Father Morelos • Iturbide • Juárez • Rivadavia • Rosas • Pan-Slavism • Russification • Irish home rule • Ulster • House of Savoy • Mazzini • Carbonari • Cavour • Garibaldi

• Red Shirts • *Italia Irredenta* • Fichte • Zollverein • Bismarck • *blood and iron* • Ems Dispatch • Sedan • Alsace-Lorraine • Compromise of 1867 • Magyars • Balkan peninsula • Near Eastern Question • *the sick man of Europe* • Young Turk Revolt of 1908 • Nippon • Shinto • samurai • daimyos • Bushido • *hara-kiri* • mikado • shogun • St. Francis Xavier • Commodore Perry • the new nationalism

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Discuss the factors which tend to make a people nationalistic.
2. What factors hindered the development of nationalism before 1789?
3. Show how the smoldering spirit of nationalism burst into flame during the French Revolution.
4. Give evidences of nationalism in the United States.
5. Why have obstacles to Canadian nationalism been greater than obstacles to American nationalism?
6. Indicate how (a) geography, (b) racial differences, (c) language differences, (d) class distinctions, and (e) historical factors have combined to make many nations rather than one United States of Latin America.
7. Mention some factors which have prevented certain Latin-American countries from being even more nationalistic than they are.
8. Give the contributions of any three Latin-American patriots to the struggle for independence.
9. For what reasons has democracy made less progress than nationalism in Latin America?
10. Discuss (a) obstacles to, (b) early evidences of, and (c) the undemocratic character of nationalism in Russia.
11. What were the (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) religious grievances of the Irish against the British?
12. Discuss the steps taken toward removing these grievances.

13. What factors have prevented a union of northern and southern Ireland?
14. Italian nationalists could build upon a past second to none. Prove.
15. Discuss the most serious obstacles to Italian unification.
16. Show why Mazzini has been called "the soul"; Cavour, "the brain"; and Garibaldi, "the sword" of Italian unification.
17. Why did many Italians feel that unification was not complete in 1870?
18. Show that there were (a) political, (b) religious, and (c) economic obstacles in the way of German unification.
19. What factors helped to make the Germans, especially the Prussians, nationalistic?
20. Summarize the steps taken by Bismarck to unite Germany under Prussia's leadership.
21. Show how the Compromise of 1867 was an attempt to solve a nationalistic problem in the Austrian Empire.
22. Indicate the differences in the way in which Austria handled its minorities and the way in

- which Hungary handled its minorities after 1867.
23. Why was it difficult for the Balkan peoples to unite?
24. In what ways was the breakup of the Turkish Empire caused by (a) subject peoples, (b) Turkish rulers, and (c) the big powers?
25. Give the reasons for the interest in the Balkans of (a) Great Britain, (b) Austria-Hungary, and (c) Russia.
26. Concerning the Young Turk Revolt of 1908, discuss (a) its aims and (b) its results.
27. Show how (a) geography and (b) religion stimulated Japanese nationalism.
28. How has Japanese history been influenced by Chinese culture?
29. Show the connections between Japanese feudalism and Japanese nationalism.
30. Discuss the reasons why Japan first closed, then opened its doors to the West.
31. Show that nationalism has been slow to develop in Africa.
32. Give examples to show that the new nationalism was quite different from the old nationalism.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. In the light of the history you have already studied, prove that a kind of marriage existed between nationalism and democracy in the early nineteenth century.
2. Discuss ways in which the United States has influenced Canadian nationalism.
3. If it were possible for the Latin-American republics to unite into a United States of Latin America, how might all of them benefit? What problems might arise in such a union?
4. In what ways were the careers of Bolívar, Miranda, San Martín, and O'Higgins tied in with one another?
5. In what ways was the story of Brazil's struggle for independence different from that of the other Latin-American republics?
6. On the basis of Latin America's history, it would seem more difficult to build democracy than to build nationalism. Explain.
7. Such policies as Russification usually defeat their own purposes. Discuss.
8. If you had been Prime Minister of Britain in the nineteenth century, what policies would you

- have sponsored for Ireland? Give reasons.
9. Why is absentee landlordism costly to the landlord as well as to the tenant?
10. Contrast Mazzini's ideals with those of Metternich.
11. What do you admire most about Garibaldi? Why?
12. What (a) similarities and (b) differences were there in the unification of Italy and Germany?
13. Which man do you admire more: Cavour or Bismarck? Give reasons.
14. Why was it almost inevitable that German unification would revolve around Prussia?
15. Nationalism helped to bring about unity within Italy and Germany. Why, then, did it help to break up the Austrian and Turkish empires?
16. How might a compromise creating an Austro-Hungarian-Slavic Empire in 1867 have affected the Habsburg realm?
17. Compare Young Italy with the Young Turk movement.
18. Show that the Near Eastern Question involved many western nations.

19. In modern times there has not been much of a marriage between democracy and nationalism in Japan. How do the traditions of Shinto and Bushido help to explain this?

20. To the dangers of the new nationalism, add those you yourself observe.

21. To the virtues of nationalism, add those you feel exist.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Submit for a committee report the words and music of the national anthem of some foreign country. Show how both words and music stimulate nationalism.

2. As a member of a committee studying nationalism, investigate distinctive characteristics in the food, dances, music, sports, and literature of a given country. Show how these build nationalism in that country.

3. Make an oral report on life in French Canada.

4. Make a collection of materials on a given country from travel agency booklets and other sources. Indicate to what extent they express nationalism.

5. On an outline map of Latin America, indicate geographic features which have tended to keep Latin America divided into many nations.

6. From a biography of any one of the Latin-American patriots, select quotations which express that leader's views on (a) democracy, (b) nationalism, and (c) the needs of Latin America.

7. Write an essay contrasting Rivadavia and Rosas.

8. Look up the words of *The Wearin' o' the Green*. How do they express the feeling of Irish nationalists?

9. Select from a biography of Garibaldi those incidents which you think would help to make an exciting, romantic, and historically important movie. With others, work out the scenario.

10. Make a report comparing the work of the Carbonari with that of Young Italy.

11. Report on either Bismarck's famous *blood and iron* speech or the Ems Dispatch.

12. On an outline map of the Turkish empire about 1850, indicate in approximately what areas the various subject peoples lived.

13. Make a cartoon on the Near Eastern Question.

14. Imagine yourself a foreigner visiting Japan in the late nineteenth century. Write home a letter describing (a) the climate, (b) the customs, (c) the diet, (d) the homes, and other national characteristics of Japan.

15. Write a verse characterizing the samurai.

16. Write an essay entitled: *I Was a Sailor with Commodore Perry in 1853*.

17. In committee, make a list of questions on Japanese or German nationalism to ask of servicemen who have been stationed in Japan or Germany. Interview one serviceman and help to sum up the answers of all in committee.

### Summing Up

1. Classify the highlights of this chapter under the headings *Who*, *Where*, *When*, *What*, and *How*.

2. Select what you consider the five most dramatic of the events described in this chapter and

write newspaper headlines for each of them.

3. Write a paragraph telling how this chapter has affected your thinking on nationalism.

4. Suggest some additional illustrations for this chapter.

### Recommended Reading for Unit Five

(Books preceded by an asterisk (\*) are easy to read.)

Baker, *First Woman Doctor*. Would-be girl doctors and nurses will be inspired by this biography of courageous Elizabeth Blackwell.

Baker, *He Wouldn't Be King*. The thrilling story of Simón Bolívar.

Baker, *Garibaldi*.

\*Baker, Juárez, *Hero of Mexico*. A biography which opens the door to an understanding of the struggle of Mexico's common people for a better life.

- \**Barnouw, Land of William of Orange.* Highlights in the history, geography, and culture of the Netherlands.
- \**Bill, The Clutch of the Corsican.* A story about Napoleon.
- Boyd, *Drums.* John Paul Jones is a character in this story of the American Revolution.
- Butterfield, *The American Past.* The history of the United States in pictures: 1775-1945.
- \**Carr, Men of Power.* Included are Cromwell, Napoleon, Bolívar, and Bismarck.
- Cheyney, *Short History of England.*
- \**Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities.* A novel which highlights the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution.
- \**Dilts, The Pageant of Japanese History.* Almost every phase of Japanese life from ancient times to the present is described in this well-written, well-illustrated book.
- Dumas, *The Black Tulip.* A novel about William of Orange.
- Foster, *Abraham Lincoln's World.* Vivid portrayal of events all over the world from 1809 to 1865.
- Gershoy, *From Despotism to Revolution. 1763-1789.* An excellent study of the events leading up to the French Revolution. See also *The French Revolution and Napoleon* by the same author.
- \**Hawes, The Dark Frigate.* About Cromwell's times.
- Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe.* Volume Two. A college textbook useful for reference by high school pupils.
- Hugo, *Les Misérables.* A novel about nineteenth-century France which has become a world classic.
- \**Kyle, Red Sky Over Rome.* About the unification of Italy.
- Orczy, *A Spy of Napoleon.* Plots and counterplots abound in this novel about the empire of Napoleon III.
- \**Peck, The Pageant of South American History; The Pageant of Middle American History; The Pageant of Canadian History.* Rich information told in fast-moving style.
- Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History* (or Webster's source book by the same name).
- Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History.* A college textbook useful for reference by high school pupils.
- \**Sugimoto, A Daughter of the Samurai.* Gives insight into Japanese feudal customs.
- Thompson, *Napoleon Bonaparte.* One of the finest portrayals of Napoleon's character and campaigns.
- Trease, *Trumpets in the West.* A novel about England at the time of the Bloodless Revolution.
- Van Loon, *The Story of Mankind.* Pages 323 to 401 deal with the story of democracy and nationalism.
- Whitridge, *Men in Crisis.* About the revolutions of 1848. Some fine character sketches of leaders.

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write newspaper headlines for each of

3. Write a paragraph telling how this chapter has affected your thinking on nationalism.

4. Suggest some additional illustrations for this chapter.

### Recommended Reading for Unit Five

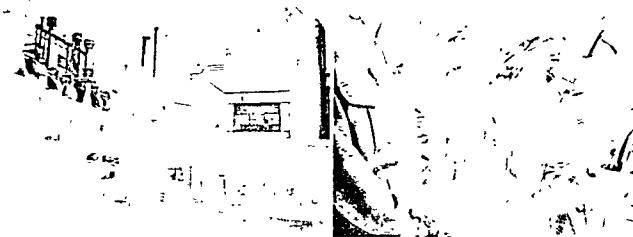
(Books preceded by an asterisk (\*) are easy to read.)

Baker, *First Woman Doctor*. Would-be girl doctors and nurses will be inspired by this biography of courageous Elizabeth Blackwell.

Baker, *He Wouldn't Be King*. The thrilling story of Simón Bolívar.

Baker, *Garibaldi*.

\*Baker, *Juárez, Hero*  
which opens the  
the struggle  
a better life

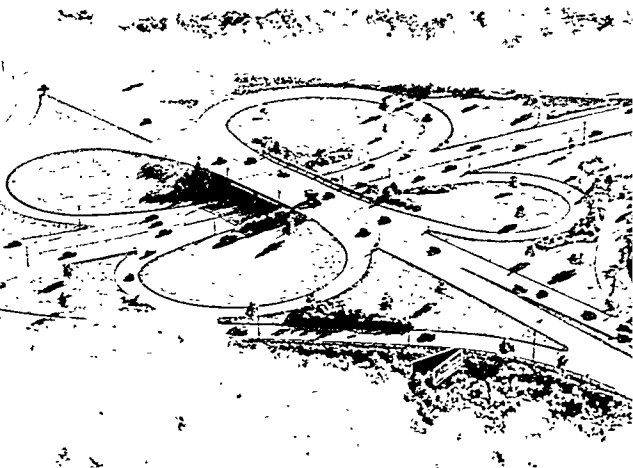


## • UNIT SIX

# The Industrial Revolution and Imperialism

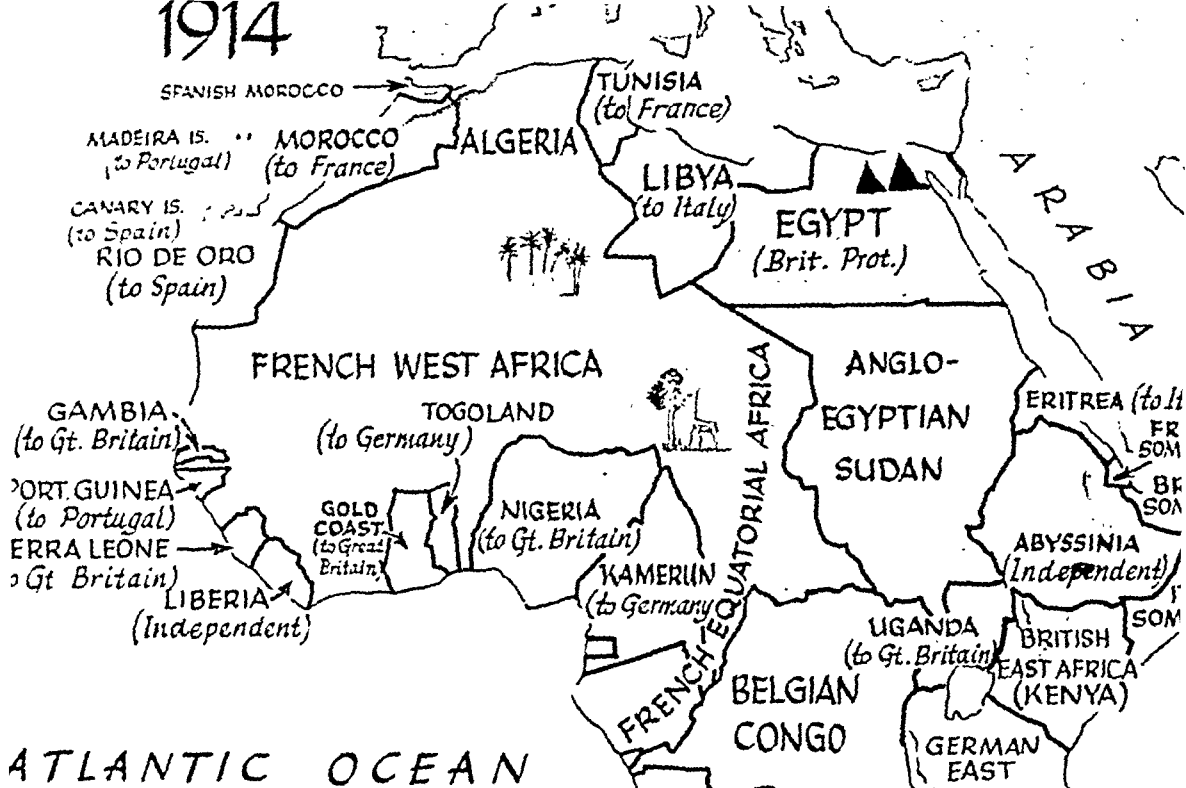
Some Symbols of the Industrial Revolution and Imperialism.

(Left above) A sample of the Equipment Used in the New Industrial Revolution: a Nylon Plant.  
(Right above) Veteran Sudanese Serving the British in Africa. (Below) Roadbuilding Revolutionized  
Once More — a Cloverleaf Intersection.

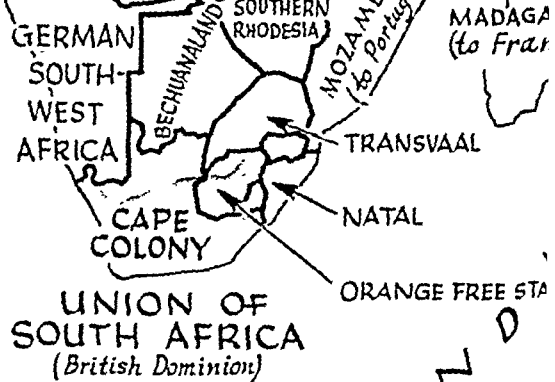
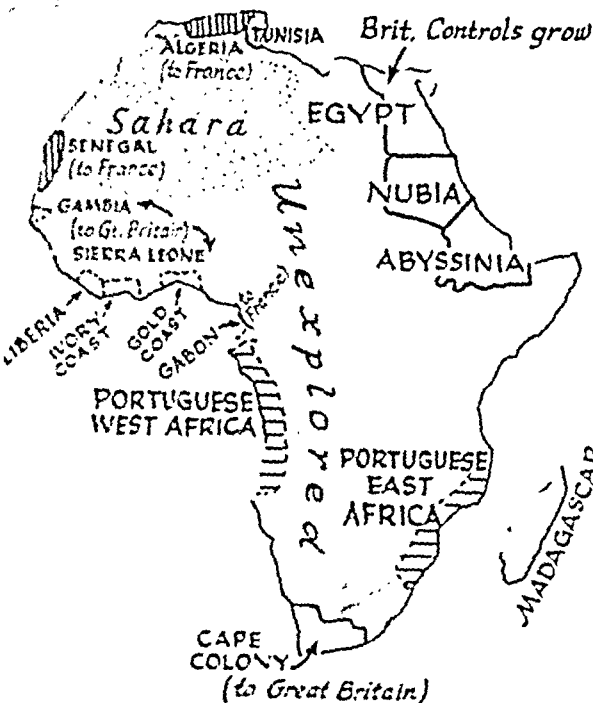




1914



1884



THE NEW  
IMPERIALISM  
ILLUSTRATED  
Africa in 1884

# CHAPTER 16 . . . THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: OLD AND NEW

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**Causes of the Industrial Revolution • Inventions Revolutionize the Textile Industry • Steam Power, Iron, Coal, and Steel Aid Manufacturing • Road Building Revolutionized • The Canal Craze • Steamboats, Iron Vessels, and Wooden Clipper Ships • Steam Locomotives on Iron Rails • Automobiles and Airplanes Annihilate Distances • Postal Service Revolutionized • Electricity Harnessed • Electricity Applied to Telegraph and Telephone • Wireless, Radio, and Television • The Newspaper Brings the World to Our Door • The Old Agricultural Revolution Begins • Pioneers of the Old Agricultural Revolution • The Enclosure Acts Force English Farmers Off Their Farms • McCormick's Reaper Speeds Up the Old Agricultural Revolution • The Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions Spread in Europe, in the Americas, and in the Far East • The Factory System: Backbone of the Industrial Revolution • Evil Conditions in Early Factories • Some Highlights of the New Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions**

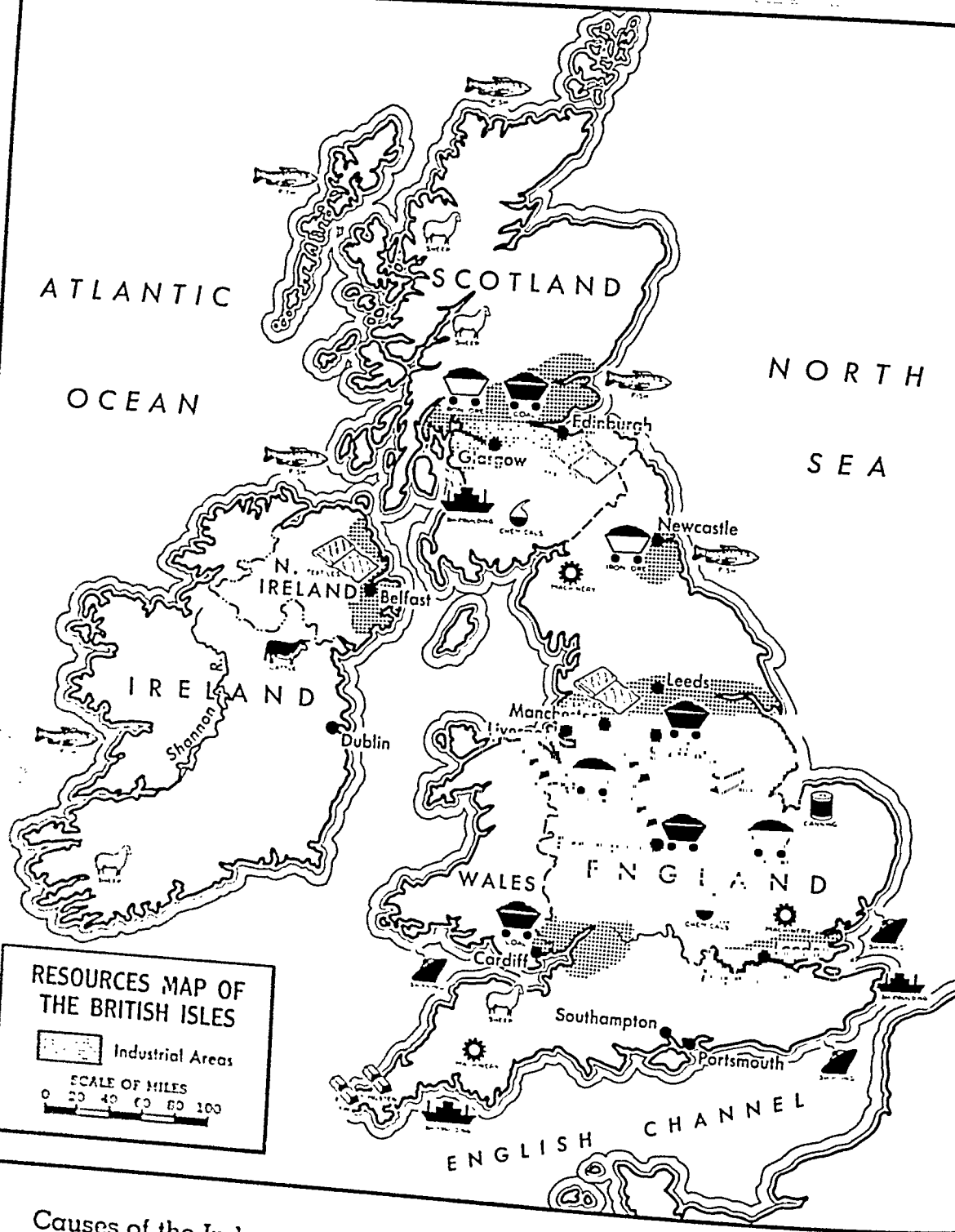
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A machine makes a glamorous gown from cloth made of coal, air, and water. A television machine brings a baseball game into the living room. A cardiograph machine makes a record of a man's heartbeat. High-powered presses bring the news of the world to millions of readers. A plane streaks across the Atlantic Ocean and back in fewer than eight hours. One farm machine—the combine—cuts, threshes, and sacks hundreds of bags of grain in a day. For this is the *machine* age. In the machine age, an invention hailed as remarkable today may be out of date tomorrow.

In contrast, until about 1750, inventions were few, and changes were made almost at a snail's pace. In the ancient world, such inventors as Archimedes had built many machines. In the Middle Ages, Leonardo da

Vinci had done likewise. The world made no practical use of these inventions. Yet the world did make use of such early inventions as the potter's wheel, the hand loom, the windmill, the compass, gunpowder, and the printing press.

Why was material progress so slow for so long? Here are some possible explanations: The privileged classes then in control feared change, and, of course, inventions would mean changes. Moreover, the privileged classes felt no need for machines when there were so many slaves and serfs. Furthermore, throughout history, many persons have always been suspicious of new ideas. Fear of authority held back many would-be inventors. Without educational opportunity, many talented persons could not develop their original ideas.



## Causes of the Industrial Revolution

Why was material progress so rapid after 1750? About 1750, man began to manufacture

power-driven machines which were to change greatly the way he lived. Hand labor became less important. A factory system which could produce goods in tremendous quantities re-

placed the domestic system (page 237). Millions of people left their farms to work in city factories. Furthermore, great industrial changes brought about changes in diet, clothing, housing, recreation, education, health, and even government. These great changes, brought about by power-driven machinery, together make up the Industrial Revolution.

There are really two phases of the Industrial Revolution: the *old Industrial Revolution* (c1750-c1870) and the *new Industrial Revolution*, which is still going on. After 1870, the rate of industrial change speeded up tremendously in certain countries and even more revolutionary changes took place in living conditions.

The Industrial Revolution had roots sunk deep in the Commercial, Scientific, and Intellectual Revolutions. By widening markets and making some men rich, the Commercial Revolution produced the capital for building factories and buying machinery. The business class gained greater influence in governments. This class, unlike the conservative landowning aristocrats, welcomed change. For example, the abolition of feudalism and serfdom would increase the number of laborers. The Scientific and Intellectual Revolutions encouraged men to experiment to find new and better ways of doing things.

England, where the Industrial Revolution began, is the best locale for studying its immediate causes. Excellent harbors, located on the leading trade routes of the world, and an abundant supply of coal, iron, and water power were nature's generous gifts to England. Furthermore, feudalism, like the guild system, had declined early in England. This meant that former serfs and apprentices were available for factory work. Many peasants, driven off their lands by the Enclosure Acts (page 237), also increased the labor supply in the cities. Many skilled laborers who had been victims of religious persecution, or who were weary of the constant warfare on the continent, had fled to England. England's many colonies provided raw materials, profitable fields for investment, and markets. More-

over, by 1750, English businessmen had learned how to check the power of their autocratic rulers. Thus, England had everything that it needed to become industrialized: capital, labor, raw materials, and plenty of customers.

In eighteenth-century England, many woolen and linen merchants were worried. Cotton was growing very popular. It had been introduced to England from India only a century earlier. So many customers wanted cotton that the old-fashioned spinning wheel could not produce enough thread, and the hand loom could not weave enough cloth to supply it. Alert businessmen now saw that, if they could meet the world-wide demand for cotton goods, they might make fortunes.

## Inventions Revolutionize the Textile Industry

What businessmen wanted was spinning and weaving machines. Soon they got them. John Kay in 1733 invented the *flying shuttle* for speeding up weaving, and James Hargreaves in 1764 invented the *spinning jenny*, which could spin eight threads at once. However, both these devices had to be worked by hand as tools had always been.

The Industrial Revolution really got under way in 1769. In that year Richard Arkwright produced the first textile machine, the *water frame*, to be operated by water power instead of by hand labor. Like pioneers in many other fields, Arkwright had his troubles. He was accused of dealing with devils. Workers, fearing that his spinning invention might throw them out of jobs, smashed his machinery. However, there was a Hollywood ending to the Arkwright story. Beginning as a humble barber without much education, he ended life a famous inventor with a great fortune and a title from King George III.

However, most of the early inventors either were cheated out of their patents or were unable to finance their inventions. Among these was Samuel Crompton, who in 1779 combined the spinning jenny and the water

frame into a new machine called the *mule*. Now the cotton business boomed, because this machine made thread finer and more cheaply. Thread could be spun much faster than cloth could be woven. But in 1785, a power-driven machine for weaving, the *power loom*, was invented by Edmund Cartwright. It could be driven by either water power or steam power. With it, cloth of fine quality became cheaper than ever. Bitterly resentful, many hand weavers left England.

Now there wasn't enough cotton to feed either the spinning machines or the power looms, for removing seeds from the cotton by hand was a slow process. An American teacher, Eli Whitney, revolutionized the cotton industry when, in 1793, he invented the *cotton gin*. This machine could speedily separate the seeds from the cotton, thereby doing the work of fifty hand laborers. As a result, cotton growing increased greatly.<sup>1</sup>

Cotton manufacturing helped to make England the world's leading industrial nation for more than a hundred years. The new machines were soon used to manufacture woolen and silk goods as well. Even poor working people could thus cast aside their homespun and home-sewn clothing and wear suits or dresses of factory-made cloth. After 1846, better-fitting clothing could be mass-produced because an American, Elias Howe, had invented the sewing machine.

## Steam Power, Iron, Coal, and Steel Aid Manufacturing

The Industrial Revolution would not have made much progress if the machines had had to depend upon water power alone. To utilize water power, factories must be built near swift-flowing streams. But there are not enough such streams. And they are often far from the labor supply, raw materials, and

markets. After the steam engine was invented, a man could build his factory near all these.

In the first century B.C., Hero of Alexandria had opened doors of Egyptian temples by means of steam power. Many persons after him had tried to utilize the tremendous power which results when heated water vaporizes, forming steam. In 1769, James Watt, a Scot, made an improved steam engine. He had built upon the earlier work of a Frenchman, Papin, and an Englishman, Newcomen, among others. Soon many textile machines were being driven by steam engines.

More iron was needed to make the many new machines. But before iron could be extracted from iron ore, impurities had to be melted out over a very hot fire, a process called *smelting*. Smelting required such large quantities of charcoal that the process was costly. About 1750, however, it was discovered that coke, made from coal, could be used instead of charcoal, made from wood. Manufacturers soon demanded better machines made of steel, not iron. Steel is iron which has been made lighter, stronger, more rust-resistant, and more elastic. This is achieved by the removal of certain impurities and by the addition of certain amounts of carbon, manganese, or other substances. Because of its expense, little steel had been used. However, in 1856, an Englishman, Henry Bessemer, discovered a cheaper and faster way of making steel. So much steel then began to be produced by this and later improved processes<sup>2</sup> that the past century has been called not only the *Machine Age*, but the *Age of Steel*.

## Transportation Revolutionized

**Roadbuilding Improved.** With the tremendous increase in production and with wider markets, enterprising Englishmen realized that there were profits to be made from

<sup>1</sup> If it had not been for this development, slavery might have ended in the United States long before the War between the States. More and more Negro slaves were used in southern cotton fields as a result of this invention.

<sup>2</sup> Such as the open-hearth and electric furnace processes.

improving roads. The private roads they built were called *turnpikes*. However, they were too few, and the rates charged were too high. This led Parliament to hire two expert road-builders, Telford and McAdam, to build public roads. All over the world, hard-surfaced roads with good drainage, constructed according to their methods, are now called *macadamized* roads. As roads were improved, more comfortable coaches and carriages were constructed. However, as late as the nineteenth century coaches were held up so often by highwaymen that travelers frequently made their wills before leaving home!

**The Canal Craze.** Since transporting bulky goods by land remained costly, the British government began building many canals. In fact, canals became such a craze that a person could travel for hundreds of miles on the continent of Europe without getting off the boat. Through the Sault Sainte Marie (Soo) Canals, which link Lake Superior and Lake Huron, more traffic passes than in most of the world's great canals combined. In 1869, the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, directed the completion of the Suez Canal, which connects the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. This canal shortened Europe's route to India by about one-third. The Panama Canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans was completed in 1914 (page 465).

**Steamboats, Iron Vessels, and Wooden Clipper Ships.** Canals saved miles, but steamboats saved hours. Although others had experimented with steamboats before, an American, Robert Fulton, is usually given credit for inventing the first steamboat in 1807. Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, which plied the route between New York and Albany, was the first to operate regularly. But before the *Clermont* first steamed up the Hudson, Fulton's invention was ridiculed by some and called an instrument of the devil by others. After its successful voyage, jealous competitors sued him.

However, progress prevailed over superstition. In 1838, a steamboat, the *Great Western*, crossed the Atlantic Ocean from England to

New York in fifteen days. Today many ships make this run in four days. After about 1840, English transatlantic steamboats were built of iron. However, American oceanic vessels continued to be built of wood and to use sails instead of steam. These were the newly developed American *clipper ships*, which, about 1850, were much faster than English steamboats. However, soon the English had so improved their steamboats<sup>2</sup> that they outdistanced the famed clipper ships. This helps to explain why the English merchant marine for a long time practically monopolized the shipping trade of the world.

**Steam Locomotives on Iron Rails.** Soon people asked why Watt's steam engine could not be used to move vehicles on land. Many had unsuccessfully tried to build an engine which could travel far and tow great weight. Finally, in 1830, an Englishman, George Stephenson, invented his famous steam locomotive, the *Rocket*. The *Rocket* astonished the world by pulling a long line of cars twenty-nine miles an hour! Many persons warned that it was unnatural for man to travel at such breakneck speed. Owners of turnpikes and private canals fought Stephenson's invention fiercely. In a short time, however, other countries besides England were building thousands of miles of railroads.

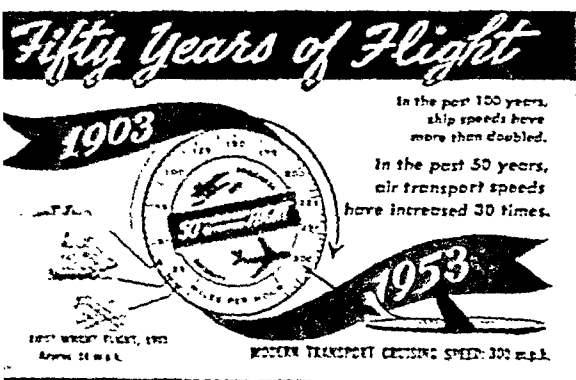
The use of steel instead of iron for rails and cars and the introduction of the Westinghouse airbrake after 1860 made railroad travel safer. By 1900, there were railroads which spanned whole continents. For example, the Canadian Pacific Railroad ties the east and west coasts of Canada together. Two continents, Europe and Asia, are spanned by the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

**Automobiles and Airplanes Annihilate Distances.** Many contributed to the invention of the automobile, including a German, Daimler, who in 1885 produced the gasoline engine, and an American, Goodyear, who in 1844 succeeded in vulcanizing rubber. It was

<sup>2</sup> Some Americans opposed iron steamships on the grounds that they would sink or that their bottoms would rust.

the American, Henry Ford (page 419), whose production methods brought the automobile within the reach of the man with a moderate income.

Even more than the railroad train and the automobile, the airplane helped to shrink distances and bring the peoples of the earth closer together. When the Wright Brothers in 1903 flew the first airplane, they were paving the way for an upheaval in commercial transportation and military methods. Many unsung heroes, such as test pilots and aviation engineers, are connected with the history of aviation. More widely publicized have been the flight of Byrd over the North Pole in 1926, the transatlantic solo flight of Lindbergh in 1927, and the round-the-world flight of Bill Odom in about three days in 1947. And jet-propelled planes seem to break speed records almost daily.



## Communications Revolutionized

**Postal Service Revolutionized.** The postal service of the ancient Persian Empire was probably faster than that of many parts of the civilized world in 1800. Until about a hundred years ago, postal rates for long distances were very high. The cost was paid by the receiver instead of by the sender. Government postal service was so slow, costly, and unreliable that many persons sent their mail illegally by their own messengers. A blind Englishman, Rowland Hill, changed all this. He introduced a system by which a

letter with a penny stamp on it would be delivered anywhere in Great Britain. That is why he is known as the *father of the modern postal system*. Other countries copied Hill's system. In 1874, the International Postal Union was established. Through this agency almost all countries co-operate in handling international letters, newspapers, magazines, packages, and money orders at low rates.

**Electricity Harnessed.** But postal service was not fast enough to serve the needs of booming business. Men had long thought that, if they could only harness that mysterious force which we call *electricity*, they could send messages much faster. It took many men from many lands to discover how to make electricity a tool of mankind. Some ancient Greeks, our own Benjamin Franklin, and others had experimented with static electricity. But to be useful as a source of power, electricity must flow in a steady current. About 1800, a Frenchman, Ampère, discovered the close connection between magnetism and electricity. First Galvani, then Volta (both Italians), experimented with making a battery which could produce steady currents of electricity.

In 1831, an Englishman, Faraday, profiting from these earlier experiments, rotated a copper disc between two poles of a horseshoe magnet. He discovered that the copper disc in turning picked up an electric current. Thus he had created a simple dynamo. Today more complicated dynamos convert the energy of coal, oil, or falling water into electricity which can furnish power to drive machines hundreds of miles away. The dynamo generates the electricity. But it is the electric motor which uses it in factories and vehicles such as electric ferries. A fundamental contribution of America's outstanding inventor, Thomas Edison, who died in 1931, was the electric light bulb. Edison also patented numerous other inventions, including the phonograph and the motion picture machine.

**Electricity Applied to Telegraph and Telephone.** Electricity was soon applied to

The Monument of the International Postal Union at Berne, Switzerland. The International Postal Union, established in 1874, suggests many lessons for the world today. What lessons?



communication. Many inventors, among them an Englishman, Wheatstone, had experimented with sending code messages over a wire by means of electricity. However, it was an American, Samuel F. B. Morse, who, in 1844, invented a practical telegraph. By means of dots and dashes (the Morse Code), the first messages came over the wire at the

rate of five words a minute. Today hundreds of words a minute are transmitted by telegraph.

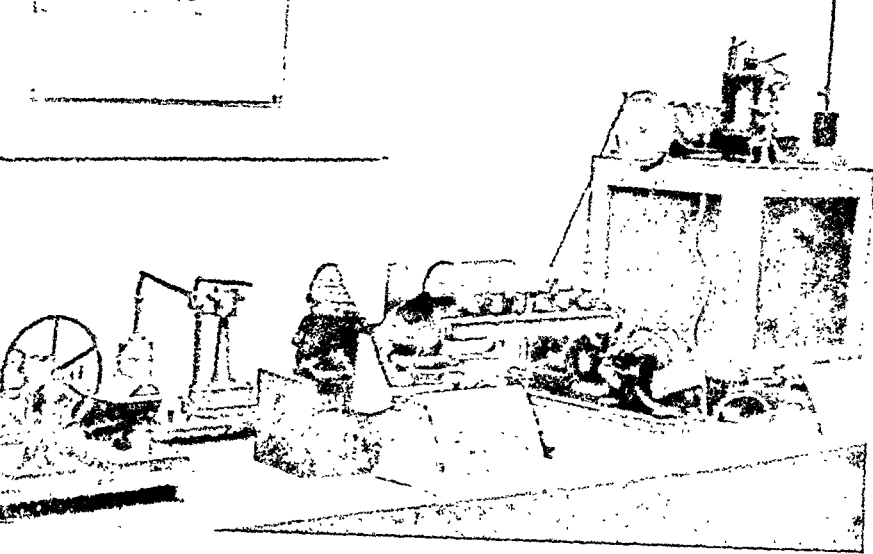
The principle of the telegraph was soon used to unite all the continents of the world. The first underwater telegraph to unite the continents was the Atlantic cable between North America and Europe. It was laid by an American, Cyrus W. Field, in 1866. It had several heartbreaking failures. The success of the telegraph was next used to transmit human voices. In 1876, the first telephone was invented by Dr. Alexander Graham Bell. By cable or long-distance telephone, messages may now be sent to any part of the world. Later, radio and television made it possible to transmit electric currents without wires.

Wireless radio and television such as the radio and television made possible the transmission of electric currents without wires.



Ampère. What debt do we owe this great pioneer in the field of electricity?





Early Marconi Wireless Equipment. Marconi's invention of wireless was a revolution in communication. Why?

Forest and others discovered how to transmit the voice without wires by means of radio. Out of these discoveries came television, which transmits without wires images in action. Such discoveries have brought about a revolution in communication, advertising, education, and recreation.

**The Newspaper Brings the World to Our Door.** It is believed that the first printed newspaper was China's *Peking Gazette* (1340 A.D.). In Europe, Gutenberg started using a printing press about 1450. Nevertheless, there were few European newspapers until the seventeenth century. Before then, people got their news from travelers or stagecoach drivers. Even when newspapers did appear, most people were too poor to buy them and too illiterate to read them. Furthermore, censorship, which was common, kept much news out of print.

In the nineteenth century, however, as democracy and education spread, more newspapers were printed at cheap prices. In New York City, for example, the first of the penny newspapers, the *New York Sun*, was issued in 1833. Such inventions as the rotary printing press by Hoe and the linotype machine by Mergenthaler speeded up the printing of cheap newspapers. So did the use of wood pulp to make paper. The telegraph, cable, telephone, and later wireless developments helped publishers to bring the news to their readers within a few hours. In 1839, a French-

man, Daguerre, showed how to make photographs. Eventually newspapers could even print pictures of current events.

## The Old Agricultural Revolution Begins

In the eighteenth century, new hope was held out to the hard-working farmer. New methods of farming were introduced. Farm machinery was invented which made the farmer's life much easier, his working day shorter, and his income larger. For there was an Agricultural Revolution which was closely related to the Industrial Revolution. By the eighteenth century, the demand for food and for such raw materials as wool, cotton, and flax had increased tremendously. The population had grown. Former farmers, now employed in the new factories, had to buy all their food. Capitalists who had made money in commerce saw in this huge market an opportunity to increase their profits by investing in agriculture. But the old-fashioned sickle, scythe, and wooden plow were just as unproductive as the old-fashioned spinning wheel and hand loom. Furthermore, large crops could never be produced under the wasteful open-field system which some still used (page 178).

**Pioneers of the Old Agricultural Revolution.** Before 1750, an Englishman, Jethro Tull, blazed a trail in scientific agriculture.

He invented a seed drill which planted seeds uniformly, thus eliminating the waste of sowing by hand. Tull also recommended that farmers use a horse-drawn cultivator to loosen soil and pull up weeds. A wealthy landlord, Lord Townshend, helped to end the open-field system of farming. He suggested that, instead of planting the same crop on the same land each year, thus exhausting the soil, farmers should rotate such crops as wheat, turnips, barley, and clover. By popularizing rotation of crops, Townshend showed that the fertility of the soil could be preserved, and that all of a farm's acreage could be used. Before 1850, a German, Justus von Liebig, showed how chemistry could convert poor soil into fertile soil. His experiments proved that most plants cannot live without phosphorus, potash, and nitrogen. Manure had been used as fertilizer for centuries. Now Liebig proved that artificial fertilizer could put back into the soil the necessary chemicals which crops eat up each year. Later, chemists began to manufacture such fertilizer in laboratories at low cost.

About 1760, an Englishman, Robert Bakewell, discovered some secrets which he tried unsuccessfully to hide. He discovered that by breeding cattle scientifically he could make stock-raising a very profitable business. He bred different types of horses, cattle, or sheep, depending upon the purpose for which they were to be used. Unlike the bony mongrels which were the products of the common-pasture system (page 178), Bakewell's animals were heavy and healthy. They were able to produce better meat, better wool, or better milk.

**The Enclosure Acts Force English Farmers Off Their Farms.** The landlords who controlled the British Parliament were convinced that larger profits would result if small farms were combined into large farms, using the new agricultural methods. Beginning about 1790, laws — *Enclosure Acts* <sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Even as early as the fourteenth century, enclosure acts had been passed to permit the fencing in of fields for sheep raising (page 237).



Threshing Millet in Ethiopia, Where Government Efforts to Modernize Agriculture Are Making Slow Headway. How does the method pictured here compare with modern methods?

—were passed which forced peasants off their little farms. Many such farms were taken over by landlords who combined them into big estates and fenced them in. Forests and pastures which had previously been used by all the farmers of the neighborhood were also taken over and fenced in. Ever since, England has been a country of big estates, rather than of small, independent farms.

Most of the dispossessed farmers became either factory workers, farm laborers on big estates, or homeless vagabonds. The Enclosure Acts helped to make England a nation of tea drinkers. Lacking their own cows for milk, the dispossessed farmers found it cheaper to buy tea. Scientific farming and farm machinery had helped them little. No wonder this bitter verse became popular in England:

The law locks up the man or woman  
Who steals the goose from off the common,  
But leaves the greater villain loose  
Who steals the common from the goose

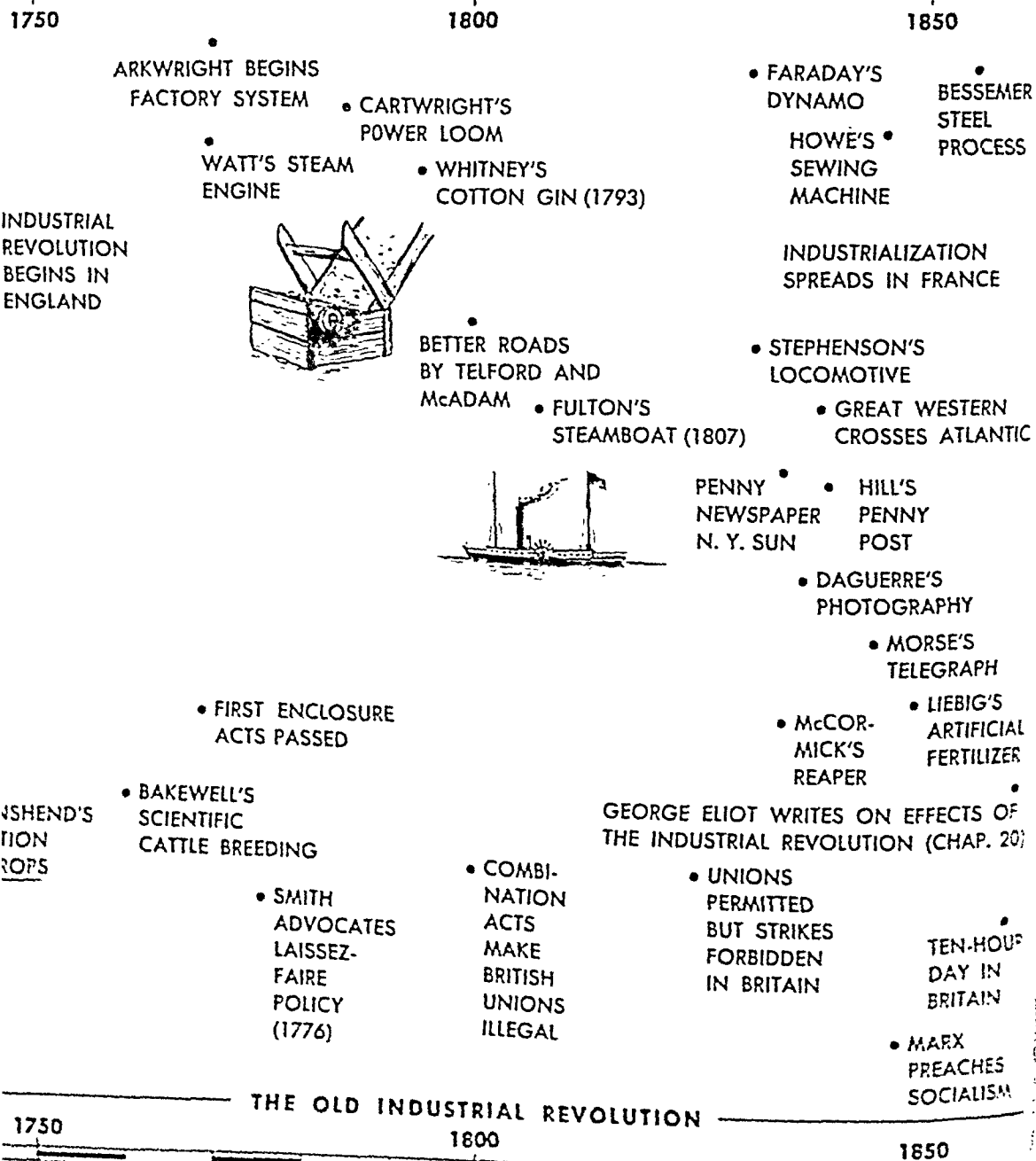
Yet large-scale farming did increase England's supply of food and raw materials.

**McCormick's Reaper Speeds Up the Old Agricultural Revolution.** In the United States, where land was plentiful, wasteful farming methods were used for a long time.

However, since the labor supply was small, there was more of an incentive to invent agricultural machines than in most countries. Although the iron plow began to be used about 1800, the first important farm machine was the reaper, invented by an American, Cyrus McCormick, in 1834. Soon many farm tools were made of steel. And soon steam power was used by some to operate plows,

threshers, and cultivators. After 1870, however, just as many radical changes in industry brought about a new Industrial Revolution, so many radical changes in agriculture brought about a new Agricultural Revolution. Then in many countries departments of agriculture and agricultural colleges were established. In some, the county fair became a national institution.

## SOME HIGHLIGHTS IN THE INDUSTRIAL



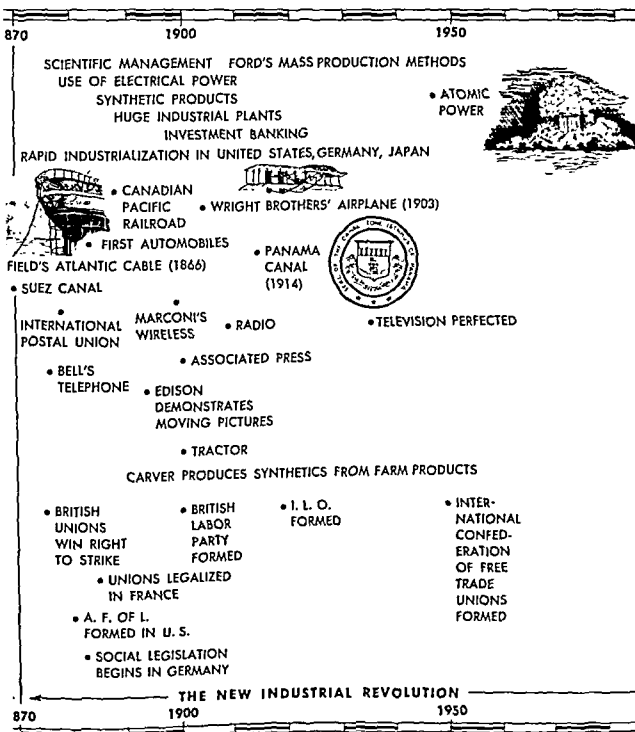
# The Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions Spread in Europe

Until about 1840, only Great Britain had had much of an Industrial Revolution. For some time Great Britain had made it illegal to export machines or industrial secrets. In many countries, guilds and the many tariff restrictions of the many little states still

hampered trade. Moreover, the French Revolution and Napoleon had so upset the European continent that little attention had been given to industrialization there.

By 1840, France was on the way to industrialization. However, French industry faced many obstacles. France lacked sufficient coal. After Germany took Alsace-Lorraine in 1870, France lacked iron, also. Moreover, the

## EVOLUTION: OLD AND NEW



French Revolution had made France a land of small farmers. Thus there were few factory workers available. For the most part, French factories are small and individually owned. France has specialized in the manufacture of fine-quality, luxury items, such as silks,<sup>2</sup> linens, perfumes, china, and gloves. The small farms of French farmers cannot compete in the world market with the large mechanized farms of Americans and Canadians, for example, which produce specialized crops. In general, France has kept a good balance between agriculture and industry.

There were few factories in the German states in 1850. In some states, between 1850 and 1870, the textile and steel industries made great progress. After Germany became unified in 1871, its industrial development amazed the world. As Britain had led the old Industrial Revolution in Europe, so Germany led the new. The Germans excelled in using science as an aid to agriculture and in the chemical and steel industries. Up-to-date machinery, fine railroads, government loans, coal from the Ruhr and the Saar, and, until 1919, iron from Lorraine helped to make Germany Britain's greatest industrial rival.

Spain is rich in mineral resources. Yet it has been very backward industrially. As for Italy, the government has tried to overcome the country's lack of coal and iron by building up its water power. Much of northern Italy has become industrialized since Italian unification in 1870. In the main, both Spain and Italy remain backward agricultural countries, handicapped by a somewhat feudal landholding system and primitive methods. Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden have advanced industrially. Sweden, for example, has made wise use of its rich iron ore and its cheap electricity derived from water power.

Most of eastern Europe has lagged behind in both the Industrial and the Agricultural Revolutions. Czechoslovakia, which was

formed out of industrialized Austria in 1919 is an important exception. It, like France, has preserved a good balance between agriculture and industry. In spite of such resources as Rumanian oil, Yugoslavian copper, and Greek nickel, the Balkan countries have made little industrial progress. Most of the Balkan peoples are still farmers, some of them still using wooden plows. Until after World War I, feudal landholding prevailed there.

It seems strange that Russia should have been the last of the big European powers to have an Industrial Revolution. For there is coal in the Black Sea area, oil near the Caspian Sea, iron in the Urals, and manganese in the Caucasus. Yet Russia lacked capital, and, until Russian serfs were freed in 1861, the country also lacked a sufficient supply of free labor. However, beginning about 1890, Russian industry moved ahead. Many former serfs were available for factory work. Foreign capital was being invested in Russia, and the government began building many railroads. Nevertheless, most Russians remained farmers, using backward methods and crude tools. Since the Communists took over Russia in 1917, they have tried to compete with the capitalist world by speeding up industrial and agricultural progress (page 560).

## The Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions Spread in the Americas

By 1860, the United States had well-established textile, steel, and shoe industries. And after the War between the States, agricultural and industrial production boomed. Today our country is by far the world's agricultural and industrial leader. Here are some of the reasons why: (1) enterprising American businessmen, (2) the great variety and quantity of natural resources, (3) the millions of skilled and unskilled laborers who came here from other countries, and (4) the freedom permitted under our system of government.

In Canada, agricultural methods resemble those of the United States. For example,

<sup>2</sup> The invention of the Jacquard loom in 1804 helped to make intricately patterned French silks famous around the world.



tractors and combines are common on the large wheat farms of the Middle West. Canada lacks a sufficient labor supply. Yet Canadian industrial development is on the march. The government has developed hydroelectric power and a system of railroads. There is extensive use of lake and river transportation. Canada's wealth of nickel, gold, silver, copper, and asbestos, and capital

from both England and the United States have also aided Canadian industry. Since World War II, Canada's industrial progress has been remarkable.

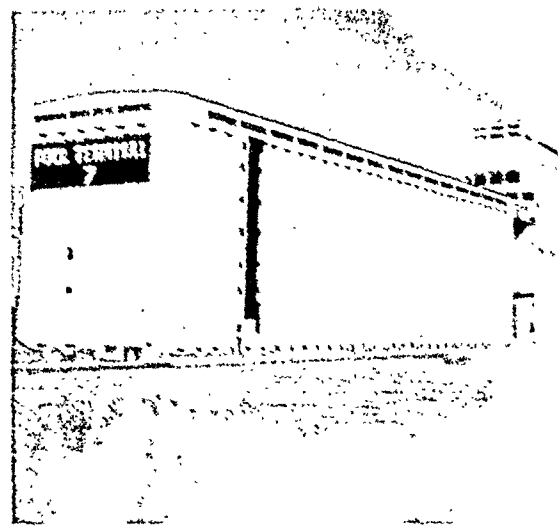
Most Latin Americans are farmers, using backward methods. However, in Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina, many modern agricultural machines imported from the United States are used. Except for coal, Latin Amer-

rea is rich in minerals. Yet only Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico have made any industrial progress to speak of.

## The Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions in the Far East

In spite of a huge labor supply and many natural resources, China has made little industrial progress. Considerable industrialization has taken place in such areas as Shanghai and Manchuria, but mainly under foreign investors. As for agriculture, Chinese farmers still till their soil without modern machinery.

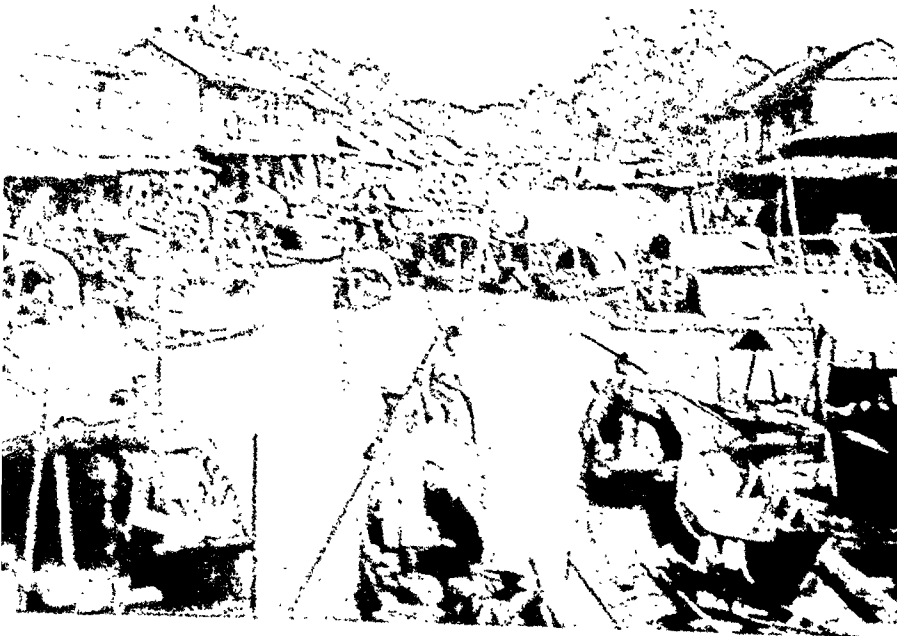
Just as Germany has led the new Industrial Revolution in Europe and the United States has led it in the Americas, so Japan has led it in Asia. Before 1870, Japan had made little progress industrially or agriculturally. Even today, most Japanese farms are tilled by hand labor. In spite of limited natural resources, however, Japanese industries were soon taking markets away from the British, the Germans, and the Americans. Until 1930, Japan produced mainly such articles as silks, rayons, and toys. After 1930, Japanese production of



A Terminal Grain Elevator in Canada. This photograph proves that the Agricultural Revolution has influenced architecture. Explain.

steel, machinery, metal goods, and chemicals rose to great heights.

The industrial possibilities of India are great. India possesses rich resources of coal, iron, and other minerals, as well as a large labor supply. Although most of India has poor transportation facilities, India's railroad system ranks fourth in the world. In Bombay and Calcutta, there are large textile factories.



A Canal Scene in Bangkok, Thailand, Where People Live Much as They Did Before the Industrial Revolution. In many parts of the Far East, boats like these are used for homes as well as for transportation. What problems result from this mode of living?



(Left) Workers finish automobile fenders on a continuous "merry-go-round" type conveyor. Mention some advantages of such a conveyor system. (Right) Skilled craftsmanship is a monopoly of no one race or nationality. Compare the way this African jeweler makes a living with the way a typical factory worker makes his.

Some scientific methods of agriculture and some farm machines were introduced in India by the British. However, the methods of most Indian farmers are still extremely backward. Now that India has won independence from Britain, efforts are being made to speed up industrial and agricultural progress (Chapter 28).

## The Factory System: Backbone of the Industrial Revolution

It would be impossible to understand the world we live in without understanding the factory system. When Richard Arkwright herded scores of men, women, and children together in buildings to run the new power-driven machinery, he became the father of this factory system. The increasing demand for goods could no longer be supplied by craftsmen working in small cottages with simple tools, as under the domestic system (page 237). Under the factory system, there is much division of labor. Each worker is assigned to a simple task requiring little skill. All day long he repeats this task.

As compared with today, the factories of the old Industrial Revolution produced goods on a small scale. In the early twentieth century, American businessmen introduced

methods which resulted in the production of goods in great quantities — *mass production*. Mass production is made possible by the manufacture of large numbers of standardized interchangeable parts\* and by the assembling of these parts into finished products. An American, Henry Ford, was a pioneer in using mass-production methods. In his automobile factories, he set up conveyor belts which moved the unfinished product along until each worker in turn had performed his assigned task. In this Ford belt system, thousands of operations are made automatic.

Mass production is so efficient that it permits millions of articles to be produced at low cost. It has helped to make the United States the world's leading industrial nation. Many nations have imitated American mass-production methods.

**Evil Conditions in Early Factories.** Under the domestic system, it had been possible for a worker to break the monotony of his work by pulling weeds in his garden or drinking a cup of tea with his wife. Under the factory system, however, with its division of labor, each worker was subject to iron

\*A Frenchman, LeBlanc, was among the first to experiment with such standardized parts. However, it was the American inventor of the cotton gin, Eli Whitney, who first made practical use of standardization in his gun factory.



discipline. Long lists of rules were posted in factories, and workers were fined for disobeying them. A spinner who whistled, for example, might be fined a shilling. Since even a minor interruption by one worker might hold up the work of all the others, foremen were hired to watch workers.

In the old days, a craftsman could take pride in his finished product. But how creative could a factory worker feel whose only job was to tighten a given bolt on hundreds of bicycles? How tense he must have felt when ordered to increase the number of bolts he tightened each hour! Monotony and nervous strain, coupled with long hours and low pay, drove many unhappy workers to drunkenness and immorality.

Untrained women and children could do the simple tasks required by division of labor. Therefore, in the early factories, they were hired at low wages, and men were fired. Many children under fourteen worked as many as sixteen hours a day for an average wage of about a dollar and a half a week. Poorhouses frequently relieved themselves of the responsibility of caring for orphans by

turning them over to factory owners. To prevent them from running away, many such children were chained to their machines. To keep them from falling asleep, many were flogged. The early factories were often dirty buildings without plumbing, unheated in winter, and poorly ventilated in summer. No wonder so many child workers died young!

Thin and undernourished three-year-olds were sometimes forced up smoking chimneys to clean them out. Many of these chimney sweeps who were not burned to death were crippled or blinded. Six-year-olds sometimes labored in mines for fourteen hours a day. In angry protest against such conditions, an English poet wrote:

"For oh," say the children, "We are weary,  
And we cannot run or leap;

For all day, we drag our burden tiring  
Through the coal-dark underground;  
Or all day, we drive the wheels of iron  
In the factories, round and round."

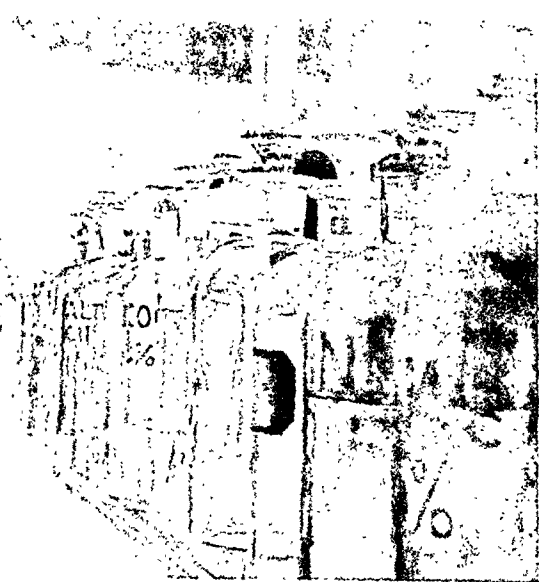
— From *The Cry of the Children*,  
by Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

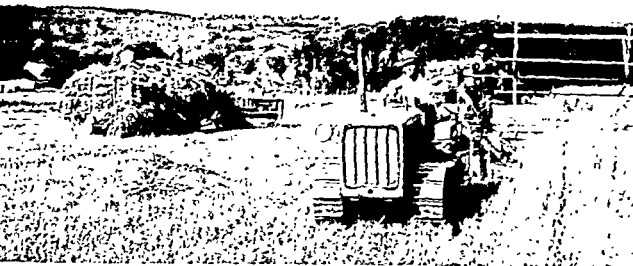
## Some Highlights of the New Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions

The new Industrial Revolution uses not only steam, but also such new sources of power as electricity and oil to drive far more complicated machines than those of the old Industrial Revolution. To our children, who may use atomic energy as a major source of power, our new machines may seem old-fashioned. Thus, these children may live during a second new Industrial Revolution.

How else is the new Industrial Revolution distinguished from the old? In our times, better methods have been discovered for manufacturing steel and steel alloys adaptable for many uses. For the first time, such lightweight metals as aluminum and magnesium have served many practical purposes. Today many products are manufactured, not in small factories, but in huge industrial plants made up of many buildings covering

A Research Worker in the Laboratory of a Large Automobile Plant. Why do many large plants maintain scientific laboratories?





Tractor Pulling Binder Cutting Oats in South Africa. Compare this picture, representative of the new Agricultural Revolution, with the one representative of the old Agricultural Revolution on page 413.

many blocks. In these plants are laboratories in which chemists experiment with making new products and improving old ones. Applied chemistry has thus produced synthetic textiles such as nylon and rayon, synthetic rubber, and synthetic gasoline. From coal tar, chemists have made dyes, explosives, drugs, plastics, and even perfumes. Much of the business of the new Industrial Revolution is owned by big corporations with billions of dollars in assets and branches in many cities. Much of it is run, not by the owners, but by managers who are hired because they are experts in efficient production in their special fields.

Evidences of the new Industrial Revolution in transportation are automobiles, streamlined, electrically driven railroad trains, and jet-propelled planes. The movies, radio, and television have revolutionized recreation. Wide use of the telephone and wireless has done the same for communication. Many modern newspapers are members of big newspaper chains, such as the Hearst and Scripps-Howard organizations in the United States. To obtain up-to-the-minute news from

all over the world, many newspapers support huge news-gathering agencies, such as the Associated Press and the United Press here and Reuters in Britain.

Relatively few areas of the world have enjoyed the benefits of the new Agricultural Revolution. What a pity! For in advanced countries, many farms have been electrified and mechanized. Many are equipped with such agricultural labor-saving devices as gasoline tractors, combines, and electric milking machines. A rotary plow not only plows up the soil and crumbles it, but even plants seeds. Airplanes, too, have been used for planting seeds as well as for spraying poisons to stamp out insect plagues.

Agriculture, especially in certain areas of the United States, has become a big business. Some farms are operated like factories. With thousands of acres under scientific management, they specialize in one crop. Many farm products have been used by chemists to produce synthetics. For example, American George Washington Carver, a former slave, performed some interesting experiments. As a result, the peanut has yielded

shaving lotion, plastics, milk, and about three hundred other products. Another American, Luther Burbank, through his experimentation, created new varieties of fruits, berries, vegetables and flowers. His spineless cacti provided food for cattle in dry areas.

Naturally, the increased production of the new Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions led to a tremendous increase in world-wide commerce. Consequently, the nations of the world have become more and more dependent upon one another.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Industrial Revolution • flying shuttle • spinning jenny • water frame • Crompton • Cartwright • cotton gin • Howe • Watt • smelting • Bessemer process • turnpikes • macadamized • De Lesseps • the Clermont • clipper ships • George Stephenson • Daimler • Goodyear • Ford • Wright Brothers • Lindbergh • Rowland Hill • International Postal Union • Ampère • Faraday • Edison • Morse • Cyrus

W. Field • Alexander Graham Bell • Marconi • *Peking Gazette* • *New York Sun* • Mergenthaler • Daguerre • Tull • Lord Townshend • von Liebig • Bakewell • reaper • factory system • mass production • conveyor belt • rotary plow • George Washington Carver • Luther Burbank • applied chemistry • Associated Press • synthetic textiles • newspaper chain

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Give reasons why material progress was (a) so slow before 1750 and (b) so fast after 1750.
2. How did the Commercial, Scientific, and Intellectual revolutions help to bring about the Industrial Revolution?
3. What (a) geographic, (b) economic, and (c) political conditions help to explain why the Industrial Revolution began in England?
4. Show how one invention in the textile industry led to another.
5. Indicate some of the great changes brought about by the cotton gin.
6. Why are iron and coal the foundation of the machine age?
7. Discuss important changes in methods of transportation during the first half of the nineteenth century.
8. Show how the automobile and the airplane have revolutionized transportation.
9. Discuss four great changes which have revolutionized the methods of communication.

10. Prove that great progress has been made in methods of publishing newspapers.
11. What great changes have been brought about in agriculture since about 1750?
12. Explain (a) the reasons for and (b) the results of the passage of the Enclosure Acts.
13. (a) Discuss progress made by the Industrial Revolution in three areas other than England. (b) Indicate in what areas the Industrial Revolution has made slow progress.
14. Mention three characteristics of the factory system and discuss each.
15. Discuss fully the effects of the early factories on the (a) health, (b) pride, (c) skill, and (d) morals of workers; (e) on women and children workers.
16. What factors make (a) the new Industrial Revolution and (b) the new Agricultural Revolution different from the old?

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Perhaps a better name than Industrial Revolution would be Industrial Evolution. Why?
2. What lessons can we learn from studying why material progress was so slow for so long?
3. As the years roll on, greater and greater industrial and scientific progress is made in shorter and shorter time. Give reasons for this.
4. Few inventions are the work of one man.

Discuss and give several examples.

5. Suppose that our world were without steel: how would our lives be affected?

6. There is a close connection between new methods of production and improvements in transportation. Discuss.

7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of canal transportation as compared with land transportation?

8. There is a moral in the fact that the first persons to attempt to apply steam to transportation were ridiculed. Discuss this moral.

9. Discuss the probable effects on all of us if there were no domestic or international postal service.

10. The automobile and the airplane have created many new frontiers in business. Explain.

11. How would your (a) recreation, (b) household chores, (c) transportation, (d) relatives' jobs, and (e) communication be affected if the electric power plant in your town were to fail? Give specific evidence.

12. To what extent is the caption "Electricity Harnessed" an appropriate one? Explain fully.

13. The daily newspaper is one of the most powerful influences in our lives. Give evidence.

14. Show how improvements in transportation and communication have aided in the development of the newspaper.

15. Around the world, many farmers are said to be living in the 1750's rather than the 1950's. Discuss. Show that many other farmers are enjoying the blessings of our times both in their

homes and in their places of work or business.

16. Explain whether you agree or disagree with the statement that the Enclosure Acts were a necessary evil.

17. Prove that many farm machines have helped the little farmer very little.

18. In certain areas of the United States, Canada, and Argentina, for example, agriculture has become a big business. Explain.

19. Certain countries with large populations and rich natural resources are still backward industrially. What facts might explain this?

20. Do you think that the worker or farmer before the Industrial Revolution had as happy a life as the worker has today? Discuss.

21. Men run machines. To what extent do machines run men?

22. For what reasons was it impossible for the English to keep their industrial secrets secret very long?

23. If you were writing a chapter on the factory system, what captions would you compose?

24. Why must big industrial plants constantly improve their methods of mass production?

25. Write your impressions of the lines quoted from "The Cry of the Children."

26. Give arguments against the employment of women and children in factories for long hours.

27. For what reasons might it be said that the distinction between the new and the old Industrial revolutions is an artificial one?

28. Chemists working in the laboratories of industrial plants often seem like magicians. Explain.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Using such a book as Hartman's *Machines and the Men Who Made the World of Industry*, list five inventions not mentioned in your textbook. Opposite each give the inventor, the date of the invention, and its value.

2. Using Osgood's *History of Industry* and Day's *History of Commerce*, contribute to a group-made chart on how people made a living, transported goods, and carried on trade in (a) ancient, (b) medieval, and (c) early modern times.

3. Consult the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for a recent article on the latest developments in industry. Report on the article.

4. Make a time line of the most important inventions in the period (a) from 1750 to 1870 and (b) from 1870 to the present. Indicate by symbols those which affected transportation, communication, industry, agriculture, and recreation.

5. Contribute to a bulletin board exhibit on the life of workers "Before the Industrial Revolution" and "Now."

6. Draw a cartoon showing the reaction of an individual in a remote area on seeing his first airplane.

7. Plan with others a series of sketches showing how man has improved his sources of

over the ages from muscle power to atomic power.

8. Investigate and report on the contributions of many individuals of many nationalities to the invention and improvement of the automobile.

9. Using an atlas, locate on an outline map of the world (a) the world's most used canals, (b) the world's leading transcontinental railroads, and (c) the world's most strategic or widely used straits, such as the Dardanelles and Gibraltar.

10. Using an atlas, too, on an outline map of the world indicate by symbols where the natural resources most essential to the machine age are located in the greatest quantities. What conclusions do you draw?

11. Make a collection of pamphlets put out by special industries publicizing what their laboratories have done or are doing in the field of applied chemistry. In committee, select interesting materials from these for a bulletin board exhibit.

12. Read Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." Then describe in prose his reaction to the Enclosure Acts.

13. Write a few lines in verse indicating your reaction to any famous invention.

14. With others, visit a factory and report on (a) labor-saving devices, (b) accident precau-

tions, and (c) steps taken to make working conditions attractive.

15. With others, visit the headquarters of a daily newspaper. Then jointly write an article for your school newspaper on processes which help to bring the news to the public almost immediately.

16. After a visit to a modern farm, write an essay entitled: "The Latest Developments in the new Agricultural Revolution."

17. Select any one country for an oral report on the progress it has made in the Industrial and Agricultural revolutions. Include your sources of information.

18. Using a source book, such as Scott and Baltzly's, make a report on specific examples of evil conditions in the early factories.

19. In a column, list as many synthetic products as you can. Opposite each, write the materials from which it is made and the uses to which it is put. Ask your science teacher for additional sources of information.

20. Contribute to a class "Who's Who" of biographical sketches of such scientists as George Washington Carver and Luther Burbank.

21. As a research project, write a brief report on either newspaper chains or chain stores.

22. Write a biographical sketch of any inventor mentioned in this chapter.

### Summing Up

1. For the most important facts in this chapter, make out ten short-answer questions of the matching, true-false, completion, or multiple-choice type. Include your answer key. Try them out on your fellow pupils.

2. Answer the questions under each of the illustrations in this chapter in your notebook.

3. With others, plan a mural which includes the most important inventions through the ages.

4. List the five most basic facts in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 17....HOW THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION HAS AFFECTED THE WORLD

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**The Captains of Industry Own and Manage Their Own Factories • Business Grows Bigger • Laissez-Faire Supporters Oppose Government Regulation • Government Regulation Before and Since the Industrial Revolution • Socialists Urge Government Ownership • Utopian Socialists Plan Co-operative Communities • Marxian Socialism and Some Criticisms of It • Other Radical Movements • The Development of a City Civilization • Problems Resulting from Increasing Population • Effects on Social Classes • Standardization, Yet Variety • Family Life Changes and Standards of Living Rise • Some Political and Economic Effects of the Industrial Revolution • A Survey of Labor Systems through the Ages • The Free Labor System Develops in Modern Times**

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As the Industrial Revolution grew, capitalism grew with it. As we have seen, the seeds of modern capitalism had been planted in the Commercial Revolution. For it was the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth century which had increased the wealth of the world (page 235). Alert businessmen had invested under the domestic system and in joint-stock companies to make even greater profits. Stock exchanges, banks, and insurance companies had developed to serve the needs of these capitalists. Some characteristics of modern capitalism follow.

### **The Captains of Industry Own and Manage Their Own Factories**

The Industrial Revolution opened up many opportunities to enterprising businessmen.

Many a capitalist risked his life savings or obtained bank loans in order to buy machinery and raw materials and to hire workers. Some of these capitalists made great fortunes and became leaders in their industries. They became known as *captains of industry*. Among such captains of industry in the United States were Andrew Carnegie in the steel industry and John D. Rockefeller in the oil industry. The type of capitalism which the captains of industry introduced is called *industrial capitalism*. As a rule, such captains of industry not only owned their factories but managed them. Many such capitalists worked hard to turn out a good product which would earn a good reputation. They had to be constantly alert to find new markets and to avoid being driven into bankruptcy by their competitors. The market widened

of the guild system, who were also capitalists, had worked side by side with their employees. The captains of industry did not. In fact, as capitalism expanded in modern times, the relationship between owners and workers became less and less personal.

## Business Grows Bigger

There are still many captains of industry who own and manage their own factories. However, with the coming of the new Industrial Revolution, some capitalists or groups of capitalists combined many factories to form huge industrial plants. In the laboratories of these big plants, scientists are constantly discovering new and better methods of production and creating new and better products. Such businesses produce in such large quantities that they can afford to sell for low prices and still make profits.

Most big business combinations have been organized as corporations. To obtain funds, some such gigantic enterprises have sold shares of stock throughout the world. Frequently, the members of the board of directors who manage such a corporation own only a small percentage of the total stock themselves.

By 1900, many big corporations were expanding so fast that they were constantly in need of money. Groups of businessmen who wanted to form new industrial combinations also needed great sums. To obtain funds, they issued new stocks and bonds and turned them over to a type of bank called the *investment bank* to be sold. Noted investment bankers were J. Pierpont Morgan in America and the Rothschild family in Europe. Such investment bankers bought some of these stocks and bonds themselves and sold others to their clients. In time, investment banks, even those owning only a small percentage of the stock, began to take over the management of certain corporations. Bankers soon had more to say than industrialists in running many big businesses.

The millions of owners who had bought

stock to get a share of the profits of the corporation had little direct say in how the corporation was managed. These stockholders in many cases knew neither the members of the board of directors nor their employees nor even where their factories were located. Thus, there now existed a wide gap between ownership and management of many big corporations. However, without the help of investment banks it might be difficult for big corporations to raise the large sums needed. Average investors were often glad to be freed of the responsibility of running big corporations about which they might know nothing.

From the beginning, people have differed in their attitudes toward capitalism. One group has asserted that everybody would be better off if governments kept their hands off business. This attitude<sup>1</sup> is based on the *laissez-faire* theory of Adam Smith (page 311). A second group has believed that capitalism is the best economic system, but that attempts should be made to regulate it.<sup>2</sup> The third group has been so hostile toward capitalism that they want another economic system, socialism (page 429), substituted for it.<sup>3</sup>

## Laissez-Faire Supporters Oppose Government Regulation

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the governments of Europe practiced mercantilism (page 237). Nineteenth-century captains of industry considered such regulations a threat to business. Using *laissez-faire* arguments, they said that a man should be free to go into any business enterprise and run it in his own way. They insisted that he should be free to fix wages, hours, and working conditions for his employees without the interference of governments or labor unions. These *laissez-faire* supporters opposed government ownership of any business. If gov-

<sup>1</sup> Those who share this point of view are usually called *concretatives*.

<sup>2</sup> Those who share this point of view are usually called *liberals*.

<sup>3</sup> Those who share this point of view are usually called *radicals*.

ernments followed laissez-faire principles, the captains of industry asserted, businessmen would have the incentive to start new industries and to expand old ones. They also maintained that competition among capitalists and the natural law of supply and demand would result in better products and lower prices.

In the main, during the nineteenth century, industrialized nations followed laissez-faire policies. Many self-reliant businessmen made great fortunes. In general, the standard of living in industrialized nations rose.

## Government Regulation Before and Since the Industrial Revolution

The ancient Hittites fixed prices. China's Chou dynasty laid down detailed rules for business. The Roman emperor Diocletian even had persons branded to make sure that they stayed in their assigned jobs. And in the Byzantine Empire, the government not only set up rigid regulations but actually owned many businesses. In medieval Europe, rules regulating business were made by the Church, feudal lords, the guilds, and town governments. In early modern times, the strict government control of business recommended by mercantilists prevailed. These are just a few examples of government regulation of economic life before the Industrial Revolution.

As the Industrial Revolution developed, serious abuses arose. Workers denounced low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions. Many voices were raised against the horrible conditions under which women and children were employed in factories and mines. Many criticized the laissez-faire policy as responsible for the waste of many natural as well as human resources. Furthermore, armies everywhere wanted healthy soldiers, not tired workers from disease-breeding sweatshops.

The production of more goods than people could buy helped to cause depressions. Small businessmen complained that they were be-



Child labor was widespread in the early days of the Industrial Revolution. To what use might a reformer have put this picture?

ing driven into bankruptcy by great monopolies. Farmers objected because the cost of manufactured goods was high whereas the price they received for farm products was often low. Consumers protested that they were not getting their money's worth. Many governments in the late nineteenth century tried to eliminate such abuses. They began to move away from laissez faire toward increased government regulation of business.

Early factory laws for improving conditions sound scarcely humane to modern ears. For example, an English law of 1802 made it illegal to employ children younger than nine in cotton factories for more than twelve hours a day! Even this law was not enforced. After 1842, it was illegal to employ women and children in British mines. Bit by bit, governments required safety devices installed in factories and mines. By 1860, the working day of most British factory workers was limited to ten hours. As the Industrial Revolution spread, similar factory laws were passed in other countries.

Many objected to these factory laws. They said that increased leisure would mean increased idleness, drunkenness, and immorality. Some argued that laws to protect workers



R 65: A RISING TIDE

	PERCENT OF POPULATION
6	2.6
8	2.7
1.1	3.0
1.7	3.4
2.4	3.9
3	4.1
3.9	4.3
4.9	4.7
6.6	5.4
9	6.8
11.3	7.7

Each symbol equals one million persons

List reasons why there has been a rising tide of persons over 65 in the United States during the past century. What problems does this trend create for: (a) the aged, (b) the government, and (c) young people?

interfered with the worker's right to work on any terms and under any conditions he saw fit. This right is called the worker's *freedom of contract*.

To many workers, unemployment, sickness, accident, or the threat of poverty in their old age were constant sources of worry which made freedom of contract meaningless. Few were able to save enough to care for their families in such situations. In time, governments were to modify the laissez-faire policy by passing laws guaranteeing workers incomes in time of sickness, accident, old age, and unemployment. Such laws are called *social legislation*. Most social-insurance systems are compulsory. Usually they are financed by contributions of the worker, the employer, and the government. Eventually, too, many governments passed laws fixing minimum wages and maximum hours of work.

Governments also passed laws to aid groups other than workers. For example, in order to preserve competition and encourage small

businessmen, certain practices of some big monopolies were declared illegal. One way in which governments have helped farmers is by taking steps to prevent farm prices from falling too low. And consumers have been protected by pure food and drug laws.

**Governments Set up Tariffs.** Many governments charge a tax on imports, a *tariff*. They want tariffs high enough to prevent foreign competitors from underselling their countries' industries in the home market. To protect their trade against powerful British industrial competition, during the nineteenth century most countries adopted high protective tariffs. However, Britain, with its head start in the Industrial Revolution, did not have to fear foreign competition. Therefore, it had no need for a high tariff on manufactured goods. British tariffs were mainly on agricultural products. Tariffs on imported grain were called *Corn Laws*. The Corn Laws enabled British landlords to sell the relatively scarce farm products of Britain to the increasing British population at high prices.

Workers who wanted cheaper bread demanded the repeal of these Corn Laws. Factory owners organized the fight for repeal. They realized that, if foreign agricultural countries could sell food to Britain, these countries would have more money with which to buy British manufactured goods. The landlords maintained, however, that factory owners wanted repeal of the Corn Laws because cheap food would justify their paying lower wages! In 1846, the fight for repeal was won. A potato famine in Ireland had made the importation of untaxed foreign farm products necessary. By abolishing other tariff barriers soon afterward, Britain gradually established free trade. However, British businessmen later suffered from the increasing competition of American, German, and Japanese industries. Then, about 1890, they clamored for protective tariffs. Finally, in 1932, Britain gave up free trade and adopted a high protective tariff (Chapter 24). In the 1930's many other countries raised their tariffs, and international trade declined.

A Russian and a Pole  
Bringing Corn for the  
Starving British Are Re-  
pulsed by Soldiers and  
Policemen of the British.  
What made this a good  
anti-Corn Law cartoon  
in 1839?



## Socialists Urge Government Ownership

Around the world today, there are millions of socialists. One hundred years ago, there were almost none. The spread of the Industrial Revolution was the main reason for the rise of socialism. By about 1850 the Industrial Revolution had made a few people rich while most of the people remained poor. Critics blamed private ownership of such means of production as the factories and mines for the then low wages, slums, and depressions, and for the friction between employers and workers. They asserted that these evils would exist as long as individual owners competed for profits. The only solution, they argued, was to get rid of private ownership of the means of production entirely. Those who thus criticize capitalism and suggest turning over ownership of the means of production to the government are called *socialists*. The economic system they recommend is called *socialism*. There has been the widest variety of socialist groups, ranging from those who would merely modify capitalism by peaceful means to those who would abolish it by the most violent and ruthless means. The illustrations that follow show this variety.

**Utopian Socialists Plan Co-operative Communities.** Early in the nineteenth century, certain men dreamed of founding model communities where all workers would co-operate in producing all the goods which they needed. Such model communities reminded people of the imaginary ideal state described in the book *Utopia* by Sir Thomas More (page 219). That is why these men were called *Utopian Socialists*. Louis Blanc (page 353), socialist leader of the Revolution of 1848 in France, criticized the Utopians for inviting the co-operation of capitalists instead of depending entirely upon workers.

One Utopian Socialist, a Frenchman, Saint Simon, recommended that only the government, and not individuals, should inherit wealth. Saint Simon wanted this money to be lent to co-operative communities for building factories and other improvements. Another Utopian Socialist, Robert Owen, a businessman, had made the town of New Lanark, Scotland, where he had his factories, a clean and healthful community. He raised wages, shortened hours, encouraged labor unions, and built houses for his employees and schools for their children. Yet his factories made money. In New Lanark, crime practically disappeared. Owen's attempt to estab-



Louis Blanc, Leader of the Socialist Movement in France in 1848.

lish a model co-operative community at New Harmony, Indiana, however, failed.

Present-day co-operatives can be traced to Owen's ideas. The first co-operative was started in 1844 at Rochdale, England, by about thirty weavers, who invested their money in a grocery store. The principles these weavers practiced in running their store have been copied by other consumer co-operatives around the world. They include charging the same prices as non-co-operatives but paying interest to each investor and dividing profits in proportion to the purchases made by the investor-consumers.

**Marxian Socialism and Some Criticisms of It.** When Europe was torn by the revolutions of 1848, a revolutionary pamphlet, the *Communist Manifesto*, was published by two exiled Germans, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This pamphlet urged the workers of the world to unite and overthrow capitalism. Marx's principles — so-called *scientific socialism* — are expressed not only in the simple pamphlet, *Communist Manifesto*, but in a

complex three-volume work, *Das Kapital*. Marx wrote that practically everything man does is determined by the conditions under which he makes a living, and that in every age the wealthy have determined the form of government, education, and culture. In short, he believed in an economic interpretation of history. But many historians feel that Marx distorted history in his overemphasis on economic influences. They point, for example, to the powerful influences of nationalism and religion, two forces which Marx attacked. Marx asserted that all wealth is produced by laborers. He maintained that the laborer under the capitalist system receives only enough to keep him alive. Marx failed to appreciate the many risks which capitalists take to set up the businesses which produce goods and provide employment. And he did not live to see the many workers who have automobiles, radios, and their own homes.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," wrote Marx. He called the struggles between plebeians and patricians in ancient Rome, between serfs and lords in medieval Europe, and between bourgeoisie and nobility in early modern times examples of the class struggle. The Industrial Revolution had, he believed, sharpened the class struggle between labor and capital. He declared that socialism would inevitably succeed capitalism. He predicted that this would happen thus: (1) An increasing number of industries would come under the control of fewer men. (2) The middle class would gradually be forced to become part of the laboring class. (3) Finally, according to Marx, the vast majority of the people would become so poor that they would revolt and seize the industries. Marx's emphasis on the class struggle has stirred up vicious hatred. Many thinking people have pointed out that it is ridiculous to divide society into two conflicting classes when there are so many classes whose interests overlap. Furthermore, in many countries, the middle class is growing stronger rather than weaker. Critics of socialism also point out that under socialism t

government would be all-powerful and that various groups would be constantly struggling for control.

Influenced by Marxian principles, socialists have set up various international organizations. One of these, the Second International, formed at Paris in 1889, collapsed because socialist workers in World War I were more loyal to their nations than to socialist internationalism. The Third International, called the *Comintern*, born at Moscow in 1919, was completely controlled by the Communists of Russia. In 1947, another International, the *Cominform*, also under Russian domination, was created (Chapter 27).

**The Followers of Marx Differ.** Socialists differ among themselves in their interpretations of Marx's principles and on methods of achieving socialism. The two main groups of Marxian socialists are moderates (right-wing socialists) and radicals (left-wing socialists). Moderate socialists want to introduce socialism by winning control of governments at elections. Moderate socialists often work with nonsocialist parties in order to achieve such aims as higher wages, better housing, and government ownership of public utilities. Many moderate socialists advocate a form of socialism which permits private ownership of small businesses. Radical socialists call such moderate socialists tools of the capitalists. Radical socialists would, if they felt it necessary, seize control of governments by force in order to overthrow capitalism. The moderates point out that, when the radicals are in control, as in Communist Russia, they use violence, suppress freedom of speech and press, discourage religion, and set up one-party dictatorships.

## Other Radical Movements

Socialists want to increase the power of governments by having them run business. Anarchists, another radical group which developed during the nineteenth century, wanted to wipe out governments entirely. The father of modern anarchism, a French-

man, Proudhon, believed that man by nature is good. Therefore, he said, all authority, whether governmental or religious, is evil. He recommended complete freedom and equality and the establishment of co-operatives.

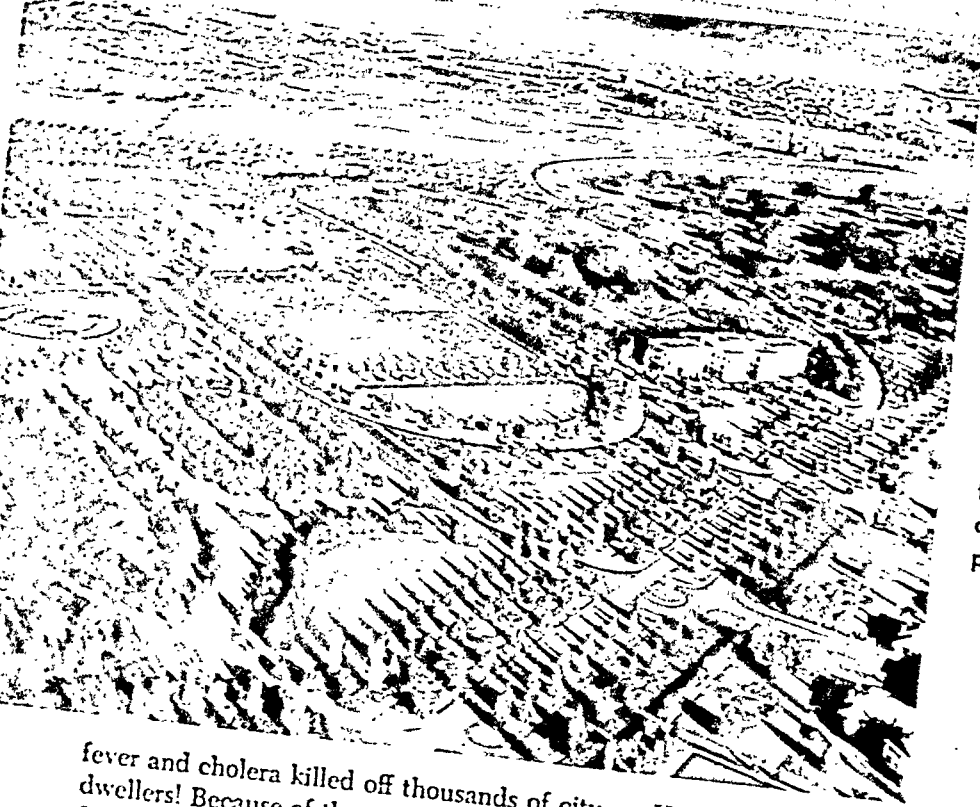
Still another nineteenth-century radical movement, *syndicalism*, like socialism and anarchism, condemned capitalism. Like anarchists, syndicalists condemned governments. To improve working conditions, they wanted labor unions to use such direct action as slowing up work and destroying machinery. This is called *sabotage*. Syndicalists hoped to get workers in all industries to go on strike at the same time — the *general strike*. By this technique, they planned to overthrow capitalism. The workers through their labor unions would then own and operate each factory. Under such circumstances, there would be no need, the syndicalists said, for a central government. Both anarchism and syndicalism have declined sharply in recent years.

## Some Other Effects of the Old Industrial Revolution

**The Development of a City Civilization.** Until about a century ago, most people lived in country districts. In such agricultural areas as China and India, they still do. In the industrialized parts of the world, however, most people live in cities. As factories developed, people wanted to live near their work. Moreover, with the increased use of farm machinery, fewer farmers were needed. That is why hundreds of cities sprang up.<sup>4</sup>

Most of these cities developed without any planning. Factory workers were huddled together in hastily constructed, ugly, crowded quarters. In these slum areas there was seldom any proper provision for the disposal of sewage or garbage or for a pure water supply. No wonder epidemics of typhoid

<sup>4</sup> The relatively few cities of the ancient and medieval worlds had grown up around market places, religious shrines, or fortresses, or as political capitals or cultural centers.



Canberra, the capital of Australia, is a planned city. What advantages of planned cities are there over those which spring up and spread without plan?

fever and cholera killed off thousands of city dwellers! Because of the crowded conditions, fire hazards were great. There were not enough parks, playgrounds, or transportation facilities. Crime increased. However, progressive cities in modern times have done much to correct these evils. For example, government-sponsored housing projects have replaced slums in many areas. Free clinics, visiting nurses, and public welfare agencies have fought disease.

**Problems Resulting from Increasing Population.** In 1800, there were about 900,000,000 persons in the world; today there are about 2,500,000,000. Among the many reasons given for this startling increase are the Agricultural and Industrial revolutions. Many parents felt that they could provide for larger families, for now more food was being produced or brought from far-off places by improved means of transportation. Furthermore, people live longer today because of medical progress. To an English minister, Thomas Malthus (1766-1834), the increase in population seemed a major calamity. He predicted that there would soon be far more persons in the world than food to feed them.

He warned that, as the years rolled on, the gap between population and food supply would grow wider and wider. Then starvation would strike the poorer people. Even today, some economists say that Malthus was right. Others believe that science and education will help to solve this problem.

After the beginning of the Agricultural and Industrial revolutions, millions of persons moved to other countries. Many left their native lands because they saw opportunities to raise their standard of living elsewhere, and because transportation had become safer and cheaper. Others fled because of political or religious discrimination. In the past fifty years or so, many countries have both selected and restricted their immigrants. For example, the United States has favored immigrants from northern and western Europe over those from southern and eastern Europe. Australia and New Zealand do not admit non-whites. Many countries also bar illiterates, criminals, paupers, the mentally or physically ill, and persons whose political or economic views are considered dangerous. Many feel that immigration may lower the standard of living of a country. Others point out that the coun-

try with the highest standard of living in the world, the United States, is a nation of immigrants.

**Effects on Social Classes.** In general, as business grew bigger, there was a less personal relationship between owners and workers. But social classes were not rigid. Among both capitalists and laboring people there developed other divisions amounting to classes in themselves. Although both the small businessman and the big businessman are capitalists and have much in common, their views often differ. They may both object to high taxes, for example, but they usually disagree on such matters as the benefits of monopoly. Within the laboring class, many white-collar workers feel superior to manual laborers. Yet periodic depressions and the threat of unemployment have standardized even the worries of millions of workers. Consequently, in recent years many professional workers and white-collar workers have joined in unions with skilled and unskilled laborers.

Furthermore, economic conditions under modern capitalism sometimes result in class shifts. The bankrupt capitalist may become a mechanic or clerk, and a textile salesman may save or borrow enough capital to become the owner of a woolen mill. By buying stock in big industries, many workers have become capitalists, while retaining their jobs.



Malthus might have said that the world is too small for the human race. Some say there is no such problem. List the reasons for your opinion?

Britain, some said, however, rather than blood have been spilled in the days of queen and social in the time of the nation to nobles with the most powerful of the some of the most powerful of the nation everywhere have the most powerful of the daughters of the nation.

**Standardization.** In Britain, there are many different kinds of families, each with its own traditions and customs, but in the United States, there is a standardization of life. The same kind of life is found in the same kind of places, and the same kind of life is found in the same kind of people. The same kind of life is found in the same kind of places, and the same kind of life is found in the same kind of people.

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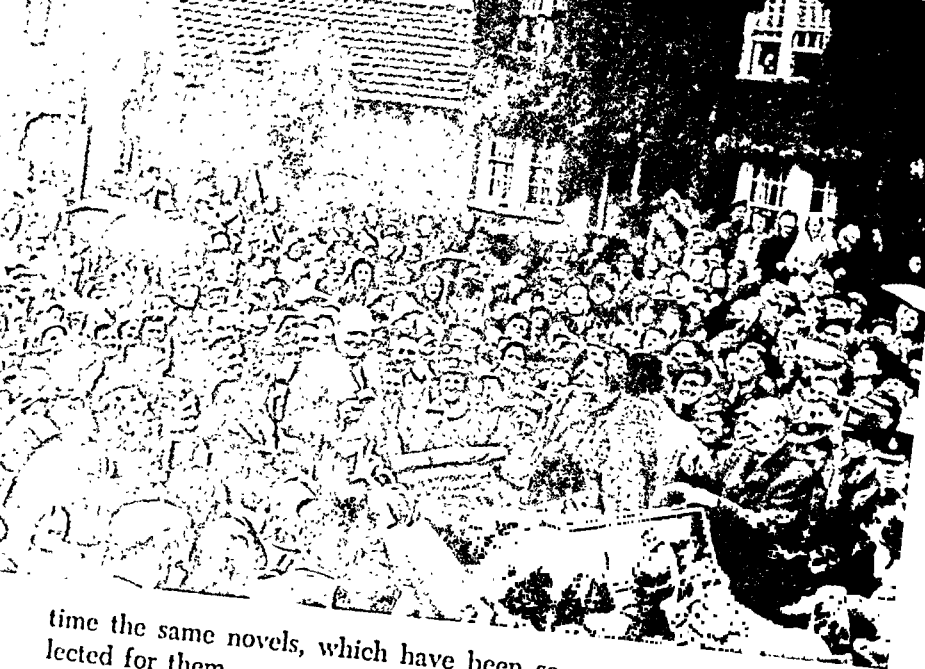
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Winston Churchill, one of the leading statesmen of our times, is shown campaigning. How does this picture illustrate the influence of the Industrial Revolution on campaigning?

time the same novels, which have been selected for them.

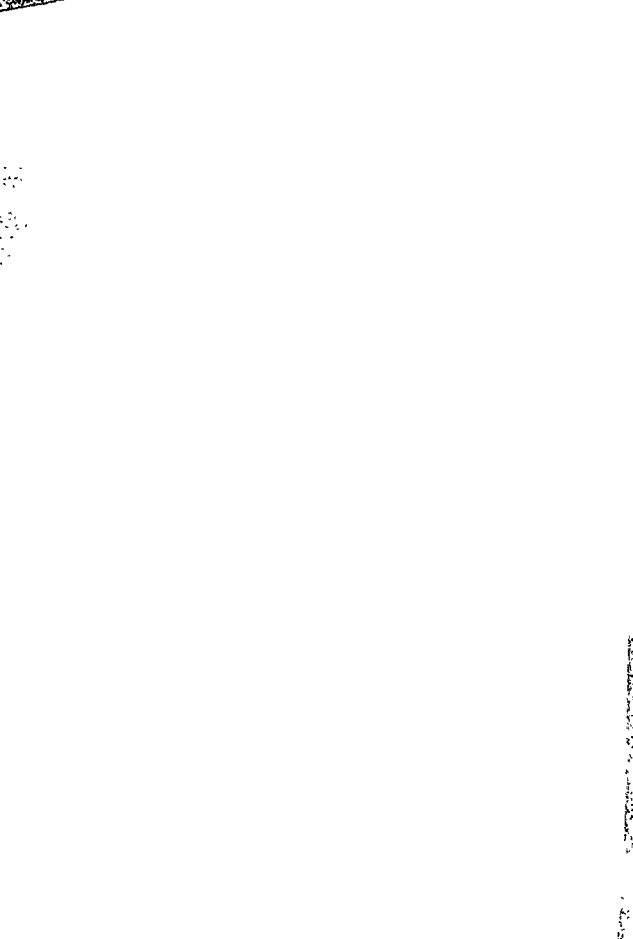
**Some Political Effects of the Industrial Revolution.** The Industrial Revolution helped to speed up the progress of political democracy. First, businessmen demanded and won a voice in the government. For centuries royalty and landed aristocrats had monopolized governments. Then the city workers, as they congregated in factories, began to talk over their common problems. Soon they, too, at first men, then women, demanded and got the right to vote and to hold office.

Many of the new voters joined the political party which promised the most benefits to their particular economic group. Political parties in many countries differed on such economic questions as tariffs, co-operatives, social legislation, and government ownership of public utilities. Because so many such problems have resulted from the Industrial Revolution, voters have a greater responsibility than ever to vote intelligently. The Industrial Revolution has made it easier for political parties to reach voters through movie shows, reels, newspapers, radio, and television. In all industrialized countries, political parties have been strongly influenced by those who want colonies for raw materials and markets. This drive for colonies, called im-

perialism (page 450), often leads to revolutions among colonial peoples. It also causes international wars between those nations which want the same colonies. Such wars have been especially horrible because the Industrial Revolution has made possible the most deadly weapons of destruction.

Businessmen, labor unions, and other groups often hire individuals to persuade lawmakers to pass or reject laws in the interest of their group. Such hired individuals are known as *lobbyists* or *pressure groups*, and their activity, as *lobbying*. Lobbying, if uncontrolled, is sometimes harmful to the public welfare. Therefore, laws have been passed to control it. Still another political effect of the Industrial Revolution, especially of improved transportation and communication, has been the strengthening of both national unity and international co-operation.

**Some Economic Effects of the Industrial Revolution.** For several years beginning in 1929, millions of people around the world lost their jobs and were compelled to use up their life savings. They suffered extreme poverty and intense hunger. Thousands of banks and businesses went bankrupt. As we shall see, the bitterness of the people helped to bring about wars, revolutions, and dictatorships. Many less serious economic







Millet's Painting, *The Man with the Hoe*. Read Markham's entire poem *The Man with the Hoe*. What do you think of the poet's interpretation of the painting?

palaces were not equipped with telephones, steam heat, electric refrigerators, or washing machines. However, other millions, even in industrialized countries, still enjoy few of the benefits of the Industrial Revolution.

### The Free Labor System Develops in Modern Times

No one can really understand how the Industrial Revolution has affected the world who does not know how it has influenced the workingman. A survey of labor systems through the ages will show the sharp contrast between the status of the worker before and after the Industrial Revolution.

#### A Survey of Labor Systems Through the Ages.

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans  
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,  
The emptiness of ages in his face,  
And on his back the burden of the world . . .

— From *The Man with the Hoe*,  
by Edwin Markham

Across the ages and around the world, most people have been farmers — men with hoes.

During most of the six thousand years of civilization, huge numbers of farmers have been slaves, serfs, or forced laborers. In fact, in certain parts of the world even today, these three labor systems exist. No wonder the "emptiness of ages" has been on many faces.

A system of free labor existed in ancient and medieval times for a minority of workers. But only in modern times have the majority become free laborers. Thus only in the past few hundred years has labor achieved a position of dignity. We have already studied evidence that labor has long been held in low esteem. Even philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle had contempt for physical labor. By and large, for centuries slaves and serfs were treated like animals. Until modern times, it was the warlike king and the idle aristocrat who were admired and respected rather than the man who produced the goods that they consumed. Until recent times, most employers or owners of laborers made no contract with them. Conditions of work were decided by the will of the employer or were regulated by custom, guild rulings, or laws. Workingmen slowly began to make progress when Christianity stressed the dignity of

each human being and the worth of labor. In Europe, with the downfall of the Roman Empire, slavery began to decline. Serfdom took its place. In the late Middle Ages, the guild system helped to destroy serfdom.

Only with the coming of the Industrial Revolution about 1750 did more workers become free laborers. In spite of his hardships, the worker of the eighteenth century in England was not bound to any one job or locality. The evil conditions in the early factories drove many workers to join unions. In prison workers as a group could get together with their employers and sign contracts fixing conditions of work and wages.

**Slavery and Serfdom Before Modern Times.** Slavery was common in the ancient world. Slaves were usually war captives, debtors, or persons kidnapped or sold into slavery by their parents or rulers. Slavery then was not based upon race. Slaves were frequently given legal protection. Freedom could be bought, and many owners voluntarily freed their slaves. Yet slaves were denied political rights and social equality. As a rule, their standard of living was low. In ancient Athens, slaves were often permitted to own property. Often, too, the relationship between masters and slaves was a friendly one. In ancient Rome, some of the most brilliant artists and scholars were former Greek masters who had been captured in war and enslaved. In both Carthage and Rome, slaves worked not only for individual masters but also in gangs on huge plantations. Brutally treated, many of these slave gangs rose up in bloody rebellion (page 115).

As Christianity spread through the Roman Empire, however, a kindlier spirit developed. Many owners found also that it was more practical to have serfs than slaves. And many free farmers found that it was more practical for them to become serfs than to remain free farmers. Thus slavery declined and serfdom became the characteristic labor system of the Middle Ages. The serf, although not a slave, was much limited in his freedom as a laborer. Thus he had almost no incentive to do a

good job and was usually a bad farmer. His life was monotonous, his diet inadequate, and his home miserable (page 179). In the late Middle Ages, the new national states enslaved many of those who were found guilty of treason. However, by this time there was relatively little slavery. As for the Far East, forced labor was common there until modern times. In fact, China's Great Wall was built by thousands of forced laborers who were frequently flogged by foremen.

**Slavery and the Antislavery Movement in Modern Times.** In early modern times plantation owners and mine owners in the New World began demanding the gang labor of enslaved African Negroes. In South and Central America, African slaves soon replaced native Indian slaves. Many enslaved Indians had died from the brutal treatment of some Spanish or Portuguese owners. Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566), known as the *Apostle of the Indies*, was one of many missionaries who tried to help enslaved Indians. He had little success.

The first shipload of African Negro slaves to arrive in the thirteen Colonies landed at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. Soon thousands more were imported to work the cotton fields in the South. So profitable did the Negro slave trade become that Dutch, French, and English companies competed for control of slave-trading posts in Africa. So horrible were the slave hunts in Africa and conditions on the slave ships that sometimes half the slaves perished before reaching their destination.

Soon a strong antislavery movement developed. It was started by such Quakers as the Englishman George Fox and the American John Woolman. In 1808, the fiery speeches of a member of the British Parliament, William Wilberforce, contributed to the abolition of the slave trade in the British colonies. After 1808, it was made illegal to import slaves into the United States. Slavery itself was abolished in French colonies during the French Revolution, temporarily revived by Napoleon, and finally wiped out in 1848.

Slavery in the British Empire was abolished in 1833 by compensating slaveowners. Soon slavery was made illegal by other European countries holding colonies and by many Latin-American countries.

Antislavery propaganda by such writers as Harriet Beecher Stowe and William Lloyd Garrison had aroused bitter antislavery feeling in the United States. However, only after a war between the North and the South was slavery wiped out in 1865. In Brazil, slavery lasted until 1888. In some areas of Asia and Africa, slavery or a kind of slavery still exists. In such areas poor parents sometimes sell their children into servitude. Committees of the former League of Nations and of the present United Nations have made efforts to end slavery entirely.

**Guilds Lay Some Foundations for Free Labor.** Labor took a big step forward when the craft guilds of the Middle Ages were formed (page 191). Ancient Rome had had a guild system, and guilds have long existed in both China and India. In medieval Europe, runaway serfs who had become apprentices or journeymen were protected from the claims of their former feudal lords by the guilds. The worker and his descendants were no longer doomed to cultivate the same plot of land. In the guild they had a chance to better themselves by becoming master workmen.

**The Free Labor System of Modern Times: Its Advantages.** The slave had been tied to a master. The serf had been bound to the land. Even the apprentice and journeyman had had their freedom restricted by guild regulations. In contrast, the free laborer of early modern times seemed much better off. He had the right to work anywhere, for any employer, at any kind of job, under any conditions, and for any wages to which he agreed. The number of free laborers increased rapidly as a result of the development of capitalism and the spread of the Industrial Revolution.

**Reasons for the Rise of Labor Unions.** However, in the early days of the Industrial

Revolution, free labor was free only in theory. Early factory owners paid low wages and required laborers to work long hours under unhealthful conditions. The laborer no longer had land of his own, tools or machines of his own, or a permanent home of his own. Therefore, he was dependent upon the whim of his employer for his job. The employer might hire women and children at even lower wages. Furthermore, the invention of new machines was constantly throwing more laborers out of work. This displacement of men by machines creates a condition called *technological unemployment*. So fearful were workers that they would lose their jobs that many of them smashed the new machines.

Early in the Industrial Revolution, each individual worker had to bargain with his employer for better wages and better conditions of work. But since the employer had absolute power to hire and fire, the worker found this individual bargaining of little value. Consequently, in the eighteenth century, many workers formed groups, *trade unions*, to co-operate for better working conditions. Representatives of these unions would negotiate with employers for better wages, shorter hours, and better conditions for the entire group. Thus *collective bargaining* was substituted for individual bargaining.

**Labor Unions Struggle for Recognition.** Government officials and businessmen were hostile to these first trade unions. In England in 1799 and 1800, laws called *Combination Acts* were passed making unions illegal. Strikes were considered conspiracies against the government. Workers who disobeyed the *Combination Acts* were often given stiff jail sentences. There were also *Combination Acts* forbidding employers' associations, but violators were not punished.

The fight for the right to organize unions continued, however. In 1824, the British Parliament did away with the *Combination Acts*. Because many strikes followed, Parliament passed a new law in 1825 permitting laborers to join unions, but not to strike. However,

y 1875, unions had won the right to strike also. The passage of the British Reform Bill of 1867 had given city workers the right to vote. Thus they were able to get laws favorable to labor passed. As we shall see, union membership increased tremendously after 1870, and British workers even organized their own political party.

As more factories were built in the United States, especially after 1865, more workers joined unions. But it was not until 1935 in the Wagner Act that Congress guaranteed workers the right to organize and bargain collectively. In France, in the late nineteenth century, trade unions were legalized and the General Confederation of Labor was formed to unite all French labor unions. Germany's amazing industrial progress after its unification in 1871 was accompanied by a great growth in union membership. But in areas of the world where agriculture is the leading occupation, labor unionization has lagged behind. This is true of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and of such countries as Spain, Portugal, and those in eastern Europe.

**Some Similar Policies of Unions and Management.** Just as laborers organize into unions, so businessmen frequently organize into associations to strengthen their position. Both unions and businessmen's organizations seek popular support through such methods as newspaper advertisements and meetings with political leaders. Just as workers sometimes go out on strike, so owners sometimes shut down their factories until workers are ready to meet their terms. This is called the *lockout*. Most workers and most employers realize that strikes and lockouts are harmful to both labor and capital. Thus they try to settle their disagreements by collective bargaining.

Getting better wages for their members has always been the main purpose of unions. However, some unions in time also provided hospitals, schools, and even summer camps for members. Some employers feel that raising wages makes not only more willing workers but also better customers. Such employers



Child labor is still a serious problem in most countries. These boys are workers in a tin mine in Bolivia. In what ways is such child labor a menace to the country as well as to the child?

often provide profit-sharing and pension plans, recreational facilities, and medical attention for workers.

**Workers of Various Countries Co-operate.** Some believe that real freedom for labor requires better working conditions all over the world. This helps to explain why various international labor organizations were formed in the twentieth century. As early as 1901, an international federation of trade unions was created to discuss common labor problems. The United Nations provides, as did the League of Nations, for an International Labor Organization to suggest ways by which labor standards may be raised all over the world. After World War II, the World Federation of Trade Unions was formed to unite the unions of the world in common labor policies. At first, unions from over sixty countries participated in this fed-

eration. However, by 1949, the World Federation of Trade Unions was accused of being under the domination of the radical unions of Soviet Russia. And these Russian unions were accused of not being independent unions of free labor, but government-dominated. In 1949, the International Confeder-

ation of Free Trade Unions was formed, with the unions of Soviet Russia excluded.

Throughout most of history most workmen have lived a hard life. However, wherever and whenever democracy has flourished, the position of the worker has improved.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### **Persons to Identify and Terms to Define**

captains of industry • investment banks • worker's freedom of contract • social legislation • Corn Laws • socialism • Utopian socialists • Saint Simon • Robert Owen • the Rochdale co-operative • Karl Marx • Comintern • Cominform • moderate socialists • radical socialists • anarchism • syndicalism •

sabotage • general strike • Malthus • lobbying • Bartolomé de las Casas • Wilberforce • free laborer • technological unemployment • trade unions • collective bargaining • Combination Acts • World Federation of Trade Unions • International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

### **Questions to Check Basic Information**

1. Show that the captain of industry had to be on his toes all the time.
2. Compare the relationship of the employer and the employee under (a) the guild system, (b) the domestic system, and (c) the factory system.
3. Big business has been (a) praised and (b) criticized. Show why in each case.
4. Prove that there have been three main points of view concerning the relationship of the government to business.
5. What were the arguments of those who favored (a) *laissez faire*; (b) government regulation of business?
6. Show that government regulation has greatly increased since the Industrial Revolution began. For what reasons?
7. Mention three groups of the population and give examples of regulations made by governments to protect them.
8. What criticisms have many historians made of Marx's ideas?
9. Show ways in which the followers of Marx disagree.
10. What is radical about the views of both anarchists and syndicalists?
11. Discuss five problems resulting from the growth of large cities.

12. In what ways was Malthus pessimistic?
13. For what reasons have many governments restricted immigration in the twentieth century?
14. Under such headings as *Food, Clothing, Shelter, Recreation, and Education*, give examples to prove that modern life is standardized, yet varied.
15. Family life and standards of living have greatly changed since the Industrial Revolution began. Show how.
16. Show how the Industrial Revolution has affected (a) political parties, (b) political campaigns, (c) international relations, and (d) attempts to influence lawmaking.
17. List the many ways in which depressions may affect all the people of a nation.
18. How has the Industrial Revolution helped to intensify depressions?
19. Show that for a long time labor was held in low esteem.
20. Discuss the steps taken to abolish slavery.
21. In what ways is the free laborer better off than the slave or the serf?
22. Trace the development of trade unions.
23. Show that the struggle for the recognition of unions was a long and hard one.
24. In what respects are policies of unions and management somewhat similar?

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Compare the opportunities for captains of industry in the early days of the Industrial Revolution and today.
2. For what reasons has there been a drift away from laissez faire in most countries in the past fifty years or so?
3. Give your views of the objections which were raised against the early factory laws.
4. As countries become more industrialized, their governments tend to pass more social legislation. How do you explain this?
5. Which of the following kinds of insurance do you consider most important: sickness, accident, old age, or unemployment? Why? Some might call this a ridiculous question. Why?
6. For a long time Britain practiced free trade. Why? In the twentieth century Britain has adopted protective tariffs. Why?
7. A prominent American recently charged that soon most Americans would be "economic slaves pulling an oar in the galley of the state." Explain this statement and tell why you agree or disagree with it.
8. In a debate between a moderate and a radical socialist, what arguments would you expect each to give? As a member of the audience, what questions would you ask each?
9. Co-operatives are much more popular in Sweden and Denmark, for example, than they are in the United States. What reasons might explain this?
10. In what respects might anarchism and syndicalism be considered even more radical than radical socialism?
11. In what respects is Utopian socialism different from so-called scientific socialism?
12. Give reasons why in the United States neither the socialists nor the Communists have been able to enroll many members.
13. What do you consider the most serious criticism of socialism? Why?
14. What do you consider the most serious problem of modern cities? Why?
15. Britain in 1740 was worried about the problem of surplus population, despite the fact that there were far fewer Britishers then than there are now. Explain.
16. What is the significance of the phrase "a city civilization"?
17. The worker in the early days of the Industrial Revolution had less security than the slave or the serf. Explain whether you agree or disagree and why.
18. What evidence is there that the predictions of Malthus have come true in certain areas of the world? What evidence is there that they have not in other areas? What do you think can be done to make sure that his predictions need not come true anywhere?
19. For what reasons do nations which once welcomed large numbers of immigrants now practically close their doors to them?
20. What advantages are enjoyed by a society which has standardization yet variety?
21. To what extent has the Industrial Revolution strengthened or weakened family ties?
22. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, lawmakers have greater responsibilities than ever before. Discuss. So have voters. Why?
23. If the Industrial Revolution leads to such serious depressions, would it, if possible, be a good thing to go back to the days before the Industrial Revolution? Discuss fully.
24. The interdependence of economic life within the city, nation, and world results in great advantages. What advantages? It also intensifies depressions. Why?
25. Since throughout history the overwhelming majority of people have been workers, why was it not until modern times that most of them became free laborers? Prove that millions of laborers in some areas of the world today are not yet free.
26. What greater freedom does the average worker today enjoy than the (a) slave, (b) serf, (c) guild apprentice, or (d) journeyman?
27. What do members of unions hope to gain through collective bargaining that they might have difficulty gaining as individuals?
28. The employer, the employee, the consumer, and the government all want to avoid strikes and lockouts. Explain why in each case.
29. For what reasons have international trade unions sprung up in the twentieth century?

## Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. After reading Craik's *John Halifax, Gentleman*, report on the problems of an early captain of industry.

2. Using an economics textbook as a source, write a report showing that both big business and little business have their advantages.

3. Debate: Resolved that government regulation of business has gone too far.

4. With others compile a report using the classified directory of your telephone book to indicate to what degree we are living in a world of specialized occupations. Star the occupations which you think are those of middlemen.

5. Write an imaginary conversation between yourself and Adam Smith come to life today.

6. Write a verse, serious or humorous, on the effects of the Industrial Revolution on your recreation, clothing, eating habits, and any other aspect of your daily life.

7. Give an oral report on the effects of such emergencies as wars and depressions upon government regulation of business in any country.

8. After studying the financial section of your newspaper, write an essay entitled: *The World-wide Scale of Modern Business*.

9. Obtain figures from the library on the growth of labor unions in any country since 1800. Using the skill you learned in mathematics, make a graph showing this growth. Account for any great changes.

10. Report on (a) the Rochdale co-operative or (b) co-operatives in Sweden or Denmark.

11. From references under the heading "Social Security" in the most recent edition of the *World*

*Almanac*, select interesting information on developments in at least three countries. Express your opinion of these.

12. As a member of the occupational problems committee, interview any one of the following: (a) a businessman, (b) a worker, (c) a farmer, (d) a consumer. Ask him and report on what he considers his most serious economic problem today.

13. With others, investigate to find out how such organizations as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations try to help peoples in many areas. List definite examples.

14. In committee, plan an ideal industrial city of one hundred thousand population. Tell what you would do to prevent such evils as developed in some cities which sprang up haphazardly as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

15. Study an economics textbook to find out what suggestions have been made for combating depressions. Which do you think are the most sensible? Why?

16. Obtain information on the history of the labor movement in any country. For your committee's report, include (a) origins, (b) aims, (c) methods, (d) obstacles, and (e) gains.

17. Interview a businessman who belongs to an organization such as the chamber of commerce. Ask him (a) what the aims of the organization are, and (b) how successful it has been.

18. Interview a union member and ask him the same questions about his union.

19. Contribute to the class scrapbook clippings from newspapers and magazines which indicate that problems resulting from the Industrial Revolution are closely related to politics.

### Summing Up

1. With others make a balance sheet of assets and liabilities, indicating in what ways the Industrial Revolution has benefited mankind and in what ways it has increased the world's problems.

2. If you were filming a movie on the effects of the Industrial Revolution, what "props" (materi-

als needed) would you request of the property man? Mention some of the sound effects that would be required.

3. Make a list of five other illustrations which you would include in this chapter to indicate the far-reaching effects of the Industrial Revolution.

## CHAPTER 18 . . . IMPERIALISM: OLD AND NEW

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Reasons for the Rise and Fall of Empires Illustrated • Colonial Empires of Early Modern Times • The British Empire Subdues the Spanish and the Dutch • The British Empire Subdues the French • The Sepoy Mutiny Teaches the British a Lesson • The British Empire Continues to Grow • Empire Building Declines in the Early Nineteenth Century • Empire Building Revives in the Late Nineteenth Century • Reasons for the New Imperialism • Methods of Getting and Controlling Undeveloped Areas • The New Imperialism Strikes the Far East and the Pacific, Africa, and the Middle East • Expansion in the Americas • The British Empire the Largest in All History • The Russian Empire Expands Toward Seas and Oceans • Japan Imitates European Imperialists • France Loses One Empire But Builds Another • Italy and Germany Latecomers in Empire Building • The Empires of Some Smaller Nations • Expansion in the Caribbean and the Pacific • The Significance of Imperialism

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In 1870, a tubercular British boy, Cecil Rhodes, arrived in South Africa. Two years later, when he was only nineteen years old, he was a millionaire. He had joined the rush to the Kimberley diamond fields. By shrewd speculation he was able to build a great diamond monopoly. This monopoly soon became one of the most powerful financial organizations in the world.

Hardheaded Rhodes dedicated his life to adding huge areas of the backward continent of Africa to the British Empire. He once wrote: "I contend that we [the British] are the finest first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race." Rhodes's plan for British domination of Africa included the construction of a transcontinental railroad<sup>1</sup> and telegraph line from Capetown in the south to

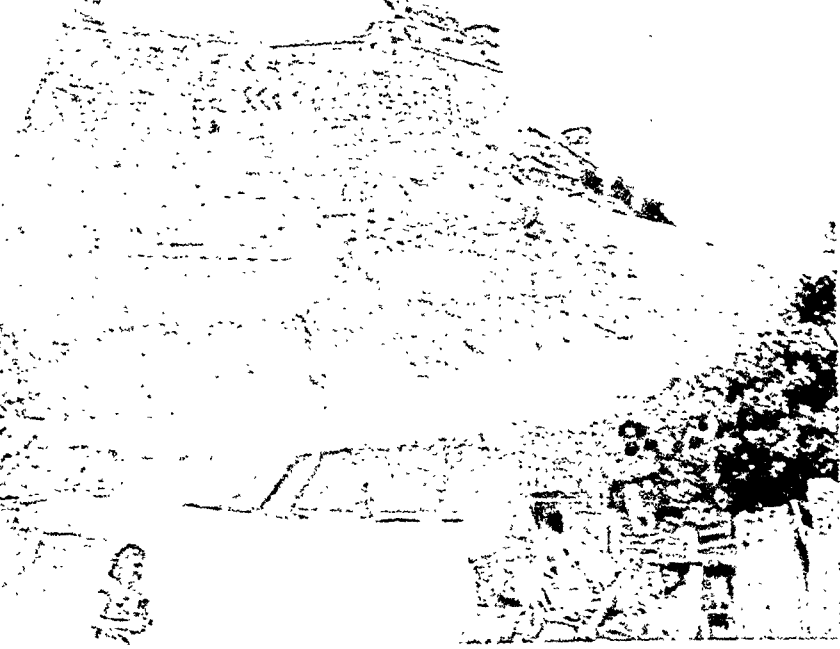
Egypt in the north. Using trickery, bribery, and force, empire-builder Rhodes added to Britain's African territory bit by bit. An African chieftain who had been a victim of his policies once said that Rhodes gobbled up countries for breakfast! But Cecil Rhodes was not the only empire builder of the late nineteenth century. Nor was Great Britain the only powerful industrialized country which sought colonies in this period. In fact, empire building itself and the motives and methods of empire builders have not changed very much through the ages.

### Reasons for the Rise and Fall of Empires Illustrated

Since ancient times, empires have been built in order to amass wealth, obtain political power, or spread a particular faith or doc-

<sup>1</sup> The Cape-to-Cairo Railroad. Much of this road has been completed, but there are still big gaps in it.





A Fortress Built by the Spanish Conquerors in the Port of Cartagena, Colombia. It had many underground tunnels and rooms used for living quarters. Why did the Spaniards feel the need for such powerful fortresses?

trine. And most empires have been built by conquest and ruled by force. A good example of this is the ancient Assyrian Empire, which ruled its subject peoples with horrible cruelty. There have been empires whose peoples have been bound together by a common religion or by emperor worship. Asoka in ancient India tried to build his empire around Buddhism, and the Arabs of the Middle Ages built theirs around Mohammedanism. The Inca Empire of the New World was under the iron rule of an emperor who was considered a god. Empire builders like Rhodes have often convinced their followers that they have a divine mission to spread their civilization around the world. Genghis Khan used this technique in the twelfth century. Some empire builders have won the loyalty of new subjects by respecting local customs and permitting considerable self-government. Such empire builders as Cyrus the Persian and Alexander the Great in the ancient world and the Tang emperors of China during our Middle Ages did so. A strong bond of unity in some empires has been pride in the past history of an empire accompanied by dreams of reviving its glory. Such dreams inspired the building of such medieval empires as Charlemagne's and the Holy Roman Empire. In the hope of

securing protection and prosperity, many peoples have accepted the rule of an empire. This was especially true of many who became subjects of the ancient Roman Empire.

Of course, all of these empires used other techniques as well. For example, the ancient Roman Empire, which absorbed all the other ancient empires except India and China, employed practically every device ever used in building empires. Sometimes the Romans used both force and emperor worship to weld the empire together. At one time, to win the loyalty of the people, all religions were tolerated. At another time, courageous Christians who refused to worship the emperor were severely persecuted. At still another time, certain emperors established Christianity as a state religion in the hope of cementing the crumbling empire. The many other devices of Roman empire builders included building excellent roads, encouraging trade, establishing uniform laws and coinage, and granting Roman citizenship to the many peoples of the empire. For a long time, millions remained loyal to the empire because *Pax Romana* gave them peace and security.

In the downfall of the Roman Empire, too, one can see almost all the reasons why empires have fallen throughout history. Among

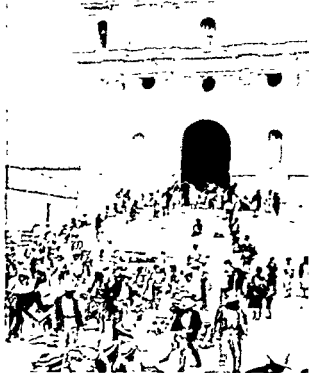
these are: one-man rule, privileged aristocracy, slavery, extremes of poverty and wealth, civil wars, military supremacy over civilian authority, the spread of corruption and immorality, and foreign invasions. Throughout history, empires have also fallen because subject peoples have risen in rebellion against mistreatment or because stronger empires have destroyed them.

## Colonial Empires of Early Modern Times (pages 231-234)

Keen competition for colonies was a driving force among the young nations of sixteenth-century Europe. Why? Such countries as Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England felt that the Italian city-states had monopolized trade too long. The search for an all-water route to the Spice Islands of the Far East had led to the discovery of new lands. European kings built powerful armies and navies in hopes of winning control of these new lands. Kings and adventurers expected to obtain gold and silver from colonies. Capitalists, enriched by the Commercial Revolution, sought raw materials and markets. Missionaries sought converts to Christianity. Many governments thought colonies would be a good place to send prisoners and persons unable to make a living at home. Some groups planted colonies for victims of religious or political persecution. For example, Pennsylvania was founded by Quakers and Maryland was founded for Catholics.

**The Portuguese and Spanish Empires Weaken Themselves.** As we have seen, such explorers as Vasco da Gama and Columbus helped to make Portugal and Spain the leading colonial nations of sixteenth-century Europe. Portugal obtained control of Brazil and valuable trading posts on the coasts of India and Africa and in the islands of the East Indies and even one in Japan. Spain claimed the Philippines and large areas of North, Central, and South America.

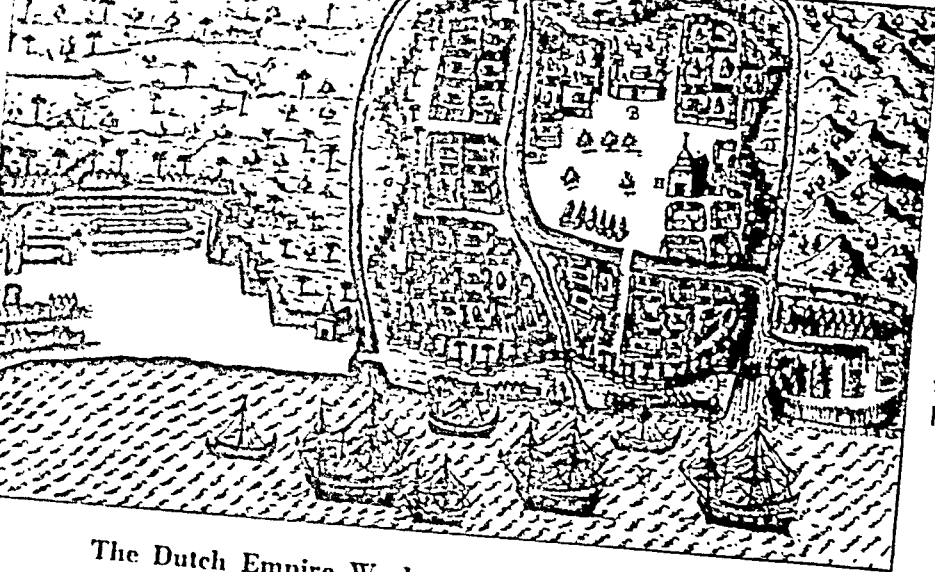
Spain's colonial subjects were told what to produce and were ordered to trade only



In what way is this Roman Catholic church in Guatemala connected with Spanish expansion in the New World?

with Spain (page 269). Spain's autocratic kings were so eager to drain gold and silver from the colonies that they made the tragic mistake of neglecting to encourage manufacturing. Thousands of Negro slaves were imported from Africa to take the place of enslaved Indians, who had died of mistreatment. Portugal's colonial policy was not too different from Spain's.

However, it is a mistake to believe that everything the Spanish and Portuguese did in the Americas was evil. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Spanish founded the first universities in the New World — at Santo Domingo, Lima, and Mexico City. They gave America its first printing presses and libraries. They introduced thousands of Indians to both European civilization and Christianity. Although some Spaniards and Portuguese killed or enslaved Indians, many others intermarried with them. In general, Portuguese settlers in Brazil were permitted more freedoms than settlers in the Spanish colonies. Many of the early settlements were even granted self-government.

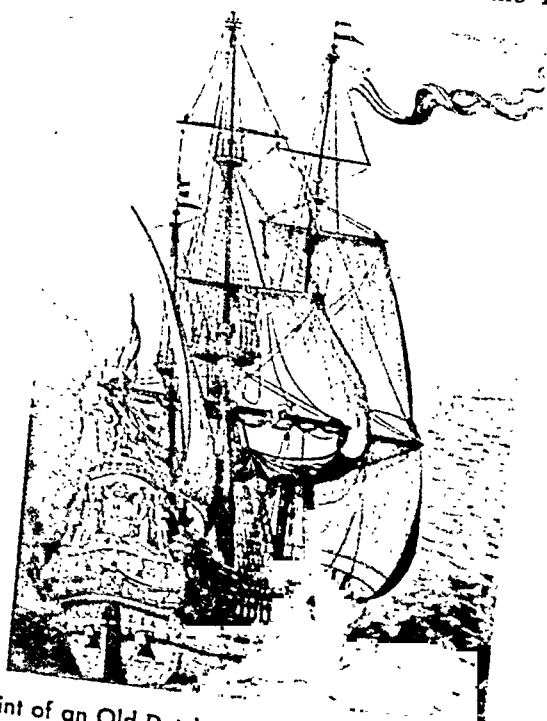


The First Dutch Settlement in Java. What attracted the Dutch to the East Indies? What history might one learn from a study of this historical print?

**The Dutch Empire Weakens the Portuguese Empire.** One of the leading colonial nations of seventeenth-century Europe was Holland. The Dutch seized some Portuguese possessions in the East Indies, for example, Java and Sumatra, and the island of Ceylon off India's coast. They still have ties to some of the East Indies. They settled Cape Colony at the southern tip of Africa, Dutch Guiana in northern South America, and New Netherland. In 1664, when the British captured New Netherland, they renamed it New York. Under the Dutch West India Company, which had governed New Netherland, colonials had no voice in the government. The company's main interest had been to build up a profitable fur trade, just as the main purpose of the Dutch East India Company had been to obtain spices.

**The French Empire Encourages Trade, Not Colonization.** France also started building a great colonial empire in the seventeenth century. Such explorers as Cartier, Champlain, and LaSalle had given France a claim to Canada and the Mississippi Valley region. The French chartered a company to found trading posts in India. Under Louis XIV, they bought some sugar-producing colonies, including Martinique, in the West Indies, and established slave-trading posts in Africa. Like Spanish colonials, French settlers in the colonies were strictly governed by the

mother country. There was no self-government. Like the Spanish, the French neglected colonial agriculture and manufacturing. As the Spaniards had concentrated on mining gold, the French concentrated on the fur



Print of an Old Dutch Warship. It was with ships such as this that the Dutch built their empire. What advantage did these Dutch sailors have over the ancient Phoenician sailors who founded colonies?

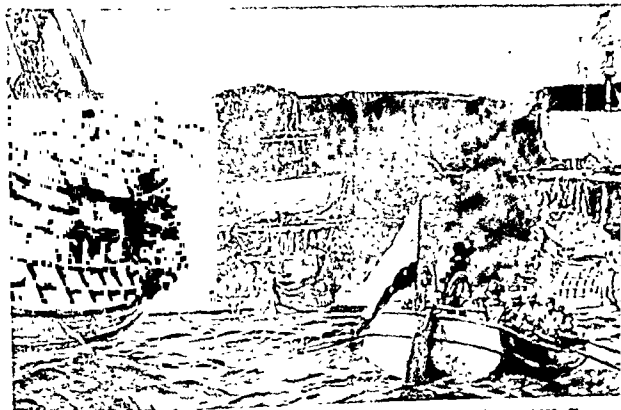
trade. Relatively few French settlers came to the colonies. Louis XIV needed men at home for his many wars. Non-Catholics were denied admittance to the colonies. In general, the French got along well with the Indians, and converted thousands to Christianity. Many Frenchmen married Indians and went to live in Indian communities.

**The British Empire Adopts Some Shrewd Policies.** Great Britain did not start competing for colonies until late in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Yet the world's largest modern empire is the British Empire. Its foundations were laid by such explorers as John Cabot (page 233). By 1700, the British had trading posts in Canada—around Hudson

Bay—in India, and in the West Indies. There were British settlements along the Atlantic seacoast of what is now the United States. By 1800, although Britain had lost the thirteen American Colonies, it had gained control of Canada and India, and had planted settlements in Australia and New Zealand.

British colonial policy differed greatly from that of the other empires. Great Britain permitted colonials considerable self-government. Britain's own parliamentary and legal systems were transplanted, at least in part, to many British colonies. The population of British settlements in America grew rapidly, because the climate was temperate, non-British immigration was welcomed, and agriculture, commerce, and certain industries were encouraged. Many British colonial settlements closely resembled towns in England. Unlike the Spanish and French, few Englishmen married Indians or lived among them.

<sup>2</sup> The late start of both France and Great Britain in the colonial race is explained by the religious quarrels which were taking place within each country and by the competition between the two countries for power on the continent of Europe



The Landing of the First European Settlers, the Dutch, at Cape Colony, South Africa, in 1652. They enslaved many Hottentot inhabitants, and gradually expanded their territory. Find out how the rigid rules of the Dutch East India Company hindered progress here.



(Above) Dupleix, Who Tried and Failed to Build an Empire for France in India. How did he try? Why did he fail?

(Left) Clive of India. Would you call his life a successful one? Discuss.

## The British Empire Expands

The British Empire Subdues the Spanish and the Dutch. Fierce rivalries and wars resulted from commercial competition and the race for colonies in early modern times. In this race the British defeated most of their rivals. The Spanish Empire suffered severely when its armada was destroyed by the British fleet in 1588 and when Cromwell seized Jamaica in 1655. Just as the Dutch had seized Portuguese possessions in the East Indies and the Swedish settlement of Delaware, so the English in turn seized Delaware and New Netherland from the Dutch in 1664.

The British Empire Subdues the French. But the fiercest colonial rivalry was that between the British and French empires. The century of conflict (1689-1815) between these two empires, which included four colonial wars, has sometimes been called the *Second Hundred Years' War*. Ever since 1066, when the Norman, William the Conqueror, had invaded England, there had been

competition between these two countries for the domination of Europe. Colonial competition in the eighteenth century sharpened this rivalry. Both wanted the rich fur trade of the valley east of the Mississippi. Both wanted the fishing banks off Nova Scotia. Both wanted to dominate the valuable trade of the West Indies and the still more valuable trade of India.

*The Seven Years' War in America.* After losing three colonial wars to England, France gave up its claim to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay area. Spain was compelled to give England Gibraltar (the western gate to the Mediterranean) and the monopoly over the slave trade in the West Indies (previously given to France). The fourth and last of these commercial and colonial conflicts, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), was fought around the world. It made the British Empire the most important empire of modern times. In America, the war was known as the *French and Indian War*. The struggle there began because both Britain

and France claimed the Ohio Valley. At first, defeat dogged the British. Britain's ally in Europe, Frederick the Great of Prussia (page 284), was also suffering serious setbacks. However, when the determined William Pitt (the elder) became head of the British cabinet, he built up the army and navy and inspired the British to fight on. In 1759, victory came when the British General Wolfe scaled the hills of Quebec and defeated the French General Montcalm. Both generals were killed in the struggle.

*The Seven Years' War in India.* The Mogul Empire which had been established in India in the sixteenth century (page 230) was crumbling in the eighteenth. Consequently, the power of the practically independent princes (*nabobs*) was growing. In this period, both the British and the French East India companies were powerful in India. Their governments had granted them military and governing powers as well as trading rights there. British-controlled India included the cities of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. The strongest French-controlled area centered in the province of Pondichéry, whose governor was Dupleix. Dupleix had dreamed of turning the weak Mogul Empire into a strong French Empire with himself as chief nabob.

Robert Clive, a clerk in the British East India Company who had become a soldier, turned Dupleix's dream into a nightmare. In a few cleverly executed engagements, even before the Seven Years' War, Clive had defeated the French and some of their nabob allies. Both the French and the British had used American Indians as soldiers in the French and Indian War. So, too, both used Indian Indian soldiers (*sepoys*) in India. Both had also made alliances with different Indian nabobs.

A story is told of how an Indian nabob in 1756 imprisoned 146 Englishmen overnight in a captured dungeon of the British East India Company in Calcutta. Packed together without air or water, only twenty-three of the prisoners survived the night in this horrible dungeon called the *Black Hole of Cal-*

*cutta*.<sup>3</sup> The next year, Clive, whose troops were heavily outnumbered, defeated this same nabob at the Battle of Plassey. The battle was an important one in insuring British domination in India. Clive went on to other victories over the French and their nabob allies.

Empire-builder Dupleix, who had been recalled to France for his failure in 1754, died obscure and poverty-stricken ten years later. Empire-builder Clive, in poor health and accused in Parliament of enriching himself by gifts from Indian nabobs, committed suicide in 1774.

By the Peace of Paris (1763), ending the Seven Years' War, France had to yield to Great Britain Canada and any claim to land east of the Mississippi. In India, France was limited to five trading posts. The French Empire was further weakened when France turned over Louisiana<sup>4</sup> as a reward to its ally, Spain.

*The Sepoy Mutiny Teaches the British a Lesson.* By means of annexations or alliances with nabobs, the British East India Company in time was in control of most of India. But in 1857, the British almost lost India. High taxes and British annexation of more territory made many Indians discontented. So did the introduction of such Western inventions as the steam engine. One day the sepoys discovered that they had been given cartridges greased with the mixed fat of cows and pigs. Hindu sepoys were horrified, because cows were sacred to them. Moslem sepoys were horrified, because pork was forbidden to them. This seemed to the sepoys final proof that the British East India Company had contempt for their customs and religions. In the violent uprising which followed, the sepoys killed their officers and massacred thousands of British. The British

<sup>3</sup> Recently some historians have disputed the facts in this story. They assert that most of the British soldiers lost their lives defending the fort, not by suffocation in the prison.

<sup>4</sup> In 1803, Napoleon I, who had taken Louisiana from Spain, sold it to the United States.



## Empire Building Declines in the Early Nineteenth Century

In the early nineteenth century, few countries envied Great Britain its vast empire. Many persons had begun to doubt the benefits of colonies. They believed that the costs of acquiring and maintaining colonies far outweighed any advantages that were derived from them. Big armies and navies, wars with rival empires, and colonial revolutions all meant higher taxes at home. Furthermore, Britain had lost the thirteen Colonies. Spain had lost its Latin-American colonies. Portugal had lost Brazil. Consequently, many questioned whether it was worth while to acquire colonies.

Interest in colonial possessions lagged for other reasons. As we have seen, many European peoples were busy struggling to achieve national unity and democracy and to industrialize their countries. Moreover, the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 had warned against further colonization or interference in the New World. The *laissez-faire* theory, which contradicted mercantilism, was gaining ground. Supporters of the *laissez-faire* theory maintained that everybody would benefit if colonial monopolies were eliminated. They offered as proof the fact that British-American trade had increased after Britain lost the thirteen Colonies.

## Empire Building Revives in the Late Nineteenth Century

Just as the drive for colonies slowed down in the first half of the nineteenth century, so it speeded up in the second half. Powerful industrialized nations tried to gain control over the government of certain so-called backward areas with undeveloped natural resources, or over the business in them. Such a policy is called *imperialism*. Imperialism is as old as the first empire which tried to control subject peoples. But, as used today, the word usually refers to the colonial expansion of the past hundred years. Africa and China

Scene from the Sepoy Mutiny, when the British Relieved the Besieged City of Lucknow, India. How might the Sepoy mutiny have been prevented?

matched cruelty with cruelty. Rebellious sepoys were shot from the mouths of cannons, and thousands of other Indians were shot or hanged. After the Sepoy Mutiny was suppressed, the British government in 1858 took control of the government of India from the British East India Company.

**The British Empire Continues to Grow.** During the French Revolution, Britain seized the island of Ceylon, rich settlements in the Malay Peninsula, Cape Colony in South Africa, and part of Guiana in South America. These British acquisitions from the Dutch, plus Trinidad from the Spanish, Malta from the French, and Heligoland from Denmark, were all recognized by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (page 348). British subjects now began to boast that "the sun never sets on the British Empire."

which had been relatively untouched by colonizing nations before the middle of the nineteenth century, were the leading victims of this *new imperialism*.

**Reasons for the New Imperialism.** As countries became more industrialized, many businessmen urged their governments to annex colonies or get control of undeveloped areas. They hoped thus to obtain raw materials<sup>3</sup> for their constantly expanding factories and markets for their surplus goods — goods which could not be sold at home at a good profit. They also hoped to invest in undeveloped areas where labor was cheap and competitors were few. There, greater profits could be made from investments, for example, in rubber and sugar plantations, copper and tin mines, oil wells, transportation facilities, and other projects. Many felt that, if their own country took over such backward areas, their investments in those places would be safer.

Nationalism was another reason for the growth of the new imperialism. Germany and Italy, with their unification completed and their industrialization started, dreamed of increasing their power by building empires like those of older nations. France, humbled by losing the Franco-Prussian War, hoped that adding colonies would revive its glory. This threat of increasing competition made Great Britain want to hold on to what it had and even to expand its empire. In turn, envy of this rich and powerful British Empire stirred the ambitions of many nations. Many nationalists wanted colonies as military and naval bases. As population increased, nationalists feared that many of their own people would emigrate to foreign countries. They wanted colonies to which they could send their so-called surplus population. Even humble citizens often glowed with national pride at seeing the map of the world colored with their country's possessions.

Millions supported the new imperialism as

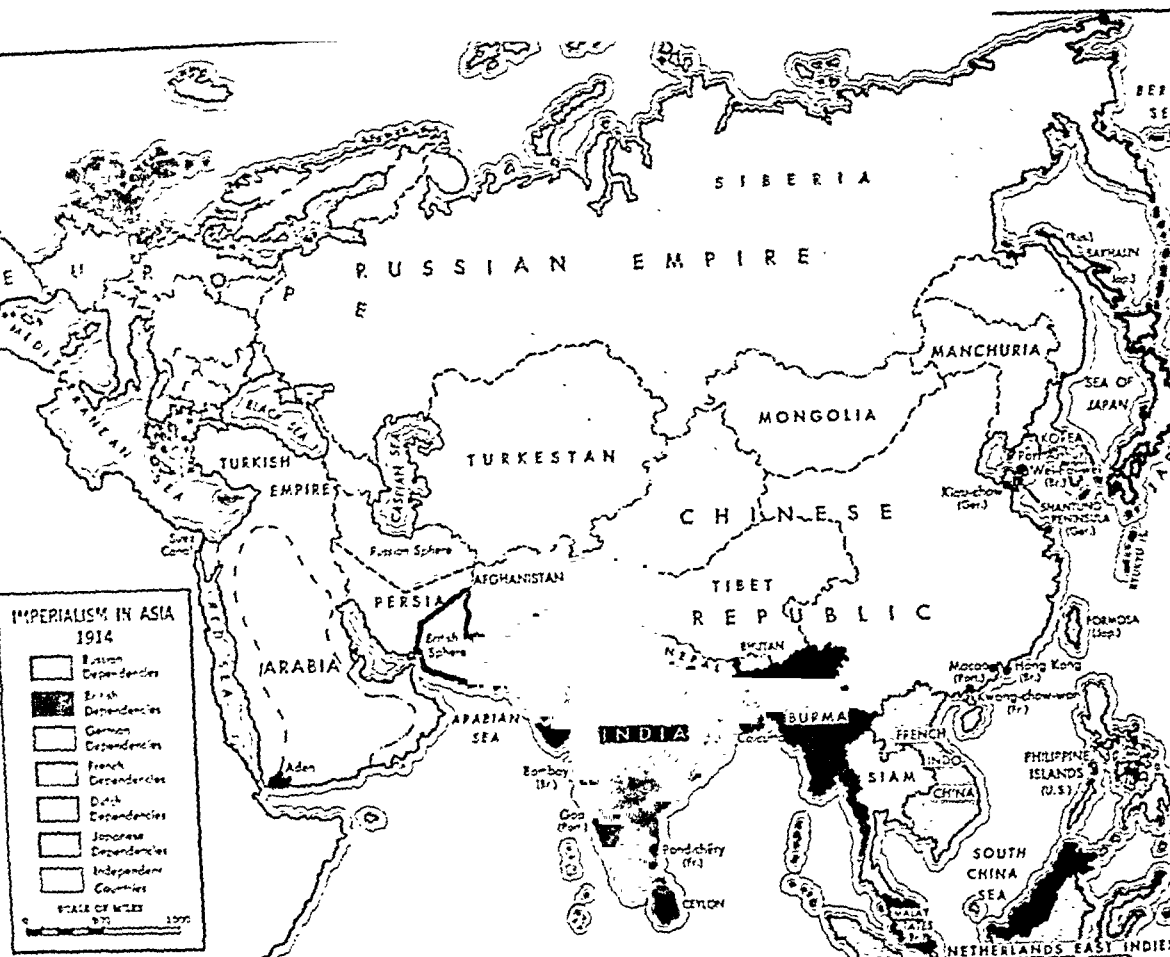
a means of spreading Christianity. Many also believed that by means of imperialism peoples in backward areas would be given the benefits of education, sanitation, and clothing. Thousands of missionaries, teachers, doctors, and others have dedicated their lives to helping backward peoples. Many were convinced that the white man's civilization, and especially that in their own country, was far superior to those of the colored races. Such persons believed that they had a divine mission to spread their so-called superior civilization to backward areas. The British poet, Kipling, called this mission the *white man's burden*. Many imperialistic nations have used similar phrases to describe what they have considered their *divine mission*.

**Methods of Getting and Controlling Undeveloped Areas.** Peoples in undeveloped areas could not defend themselves against modern imperialists equipped with bullets and bombs. Some imperialists have even drugged some colonial peoples by making alcohol, opium, or cocaine available to them. In this way, they hoped to increase their control over such colonial peoples. Sometimes, unwittingly, chieftains have given up tremendous areas in exchange for some colorful beads or other trifles. Another age-old technique of empire builders is *divide and rule*. Imperialists have sometimes encouraged groups of different religions or different castes or with different political views to compete with one another. Thus they hoped to prevent subject peoples from uniting against the empire.

Sometimes imperialistic nations have formed alliances with one another to seize colonies from still other imperialistic nations. To expand their influence over undeveloped areas, powerful nations have tried to control important water routes. Great Britain's control of the Suez Canal has not only protected the route to India, but has strengthened British influence over the eastern Mediterranean. For somewhat similar reasons, Russian imperialists have for centuries tried to gain control of the Dardanelles and, consequently,

<sup>3</sup> For example, the new Industrial Revolution required such raw materials as rubber, oil, tungsten, and manganese.





access to the Mediterranean. Ownership of the Panama Canal by the United States has helped to make the Caribbean Sea practically an American lake. A generous policy has often strengthened empires. For example, when Great Britain granted self-government to Canada, that country became even more loyal to the British Empire.

Imperialists have used a variety of explanations for taking control of subject peoples. Here are some: They are merely punishing those who have shown disrespect for their flag. — They are punishing the murderers of missionaries or other citizens of their country. — They are bringing to the lazy native the dignity of labor, or the benefits of European modesty in the way of clothing. — The native government is unable to repay loans they have made to it.

There are different types of control over backward areas. Sometimes a powerful coun-

try annexes an area outright, making it a *colony*. Sometimes the native ruler is permitted to remain as a kind of puppet who takes orders from the mother country. This type of imperialistic control is known as a *protectorate*. A third device is to demand that the native government grant foreign capitalists permission to build a railroad, develop a mine, or cultivate a plantation. Such grants are called *concessions*. If the imperialistic power is granted a political or economic monopoly over a section of a backward area, it is said to have a *sphere of influence* there.

**The New Imperialism Strikes the Far East and the Pacific.** In 1839, the son of the emperor of China died. He, like millions of other Chinese, had formed the horrible habit of taking the drug opium. The importation of opium into China was illegal, but the law had not been enforced. Now the sorrowful emperor ordered that over twenty thou-

sand chests of opium sent from India by the British East India Company be dumped into the ocean. A stricter order was issued forbidding the further sale of opium in China. Strangely enough, this order helped to open up China to the new imperialism.

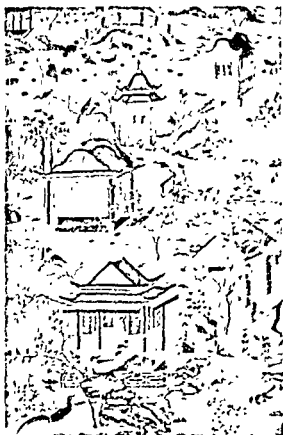
It was under the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912) that the West forced China's door open to trade. As we have seen, there had been some Chinese trade with the Portuguese and the Dutch in the sixteenth century. Like the Mongols (page 163), the Manchus were a Tatar tribe. Like the Mongols, too, these rulers represented a small minority trying to govern a huge majority, the native Chinese. To show that they were the masters, the Manchu rulers forced the Chinese to wear their hair in a queue (pigtail). However, in general, early Manchu rulers were tolerant. Chinese customs, education, and religions were respected and, in many cases, adopted. Even traders and Christian missionaries from Europe were at first tolerated.

The early Manchu rulers encouraged business by building roads and protecting traders. By 1750, they had won control of Turkestan, Tibet, Nepal, Burma, and part of Indo-China. The emperor most responsible for this expansion was Ch'ien Lung, one of the most beloved rulers in Chinese history. He wrote fine poetry. He encouraged scientific farming. He punished corrupt officials. And in times of famine, he cancelled tax payments. However, he, like many other rulers in the last two centuries of the Manchu dynasty, soon became less tolerant toward westerners. Like the Mings (page 230), the Manchus tried to close China's door to foreign merchants and missionaries. Manchu rulers accused foreigners of taking advantage of the Chinese people.

But Chinese goods had become so popular in Europe and America that it was difficult to keep China in isolation. The West wanted the ivory fans, the lacquered boxes, the porcelain vases, the tea, and the silks of China. In fact, westerners began to imitate the Chinese by planting Chinese gardens, by

constructing summer-houses looking like pagodas, and by decorating their homes with Chinese wallpaper. And, what was more important, by 1840, the factories of Europe were pouring out huge quantities of machine-made goods. Powerful European nations demanded that the Chinese open their ports to European trade.

It is surprising that China, which was civilized for so long (Chapter 3), should become the victim of imperialism. Most Chinese loved their ancient traditions so much that they refused to adopt new ways. However, China's weak and corrupt government, disunity, poverty, illiteracy, industrial backwardness, and contempt for foreigners made the country an easy prey for imperialists. The emperor's



This type of Chinese wall paper, made in the early eighteenth century, was painted by hand and mounted on linen. For what reasons do you think this wall paper was imitated in the West?



A Street in Hong Kong, China. Hong Kong was acquired by the British in the First Opium War. Find out why it should be desirable to the British.

order against the further smuggling of opium into China gave the British an excuse to declare war on China. Defeat in this first Opium War (1839-1842) was costly to China. Great Britain annexed the island of Hong Kong, gained the right to continue selling opium in China, and forced China to open four more ports to European trade. Thus China's doors, which, except for the port of Canton, had been closed to the West since 1717, were forced open. In a second Opium War (1856-1860), France joined Britain to force still more ports open and to get the Chinese to tolerate Christianity. At this time, China was weakened by the Great Tai Ping Rebellion against the Manchu rulers, which cost millions of lives. The revolutionists might have won if westerners had not supported the Manchus. Western imperialists preferred to keep these weak rulers in power.

Soon other industrialized nations were competing with France and Britain for special privileges in China. So many millions of possible Chinese customers and cheap labor-

ers were not to be ignored. Neither were China's coal, iron, and other minerals. Europeans and Americans demanded that their citizens who were accused of crimes in China be tried in their own courts, rather than in Chinese courts. This privilege — called *extraterritoriality* — angered Chinese patriots. Foreigners insisted that extraterritoriality was justified. They pointed out that trial by jury did not exist in Chinese courts, and that convicted criminals were often strangled. A race for concessions and spheres of influence in China soon began. In order to sell their goods more easily, foreign nations forced the Chinese government to lower its tariffs. Foreigners even controlled China's transportation facilities. In the words of one Chinese, these nations began to "lacerate China like tigers," by grabbing many Chinese provinces.

Long before the new imperialism, the Netherlands East Indies had become part of the Dutch Empire. India, Ceylon, the Malay States, Australia, and New Zealand, among other areas, had become part of the British Empire. After 1870, the French Empire was to annex Indo-China; the British Empire, Burma; and the Japanese Empire, Formosa and Korea. The Russian Empire was to expand in Manchuria and surrounding areas, and the German Empire in the province of Shantung. In 1898 the United States was to annex the Hawaiian Islands, and in 1899, the Philippines, Guam, and some of the Samoa Islands. Thus, in the Far East, only Japan and Siam (Thailand) could be called independent in the early twentieth century. However, later many subject areas were to become independent nations (Chapter 28).

**The New Imperialism Strikes Africa**  
In 1840, a Scottish missionary and doctor, David Livingstone, plunged into central Africa to Christianize the natives. This was a daring venture, for so little was known about the interior of Africa then that it was called the *Dark Continent*. Ancient Egyptians, Canaanites, and Romans and medieval Arabs had controlled part or all of Africa's north coast. During the Middle Ages, other coast-

Stanley Meets Livingstone. Why did this meeting send a thrill around the world?



regions of Africa were the home of many Negro empires remarkable for their achievements in culture and commerce. The cruel slave trade in coastal Africa, which had been practiced early by the Arabs and about 1500 by the Portuguese, helped to destroy these empires. This trade, which Livingstone denounced as "an open running sore," became very profitable. Soon other European countries established trading posts along the African coast for dealing in gold, ivory, and spices as well as slaves. Before 1871, France had acquired Algeria in the north and Britain had annexed Cape Colony in the south.

In general, however, Africa was still under the control of native rulers. Most of it had not even been explored. Why? Although Africa is three times the size of Europe, its coast line is so even that it has not enough harbors. The interior is cut off by mountains near the east coast. The three great rivers of central Africa (the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi) are so shallow in spots and so full of rapids that they are difficult to navigate. Thick jungles, vast deserts, unbearable heat, savage animals, and hostile inhabitants all tended to discourage explorers and settlers.

Such pioneers as Livingstone centered attention on Africa. Probably unintentionally,

they helped to make the continent after 1871 a happy hunting ground for European imperialists. During the thirty years which Livingstone spent in the interior of Africa, he taught, cured, and converted many Africans. But he is most famous for his explorations around the Congo River and Lake Tanganyika regions of south central Africa. When the outside world had no word from him for three years, the *New York Herald* sent reporter Henry Stanley to search for him. After undergoing many hardships, Stanley and his expedition finally located Livingstone in darkest Africa. Stanley's casual, almost nonchalant greeting to the long-sought missionary was: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"

Livingstone died of dysentery one year later. As for Stanley, he continued his explorations in Africa, notably in the Congo River basin. Soon there was a rush to Africa of other missionaries, explorers, and traders. They helped to unlock so many geographical secrets that Africa in a few years ceased to be the Dark Continent. Stanley himself proved to be the most persuasive propagandist for Africa as a field for imperialism. In one of his many lectures to business groups, he said, "I have passed through a land . . . [which] knows no owners. A word to the wise

is sufficient. You have cloths and hardware and glassware and gunpowder and these millions of natives have ivory and gums and rubber and dyestuffs, and in barter there is good profit."

Cecil Rhodes and empire builders of other nationalities could vouch for the truth of Stanley's remarks. Many Europeans were to make fortunes in Africa. Moreover, as will be shown, by 1914 this continent which knew "no owners" was to be almost completely divided up among the imperialistic European powers. The map on page 404 gives a picture of this division. Today the only African countries which might be called independent are Egypt, the Union of South Africa, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Libya.

**The New Imperialism Strikes the Middle East.** In the Middle East, Russia and Great Britain have been imperialistic rivals for a long time. Although the Middle East was the center of many great ancient civilizations, in modern times it has been a relatively backward area. Landlocked Russia has for centuries attempted to reach warm-water ports on the Black Sea and Persian Gulf. Catherine the Great in the late eighteenth century had gained some ports on the Black Sea at the expense of Turkey. In the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars of the nineteenth century, Russia had attempted to gain access to the Mediterranean Sea through the Dardanelles. These attempts had been checked mainly by Great Britain (page 392).

In the late nineteenth century, Russia expanded southward toward the Persian Gulf and Britain expanded northward to safeguard India. These two nations nearly came to blows over such areas as Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Tibet, and Persia (Iran, today). However, they were temporarily to compromise their differences (page 462). For a time after 1920, Britain and France were to dominate the area between Persia and the Mediterranean including Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Palestine. Recently, many nations have shown great interest in this area rich in oil and strategically located (Chapter 24).

## Expansion in the Americas

The Americas, too, were once carved up among European powers. Canada still retains some ties to the British Empire. Victory in the American Revolution gave the United States independence and a boundary as far west as the Mississippi. By purchasing Louisiana from Napoleon I in 1803, Jefferson extended the western boundary as far as the Rocky Mountains. The United States reached its natural boundary on the southeast when Spain ceded Florida to it in 1819.

Texas had won its independence from Mexico in 1836 and had become a republic. Many Texans desired that their republic be admitted to the United States as a state. It was. A dispute over the Texas boundary led to a war with Mexico in 1848. As a result of the Mexican War, in 1848 the United States won territory which extended from the Rockies to the Pacific. Our northern boundary was finally fixed in the 1840's when the Maine and Oregon boundaries were agreed upon by treaties with Great Britain. Our southwestern boundary was finally fixed by the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico in 1853. Unlike most other countries, the United States did not treat these new territories as colonies. All were eventually admitted to the Union as states on a par with the original states.

After rounding out its natural boundaries, the United States was able to build transcontinental railroads, develop natural resources, and thus help to raise standards of living. Millions of Europeans were to come here, but as settlers rather than as conquerors.

We have studied how, through revolutions in the 1820's, the peoples of Latin America freed themselves from Spain and Portugal. In the Maximilian Affair (page 556) and other incidents, the United States had proved that it would enforce the Monroe Doctrine to prevent European interference in the Latin-American republics. In Latin America today, European countries control only some islands in the West Indies, British Honduras, and

British, French and Dutch Guiana. After 1890, the United States increased its influence over many Latin-American countries, particularly in the Caribbean area (page 463). Since about 1930, however, the United States has adopted many policies which indicate that it is a good neighbor (Chapter 24). Furthermore, it has granted many millions to Latin-American countries so that they can develop railroads, factories, electrical power plants, and more scientific farming.

## The British Empire the Largest in All History

By 1914, the British Empire extended over nearly one-quarter of the land surface of the earth and included nearly one-quarter of the world's population. Every race, religion, and stage of civilization are still to be found in the empire. As we have seen, for a period of three hundred years, it grew stronger and stronger by eliminating, with the help of allies, successive competitors. In the sixteenth century, the imperial challenge of Spain was squelched, in the seventeenth, that of the Netherlands; in the eighteenth and nineteenth, that of France, and in the twentieth, that of Germany.

In general, the British Empire has passed through four stages. During the first, before the American Revolution, it was Britain's policy to acquire large land areas, such as the thirteen Colonies, Canada, India, and Australia, as well as trading posts throughout the world. During the nineteenth century, the second stage, Britain annexed smaller areas, often islands, to serve as steppingstones to build lifelines and tie the big land masses together. After World War I, the third stage, Britain strengthened the loyalty of certain areas by granting them greater self-government. Since World War II, the British Empire seems to be passing through a fourth stage, a period of decline.

Within the British Empire are some self-governing countries called *dominions*, which, with the United Kingdom (England, Scot-

land, Wales, and Northern Ireland), make up the Commonwealth of Nations. Members of the Commonwealth today include the dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Pakistan, Ceylon, and the Republic of India.\* The British Empire, on the other hand, includes not only the Commonwealth, but all the British possessions. Many factors bind the British Empire together. Among these are the crown (symbol of the ruler), the protection of the British navy, trade within the empire, certain common legal and political institutions, and, in some cases, common customs and traditions. These bonds are stronger within the Commonwealth than within the British Empire as a whole.

**Wide Variety of Governments Within the British Empire.** Within the British Empire are to be found some of the most democratic and some of the most autocratic governments in the world. In addition to the United Kingdom, the empire includes dominions, protectorates, crown colonies, and certain dependencies which are in a class by themselves. The practically independent dominions have their own parliaments. After World War I, they were granted the right to make their own treaties, to have their own ambassadors, and to join the League of Nations (or later the United Nations) on their own. In 1931, by the Statute of Westminster, the dominions were permitted to reject laws passed by the British Parliament, and even to refuse to declare war when Britain does. The dominions enjoy important trade advantages from membership in the Commonwealth. At the Ottawa Conference in 1932, it was agreed that tariff rates for countries within the Commonwealth would be lower than those for non-British nations. This tariff policy within the Commonwealth is known as *imperial preference*.

In the protectorates, native governments

\* In 1953, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were united in a Central African Federation, representatives of which attend Commonwealth conferences.

often rule their countries in name only. British advisers on political, economic, and military affairs are usually behind the scenes pulling the strings, particularly where foreign affairs are concerned. The Malay States in southeast Asia and Uganda in Africa are examples of British protectorates today. A British crown colony is ruled by a governor sent from Britain. Some crown colonies are more advanced than others, having colonial legislatures over which the governor has the veto. Examples of crown colonies are Hong Kong in the Far East and Jamaica in the Caribbean.

After World War I, the League of Nations took over the colonies of defeated Germany and Turkey. These colonies were supposed to be held in trust by certain nations under conditions laid down by the League until they were ready for independence. Such colonies were called *mandates*. Assigned to Great Britain, among other mandates, was Iraq, which received its independence in 1932. (After World War II, the British turned over their mandates to the United Nations to become *trusteeships*. See Chapter 26.) Within the British Empire are also spheres of influence, concessions, and scores of smaller areas used as naval bases.

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. We have already studied some of the problems of Canada and the history of how it became the first dominion (page 375). Although Canada is larger than the United States, there are only about fifteen million Canadians. Most of them live in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. In 1949, Newfoundland, once a separate dominion, became the tenth province in the Dominion of Canada. Like the British government, Canada has an appointed upper house whose members serve for life. The real power, however, as in Britain, rests in the cabinet and prime minister, who are responsible to the elected House of Commons. The ruler of England appoints a governor-general to represent him in Canada, but this official is not much more than a figurehead.

The explorations of Captain Cook<sup>7</sup> gave the British Empire its claim to Australia and New Zealand. The first British settlement in Australia in 1788 was composed mainly of prisoners and daring adventurers. The discovery of gold in 1851 attracted many more British to the continent. When Australia was granted dominion status in 1900, it set up a federal government. Its Constitution, Senate, and House of Representatives resemble those of the United States. Like Canada, it has a responsible ministry and a governor-general. Comprising an entire continent, with an area almost as large as that of the United States, Australia has a population a little larger than New York City's — about nine million persons. Most of these live in the eastern and southern areas, since the rest of the continent is comparatively barren. Although Australia's leading occupations are sheep- and cattle-raising, in recent years it has undergone considerable industrialization.

Australia was a pioneer in allowing women the vote and in introducing old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. The secret ballot (called the *Australian ballot*) originated there. Eligible voters are fined for not voting. The Australian government owns railroads and telephone and telegraph companies. Although underpopulated, Australia has refused to accept any immigrants who are not of the white race. This has caused much ill will because most peoples in the Pacific area are of the Mongoloid race.

The Dominion of New Zealand, another of the Pacific lands *down under* (south of the equator), is especially eager to hold on to its ties to Britain. Practically all of its approximately two million population is of British origin. Its position twelve hundred miles southeast of Australia is isolated and makes it vulnerable to attack. Its wool, meat, and dairy products find markets in Britain. The New Zealand government owns banks,

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<sup>7</sup> Empire-builder Cook, who also explored the Hawaiian Islands, was killed there in 1779 by some indignant Hawaiians who resented his holding their king as a hostage for a stolen boat.

Two Powerful Opponents in the Struggle for Control of South Africa: Boer Paul Kruger and Englishman Cecil Rhodes. In your notebook write an imaginary dialogue between these two men. Use Cloete's *Against These Three* as a possible source of information.



insurance companies, mines, meat-packing companies, and loan agencies, as well as public utilities. Social security and woman suffrage were early introduced there. To make New Zealand a nation of small landowners and to prevent speculation in land, large estates are taxed heavily. New Zealand, too, practices a white immigration policy.

Cape Colony in South Africa became a valuable steppingstone in the British lifeline to the Far East. Moreover, this foothold enabled the British later to acquire a connected stretch of African territory all the way north to Egypt. Constant friction between the British settlers and the Dutch farmers, called *Boers*, led the latter to settle colonies farther north. In 1855, gold was discovered in one of these colonies, the Transvaal, which had become a Boer republic. A typical gold rush developed, attracting fortune-hunters from all over the world. Many British settlers rushed in, and the friction between the British and the Boers was revived. The Boers regarded the British as foreigners and the British accused President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal Republic of discriminating against them both in taxes and in representation in the government.

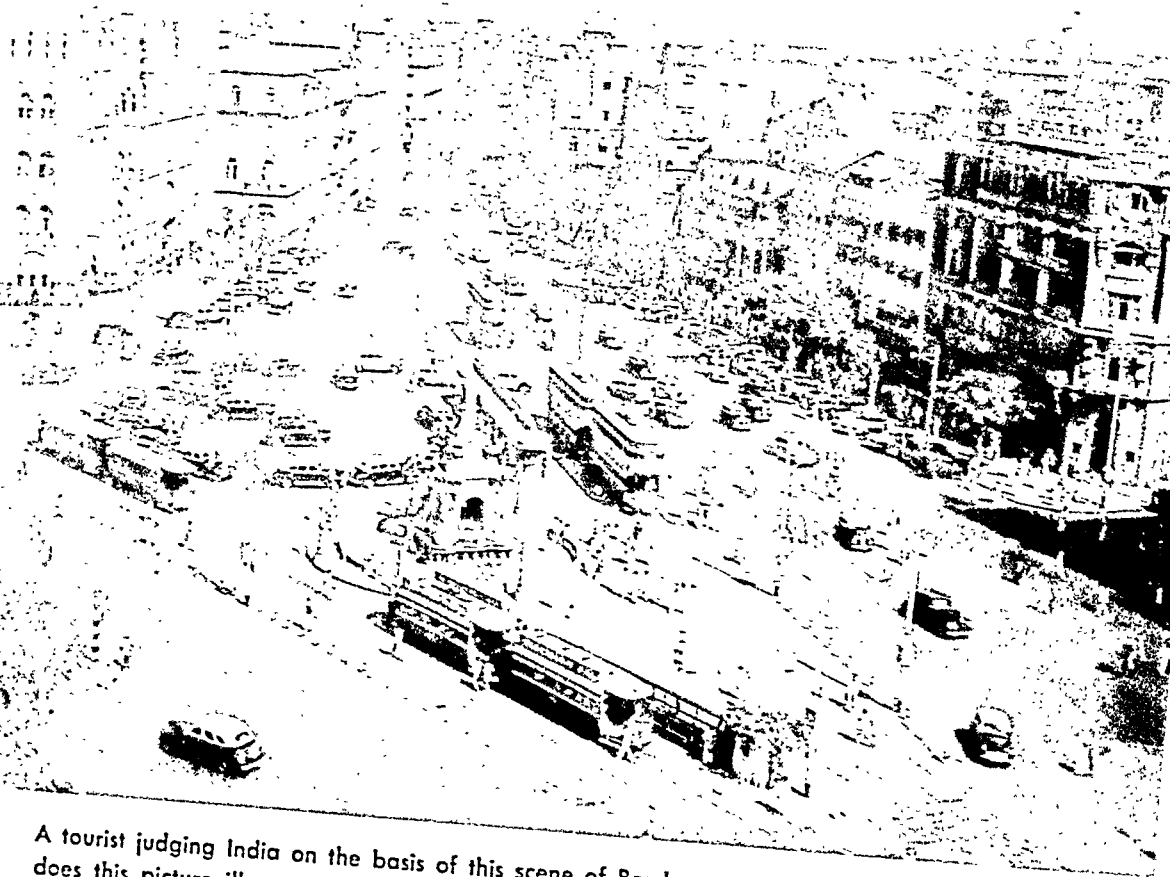
Cecil Rhodes (page 443), the leading British imperialist in South Africa, planned the

resistance against the Boers. Gaining the Boer republics would help Rhodes to realize his dream of building a British railroad from Capetown to Cairo. Rhodes was accused of encouraging a raid on the Transvaal led by a Dr. Jameson. The raid failed. Increased bitterness led to the Boer War (1899-1902), which was won by the British.

The British dealt wisely with the defeated Boers. Their own Cape Colony was united in 1910 with the Boer republics (the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal) to form the Union of South Africa, which was given dominion status. The Boers were thus enabled to retain their own language and customs, to govern themselves, and yet to enjoy the benefits of membership in the Commonwealth. Although the Union of South Africa supported Britain in World War I and World War II, many descendants of the Boers did not. Many are still hostile and would like to set up a completely independent South African Republic.

**Ireland Achieves Dominion Status. Then Independence.** During World War I and shortly thereafter, a violent civil war raged in Ireland between Irish nationalists and British troops. Our study of nationalism showed us how English rule over Ireland for many centuries had roused intense Irish





A tourist judging India on the basis of this scene of Bombay would be grossly misled. Why? How does this picture illustrate westernization?

hostility. We learned how religious and certain economic grievances of the Irish against the English had been settled. Still, British Prime Minister Gladstone's bills to grant Ireland home rule in the nineteenth century had been turned down by Parliament. A third home rule bill was due to go into effect in 1914, when World War I broke out. But Ulster and the other northern counties angrily protested. Then an extremely nationalistic group, the *Sinn Féin*, decided to cease depending upon the British Parliament for a solution to the Irish political problem and to act on their own. While the British were occupied in fighting World War I, the *Sinn Féiners* took as their slogan: "England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities," and set up a rival government in Ireland. Eamon de Valera, who dedicated his life to Irish freedom, was elected president. When elected, de Valera was in a British jail, from which he

escaped to America. There Irish-Americans welcomed him as a hero. The English considered the Irish Republic illegal. This helps to explain the violent civil war. However, in 1921 a treaty was negotiated between the Irish and the British establishing dominion status for southern Ireland. This dominion was called the Irish Free State.

In 1932, the Irish Free State abolished the position of governor-general and the oath of allegiance to the British king. In 1937, southern Ireland established a new, practically independent government, *Eire*. Then a trade agreement, increasing *Eire's* exports to England, ended the tariff wars between England and *Eire*. *Eire* promised that it would repay the loans which had been used to buy land from former British absentee landlords. And the British agreed to give up the three naval bases they held in *Eire*.

When World War II broke out, England's

difficulties again became Ireland's opportunities. The Irish Republican Army again used terrorist methods. De Valera declared Eire's neutrality and turned down Britain's request to use its former naval bases to guard against submarine attacks on British convoys. And in 1949 Eire cut its last ties to Britain and became the Republic of Ireland (page 352).

**India's Unique Relationship to the British Empire.** Five thousand years ago, India had a great civilization. Britain then was still in a state of savagery. But in 1763, the British had won control of most of India. In 1858, the British government took control of India from the British East India Company. All this we know.

Then the British crown appointed a viceroy (governor representing the crown), advised by a council, to govern British India from Calcutta. This viceroy was responsible to the Secretary of State for India in the British cabinet. The hundreds of small states scattered throughout India and ruled in name by their native princes actually took orders from British advisers. Thus these states were British protectorates. In 1877, Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India. And, as we shall see, in 1947, the British gave up their claims to India.

**Egypt: From Turkish Province to British Protectorate.** Its strategic location in the eastern Mediterranean on the route to India was a major reason why Egypt was of interest to the British. This interest increased after the construction of the Suez Canal (page 409), which was financed mainly by European capitalists. The canal meant that the huge British navy and merchant fleet no longer had to take the long route around Africa to reach British possessions in Asia.

The ruler (*khedive*) of Egypt engaged in extravagant expenditures on public works and private pleasures. Needing money, he was forced to sell his Suez Canal stock to Britain and to borrow huge sums at interest rates as high as twenty-five per cent. His inability to pay his debts led to British and French interference in Egypt's government. This brought



Why is the Suez Canal called the "key to India"?

about a nationalistic revolt in 1882. The French withdrew, but Britain suppressed the revolt and stationed British advisers and troops in Egypt. From 1883 to 1907, British Lord Cromer, who was in virtual control of Egypt, introduced many financial, legal, and other reforms. Together, the British and the Egyptians in 1898 suppressed a revolt in the Sudan, just south of Egypt, and thereafter maintained joint control there. This region from then on was known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Egyptian khedives had been governing Egypt for a long time as supreme rulers, but technically Egypt was part of the Turkish Empire. When Turkey joined Germany in World War I, therefore, the British officially claimed Egypt as their protectorate. But friction between Egyptian nationalists and British imperialists continued (Chapter 24).

## Competition Increases in Empire Building

**The Russian Empire Expands Toward Seas and Oceans.** The British built their empire by acquiring scattered territories, but the Russians built theirs by expanding their own boundaries. For centuries landlocked Russia sought to expand to the Baltic, Black, and Mediterranean seas to the East, to the Pacific ports, and to the Middle Eastern Pers-

sian Gulf. About 1700, Peter the Great had won a window on the Baltic. His explorer, Bering (page 280), had laid the basis for Russia's claim to Alaska. About 1800, Catherine the Great had won a Black Sea window. Russia's nineteenth- and twentieth-century wars directed toward control of the Dardanelles are other examples of the Russian drive for warm-water ports.

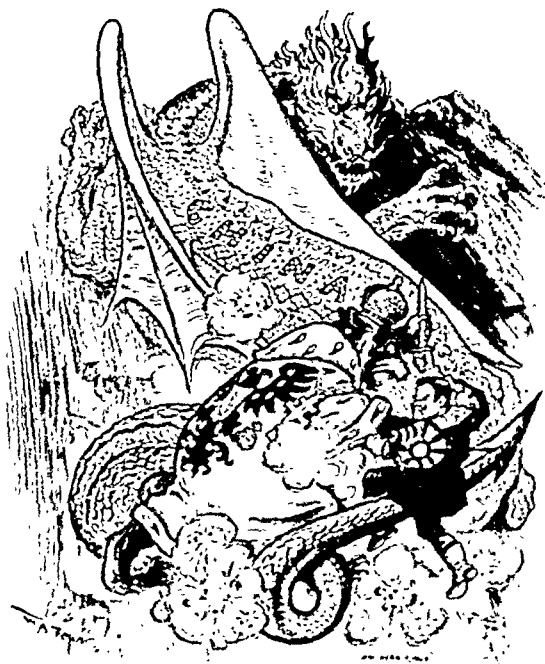
Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution got started in Russia. As a result, Russia began to develop its own natural resources and to reach out to control mining, railroad, and other economic concessions outside its borders. In a push to the Middle East and central Asia, Russia was approaching India. This seemed a threat to British control there. However, at this time both Russia and Britain feared Germany more than they feared each other. Instead of going to war, therefore, in 1907 Britain and Russia partitioned Persia into three spheres of influence. The north was to be open only to Russian businessmen, the south only to British, and the central area to both. Afghanistan was to be a buffer state under British domination to protect the frontier of India from Russian expansion.

In a push to the Far East, Russia had come to actual blows with Japan. They both hoped to obtain, at China's expense, Manchuria, the Liao-tung Peninsula on which Port Arthur is situated, and the peninsula of Korea. When Japan defeated China in 1894, Russia, among other powers, stepped in to prevent Japan from retaining all its gains. However, Russia itself obtained from China a lease on Port Arthur, concessions in Korea, and the privilege of completing the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria to the sometimes frozen port of Vladivostok. This stretch of the Trans-Siberian Railroad is known as the Chinese Eastern Railway. Russia also got the right to construct another branch railroad, the South Manchurian Railway, to connect ice-free Port Arthur with the main line in the north. Japan's anger over these efforts of Russia to dominate Manchuria led to the

Russo-Japanese War of 1904. By the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the war, Russia was forced to give up the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, its concessions in Korea, and its lease on Port Arthur. But Russia retained its railroads in northern Manchuria.

Russia's interest in the Balkans (page 280) — its desire to obtain warm-water ports there — was considered by the British a threat to their lifeline to India and by the Germans a threat to their plan to build a Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad. However, Russia joined its rival, Britain, in World War I with the major object of winning Constantinople and the Dardanelles from Turkey, Germany's ally. Even today Russia continues its expansionist policies (Chapter 27).

**Japan Imitates European Imperialists.** Almost overnight Japan had changed from a backward feudal country to a highly industrialized nation. In 1894, small modernized Japan attacked and defeated huge but backward China. The jubilant Japanese then acquired in the peace treaty the island of For-



HOW MUCH LONGER WILL THE DRAGON SLEEP? Interpret this cartoon which appeared the year the Russo-Japanese War broke out.

mosa and the Liao-tung Peninsula. They made Korea a Japanese sphere of influence. After Russia, France, and Germany forced Japan to surrender some of its acquisitions, they and Britain helped themselves to some Chinese territory, spheres of influence, and concessions. In addition to Russia's gains, France expanded its territory in Indo-China; Britain, its territory in Burma; and Germany, its foothold on the Shantung Peninsula. Japan was especially angry at Russia for dominating fertile and mineral-rich Manchuria.

To strengthen its position, Japan signed an alliance in 1902 with Britain, Russia's rival in the Middle East. Then in 1904, suddenly and without declaring war, Japan torpedoed many Russian battleships at Port Arthur. In the months that followed, little, efficient Japan defeated the overconfident Russian giant on land and sea. The President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, arranged for the peace treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War, the terms of which we have just studied. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea outright and expanded its political and economic control in Manchuria.

By defeating a big European nation, Japan came to be counted among the world powers. This was the first evidence in modern times that an Asiatic power could be a competitor of rather than a victim of Western imperialists. In the years that followed, Japan continued its imperialistic expansion. But at the close of World War II (1945), Japan was stripped of all its imperialistic gains.

**France Loses One Empire But Builds Another.** In the eighteenth century, France had lost out to Britain in colonial competition for Canada and India. But by the early twentieth century, France had almost caught up to Britain in the extent, although not in the value, of its empire. In 1830, France invaded Algeria in North Africa. The French excuse was that the ruler of that Turkish dependency had insulted France by slapping the French consul with a fly-swatter. Historians recognize, however, that King Charles X thought that this invasion might distract the minds of



The French Take Steps to Take Over Algeria. Why did it seem desirable to the French at this time?

the French people from his undemocratic policies at home. He hoped, too, that it might revive the lost prestige of the Bourbon family. Once France had annexed Algeria,<sup>6</sup> it was easy for French businessmen, military officials, and politicians to push eastward into Tunisia and westward into Morocco.

Both France and Italy had flooded the ruler of Tunisia with loans in the hope of influencing his government and winning concessions. When Britain got France's support for its seizure of the island of Cyprus from Turkey in 1878, however, Britain in return backed France's claims to Tunisia. This type of bargaining is common among imperialistic nations. A few years later, France invaded Tunisia. Italy was so enraged at this that it joined Germany and Austria in a so-called Triple Alliance (1882).

Relations between France and Britain in Africa were not entirely friendly. Britain wanted to build a Cape-to-Alexandria Railroad, while France desired an east-west band of territory stretching from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. When these two European lines of expansion met in the Egyptian Sudan, the two countries almost came to blows at Fachoda. By another bargain, this French line

<sup>6</sup> Algeria is shown as part of France and is colored so. The French Parliament was in France, however, at home to.

dent was settled peacefully. France was to recognize Britain's claims to the Sudan in return for British backing for French expansion in Morocco. By this time, France had enjoyed considerable industrialization, and the nearness, the good harbors, the natural resources, and the markets of North Africa looked increasingly attractive. French insistence on acquiring Morocco in the face of German opposition almost caused World War I to break out before it did (page 536). It was with Britain's backing that France was able to make Morocco a French protectorate in 1912.

In 1884, a meeting had been held at Berlin in which the imperialistic powers had laid down the rules for contestants in the race for African territory. One rule stated that a country must actually occupy a territory before annexing it. Thus the French occupied and then annexed what is today the French Congo, French West Africa, French Somaliland, and the island of Madagascar.

But France did not confine its empire to Africa. About 1850, France joined Britain in forcing China to open its ports to trade. By 1867, France had acquired Indo-China. When Japan exposed China's weakness in the Chino-Japanese War of 1894, France, like other European powers, carved out spheres of influence in China. The French Empire also includes such Pacific islands as Tahiti and Caledonia, acquired in the nineteenth century, and such Caribbean possessions as French Guiana and the island of Martinique, acquired in the seventeenth century. After World War II, the French Empire, like other empires, was faced with many uprisings among colonial peoples.

**Italy and Germany Latecomers in Empire Building.** Since Italy was not unified until 1870, and since it was slow in industrializing, it was also late in entering the race for colonies. When Italy saw other countries seizing African territories, it occupied Eritrea and Italian Somaliland about 1890. These two colonies on Africa's east coast were separated by independent Ethiopia (Abyssinia). At this

time Britain and France were rivals over the nearby Sudan. Encouraged by the British, the Italian army entered Ethiopia in 1896 and was severely beaten at the Battle of Adowa by French-trained Ethiopian troops.<sup>9</sup> In 1911, Italy waged war on weak Turkey and annexed Tripoli and Cyrenaica (now Libya). The Italian colonies were poor ones which cost Italy much more than was ever gained from them. When Italy was defeated in World War II, it was stripped of all its colonies.

Once united in 1870, Germany developed, as we have already noted, an incredible speed of industrialization. By 1884, it was in the race for colonies in Africa. Germany had to take what was left, however, since Britain and France had already staked out some of the most desirable claims. The scattered colonies which Germany occupied in Africa were Southwest Africa, German East Africa (now Tanganyika), Togoland, and Cameroons. Friction between Germany and England arose because German East Africa separated the British possessions in the north from those in the south. Furthermore, the Union of South Africa cast longing eyes at German Southwest Africa.

Germany also annexed German Samoa, part of New Guinea, and the Marshall and Caroline Islands — all in the Pacific. As for China, the murder of two German missionaries there gave the German ruler, William II, an excuse to obtain a lease on the port of Kiao-chow and concessions on the Shantung peninsula. German imperialistic ambitions also extended to the Near and Middle East. British and Russian resistance to German expansion in this area was a major cause of World War I. Germany's defeat in this war cost the Germans all their colonies.

**The Empires of Some Smaller Nations.** As we know, Portugal, Spain, and Holland once possessed vast empires, most of which were lost. Today Portugal holds Angola and Mozambique in Africa, some trading posts in India, and some Atlantic islands such as the

<sup>9</sup> In 1935, Italy invaded and annexed Ethiopia.

Azores. All that is left of Spain's great empire are some narrow strips along the northern and western coasts of Africa and the Canary Islands. Holland still holds some possessions in the Caribbean region. After World War II, the Netherlands East Indies became the United States of Indonesia, with very loose ties to the much-shrunken Dutch Empire.

Belgium today controls the Belgian Congo in Africa, an area eighty times the size of Belgium itself. It was obtained through the cunning tactics of King Leopold II of Belgium. For a time Leopold ruled the Congo as his private preserve. At the cost of horrible cruelties inflicted on the inhabitants, he made a personal fortune in ivory and rubber. In 1908, the Belgian government tried to live down Leopold's scandalous record by placing the Congo under government control and promoting a more humane policy.

Expansion in the Caribbean and the Pacific. As we know, when the United States expanded to the Pacific Ocean and the Rio Grande River, it made states, rather than colonies, out of the new territories. In these new areas for a long time, both Americans and foreigners invested their surplus capital. By 1890, most of these areas had been developed. Tremendous industrialization had meanwhile taken place in the United States. Businessmen here now began to look for undeveloped areas where they could obtain new markets, raw materials, and fields for investment. After the Spanish-American War, the causes of which follow, the United States obtained such areas.

Americans were sympathetic toward the Cubans who had rebelled against their mother country, Spain, and wanted to be free. Among other causes of the Spanish-American War were a desire to protect American investments in Cuban sugar and tobacco, and war propaganda by certain sensational newspapers. In 1898, the victorious United States acquired the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico. Under the Platt Amendment to Cuba's Constitution, the United States obtained cer-

tain rights in Cuba. We intervened in Cuba several times to maintain order and to protect American investments. In 1934 our government cancelled the Platt Amendment except for the provision permitting a United States naval base in Cuba. In Cuba, as in its other dependencies, the United States built schools, hospitals, and many other public improvements.

Now that the United States had expanded beyond its natural boundaries into the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, it seemed especially desirable to us to connect these two bodies of water. The French engineer who had built the Suez Canal, de Lesseps, had failed in an attempt to build a Panama Canal during the 1850's. A Panama Canal would save thousands of miles of travel around Cape Horn for ships of all countries shifting between the Atlantic and the Pacific. But the United States and Colombia, which owned the Isthmus of Panama, could not agree on a price for the canal route. When a successful revolution broke out in Panama against its mother country, Colombia, the United States recognized the new nation, Panama, which then sold rights to the canal route to our government. The United States overcame tremendous obstacles and completed construction of the canal in 1914 under the direction of army engineer Goethals.

As the Mediterranean has been called a British lake, so the Caribbean has been called an American lake. Our acquisition of Puerto Rico, our influence in Cuba, and our construction of the Panama Canal help to explain why. So do our purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917 and our extending of many loans to republics in the Caribbean region. These loans gave the United States considerable financial interest there. American marines have sometimes been sent to occupy such Caribbean republics as Haiti, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. American economic influence has also been strong in Mexico and in many South American countries. In recent years the United States has taken many steps not only to ad-

Latin America economically, but also to promote our common defense against possible aggressors (Chapter 24).

In the Far East and in the Pacific, too, American influence has been strong. It was the United States which about 1900 urged that all countries have equal trading rights in China (page 488). The American flag waves over Alaska and Hawaii, both of which are expected to become states on equal terms with the other forty-eight states. American Samoa, and such tiny islands as Guam, Midway, and Wake, play an important role in the defense of our Pacific coast. Of our own accord we granted the Philippines their independence in 1946.

**The Significance of Imperialism.** Imperialism has brought about great changes in undeveloped areas. Sanitation, education, better transportation and communication, and scientific methods of agriculture and industry have been introduced. Many jobs have been created. Under imperialism, many subject peoples have been taught not only to use western products, but also to adopt some progressive western ideas on religion, government, and recreation. Some imperialistic powers have fought such evils as suttee, cannibalism, and slavery.

Undeveloped areas, in return, have had their influence on the West. Such products as rubber, oil, silk, tin, tropical fruits, and native handicrafts have been made available in larger quantities. Many western artists have used these areas as inspiration for their literature, painting, or music. Western scientists who have studied these areas have learned much of geography, geology, zoölogy, and medicine.

Imperialism has stirred a fierce spirit of nationalism and led to many revolutions among colonial peoples. The native-born resent seeing much of the wealth of their country going to foreigners. Many of the educated class among colonial peoples angrily object to the racial reasons used by some imperialists to discriminate against them. Many charge that schools provided by imperialistic

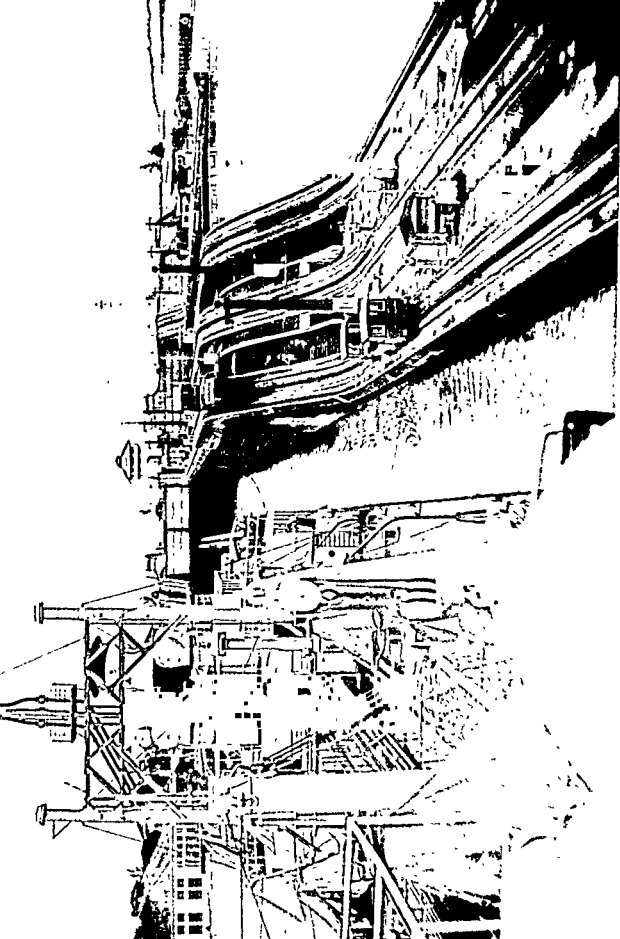
nations are usually few and that they are propaganda agencies to teach loyalty to the mother country. They have accused imperialists who practice the policy of *divide and rule* of holding back progress by promoting disunity.

Opponents of imperialism say that if a government rules autocratically in its colonies, it is difficult for it to govern democratically at home. They warn that the taxpayers at home must pay for the wars which frequently result from imperialistic rivalries and colonial revolutions. The taxpayers must also pay the salaries of colonial officials and the costs of maintaining a large army and navy. For the average taxpayer, these costs are much greater than any profits gained from colonies.

Nor do statistics show that colonies usually pay as places for settling surplus populations. It is true that thousands of British have settled in Australia and New Zealand. Yet when Germany and Italy were colonial powers, there were many more Germans and Italians in New York City than in all the German and Italian colonies put together. For emigrants usually want to go where they can make a better living and where the environment is agreeable.

But where is a mother country to obtain raw materials if it has no colonies? Most of the world's raw materials are available in non-colonial areas. In time of peace, they may usually be bought. Furthermore, new scientific discoveries and increased use of synthetics may make the world less dependent upon the raw materials of colonies. As for markets, the best customers are not in colonial areas, where purchasing power is low. Usually the workers in the mother country suffer by having to compete with cheap colonial labor. They would probably prefer to have industrialists build their factories at home rather than in colonies.

In any case, the new imperialism which began a century ago seems to be on its way out. As we shall see, some empires lost their colonies after World War I and still others lost theirs after World War II. Because it was





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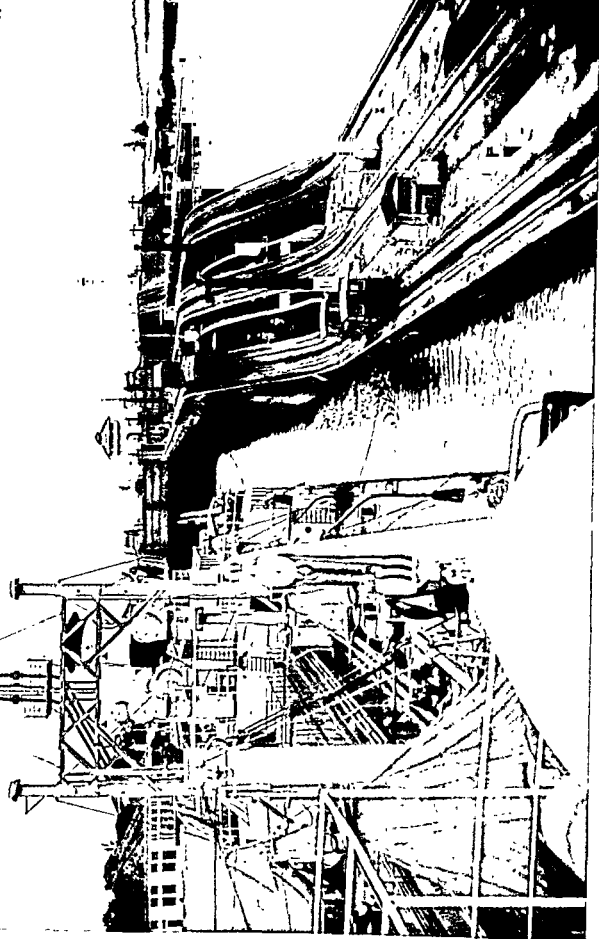
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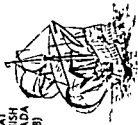


"The Land Divided — the World United." You see here one of the locks in that remarkable engineering feat, the Panama Canal. How would the world be without it?



1600

- BRITISH DEFEAT SPANISH ARMADA (1588)



1650

- BRITISH SEIZE NEW NETHERLAND FROM DUTCH (1664)



1700

- FRENCH LOSE OUT TO BRITISH IN INDIA AND CANADA (1763)

- DUTCH SEIZE PORTUGUESE EAST INDIES



1750

- BRITISH ACQUIRE (1815) SPANISH TRINIDAD, FRENCH MALTA, DUTCH CAPE COLONY, CEYLON, AND MALAY STATES



- BRITISH LOSE THIRTEEN COLONIES

- BRITISH SETTLE IN AUSTRALIA

1800

- OPIUM WARS FORCE CHINA'S PORTS OPEN

1850

- SEPOY MUTINY (1857)
- CANADA GRANTED SELF-GOVERNMENT
- RACE FOR SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN CHINA

1900

- QUEEN VICTORIA EMPRESS OF INDIA (1876)
- MANDATE SYSTEM CREATED
- BRITAIN BEGINS CONTROL OF EGYPT
- CONGRESS OF BERLIN PARTITIONS AFRICA
- BOER WAR
- FRANCE ANNEXES INDO-CHINA
- SPAIN LOSES LATIN-AMERICAN COLONIES
- FRENCH INVADERS ALGERIA
- U.S. GAINS TERRITORY IN SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
- ITALY ACQUIRES TRIPOLI AND CYRENAICA FROM TURKEY
- BRITISH AND RUSSIANS COMPROMISE DIFFERENCES IN MIDDLE EAST
- FRANCE MAKES MOROCCO PROTECTORATE
- U.S. CANCEL PLATT AMENDMENT
- BELGIAN GOVERNMENT TAKES CONGO FROM BELGIAN KING
- ITALY ACQUIRES TRIPOLI AND CYRENAICA FROM TURKEY

1600

1650

1700

1750

1800

1850

## HIGHLIGHTS OF IMPERIALISM: OLD AND NEW



felt that the abuses of imperialism cannot be corrected by one nation alone, both the League of Nations and the United Nations set up committees to protect colonial peoples.

Atomic energy may make the new imperialism old-fashioned. Uranium and thorium are important elements in the production of atomic energy. Geographic areas, such as Antarctica, which up to now have been of little interest to imperialists, are being ex-

plored by many nations in search of such mineral wealth. Steam and electric power played an important part in introducing the new imperialism. The application of atomic power may do even more to revolutionize imperialism. Control of atomic power by dictatorial governments or selfish monopolistic groups might lead to a situation which would make the imperialistic rivalries of the past look like child's play.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Cecil Rhodes • French and Indian War • William Pitt the Elder • nabobs • Dupleix • Clive • sepoy • Black Hole of Calcutta • British East India Company • Treaty of Paris 1763 • Sepoy Mutiny • imperialism • Kipling • colony • protectorate • concession • sphere of influence • Manchu dynasty • Ch'ien Lung • Opium Wars • extraterritoriality • David Livingstone • Henry Stanley • dominion • Commonwealth of Nations • imperial preference

• Statute of Westminster • crown colony • mandate • Captain Cook • Australian ballot • Paul Kruger • Boer War • Union of South Africa • Sino-Fin • Eamon de Valera • Eire • Republic of Ireland • viceroy • Lord Cromer • Anglo-Egyptian Sudan • Treaty of Portsmouth • Cape-to-Cairo Railroad • Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad • Fashoda Incident • Chino-Japanese War 1894 • Leopold II • Goethals

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What were the aims and methods of Rhodes in Africa?
2. Sum up the reasons for (a) the rise and (b) the fall of empires over the ages.
3. Classify the political, social, and economic reasons for colonial expansion in early modern times.
4. Give examples to show how the empires of early modern times treated their subject peoples.
5. Discuss some clashes between empires in early modern times.
6. Show how, bit by bit, Britain became the leading colonial power of early modern times.
7. List the reasons for the century of conflict (1689-1763) between the British and French empires.
8. Discuss how Britain gained control of practically all of India.
9. Why in the early nineteenth century did most countries feel that it did not pay to acquire colonies?
10. For what reasons did they change their

minds about 1850 and begin to seek colonies?

11. List (a) some techniques used to acquire undeveloped areas, (b) some of the reasons given for doing so, and (c) examples of different types of control.
12. Show that, at the very time that the Manchu rulers wanted to close China's doors to the West, the West was most eager to have them open.
13. What conditions within China made it easy for the West to force China's doors open in the Opium Wars?
14. In what ways was David Livingstone both a brave and a kind man?
15. How does geography help to explain why Africa remained a "Dark Continent" for so long?
16. Explain the quotation from Stanley in this chapter.
17. Show that Britain and Russia were imperialistic rivals in the Middle East.
18. "Millions of Europeans were to come here (the United States), but as settlers rather than as conquerors." How does this differ from the situa-

- tion in other areas of the world? Give examples.
19. Show that within the British Empire one could find the widest variety of governments.
  20. Prove that (a) the dominions are practically independent and (b) they enjoy benefits as members of the Commonwealth.
  21. Mention one interesting highlight about: (a) Canada, (b) Australia, (c) New Zealand, and (d) South Africa.
  22. Discuss (a) the steps in and (b) the results of British expansion in South Africa.
  23. Show how Ireland became first a dominion and then independent.

24. Discuss (a) reasons for British interest in Egypt and (b) how Britain got control of Egypt.
25. Show how Russian expansion led to (a) near-blows with Britain and (b) actual blows with Japan.
26. Trace the steps by which Japan built up its empire about 1900.
27. By what methods did France build its new empire?
28. Show that Italy and Germany both acquired their empires late and soon lost them.
29. Discuss (a) the causes and (b) the results of the Spanish-American War.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Discuss the connection between the Industrial Revolution and imperialism
2. Even though a nation desires not to be imperialistic, it might be forced to become imperialistic by the actions of other nations. Explain.
3. What clues to the reasons for the fall of empires appear in the reasons for their rise?
4. Arrange the reasons for the downfall of empires in what you consider the order of their importance.
5. In what respects was British colonial policy wiser than that of Britain's competitors?
6. In what ways might the history of the New World have been affected if the French had won the French and Indian War?
7. What incidents in the career of Clive led Hollywood to make a moving picture of his life?
8. What moral might be drawn from the last days of Clive and Duplex?
9. The Sepoy Mutiny is a sad commentary on the ways of ruling subject peoples. Discuss.
10. After studying the reasons for the new imperialism, indicate what groups might (a) support it; (b) oppose it.
11. Discuss reasons why even the most imperialistic nations dislike being called imperialistic.
12. Write a comment on each of the methods of getting and controlling undeveloped areas.
13. After the Opium Wars, it was just a game of "follow the leader" for the imperialistic nations in China. Discuss.
14. How might its industrialization have saved China from being the imperialists' victim?
15. Why might Africa after 1871 have been called a "happy hunting ground" for European imperialists?
16. In the light of the circumstances, what are your reactions to Stanley's question, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"
17. Why was the world interested in Stanley's search for Livingstone?
18. For what reasons has Britain for centuries opposed Russia's efforts to gain control of the Dardanelles?
19. What problems would face any country governing an empire as large as Britain's?
20. What valuable experiences might a political scientist gain from visits to various parts of the British Empire?
21. What do members of the Commonwealth have in common?
22. Compare the government of (a) Canada or (b) Australia with that of the United States.
23. Why are many Boers even today bitter at Britain?
24. Show that friction between the British and the Irish over the centuries hurt both in some ways.
25. In what way was India's relationship to Britain in a class by itself?
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28. What is your opinion of the method used by Britain and Russia to settle their differences over Persia?

29. Prove that in imperialism Japan proved to be an apt pupil.

30. Give your opinion of each of the techniques used by France in building its new empire.

31. In what ways were Italy's and Germany's experiences with colonies unhappy ones?

32. Would the world be (a) worse off or (b) better off if all empires were to dissolve today?

33. Imperialism can be costly to a nation. In what ways? Why, then, are nations imperialistic?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Contribute to a committee-made chart summarizing the most important empires of ancient and medieval times as follows: In Column I, print the names of the empires; in Column II, the approximate dates of the existence of each; in Column III, personalities associated with each; and in Column IV, some highlights of the history of each.

2. On an outline map of the world, indicate important colonial possessions of European powers (a) about 1600 or (b) in 1815.

3. Draw a cartoon illustrating (a) the motives or (b) the methods used in the new imperialism.

4. Make a report on how any colonial empire treated its subject peoples in any area of the world. Indicate your sources.

5. After reading Henty's *With Clive in India*, explain whether you think Clive was a hero, a villain, or a little of each.

6. Imagine yourself (a) a Chinese student in Hong Kong, (b) an Indian nationalist, (c) an Australian wool merchant, or (d) a Boer War veteran in South Africa about 1900. In a paragraph describe your feeling toward the British Empire.

7. Draw a cartoon illustrating the partition of Africa in the late nineteenth century.

8. Debate: Resolved, That colonies pay; or, Resolved, That imperialism is a great evil of modern times. See Townsend's *European Expansion Since 1871*, Chapter 20.

9. Make a time line showing dependencies acquired by the great powers between about 1850 and 1914. Indicate both the dependency and the mother country alongside of each date.

10. Select three poems from Kipling's *Collected Verse* and report on what each teaches you about the British Empire.

11. Imagine yourself the subject of any colonial empire of modern times. Write a poem expressing (a) your gratitude toward or (b) your bitterness toward your mother country.

12. Collaborate in writing a magazine article entitled: "Railroads and Imperialism." Include a discussion of the Cape-to-Cairo, the Berlin-to-Baghdad, and the Trans-Siberian railroads.

13. Write an essay entitled: "Imperialistic Crises," in which you discuss British-Russian rivalry in the Middle East, British-French rivalry in the Sudan, and Russian-Japanese rivalry in the Far East.

14. On an outline map of the world, indicate in different colors the various stages in the development of the British Empire. For information on the fourth stage, see Chapter 28.

15. Imagine yourself a trouble shooter sent by the government of any empire to investigate conditions in one of its colonies. Using the latest *World Almanac* and magazine articles listed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* to obtain information on the colony, write up your report and recommendations to the home office.

16. As a member of a committee making travel brochures, contribute to one on any dependent area in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. Include advice on (a) customs to respect, (b) political conditions, (c) living conditions, (d) climate and other geographical factors, and (e) places of historical interest.

### Summing Up

1. Submit questions for an *Information Please* on imperialism.

2. Of all the illustrations in this chapter, which one do you think best expresses the theme of im-

perialism? In one or two paragraphs, tell why.

3. Select three incidents from this chapter which you think have affected your thinking on imperialism most. Tell why in each case.

# CHAPTER 19 .... OUR WORLD IN AN EXPANDING INDUSTRIAL AGE

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**1870-1914: A Bright Page in British History** • In Britain the Royal Reigns and the People Rule • The Parliament Act of 1911: House of Commons Strengthened • The Governments of Great Britain and the United States Compared • Some British Prime Ministers, Their Parties and Policies • Britain's Brightness Begins to Fade • 1871-1914: The Third French Republic Triumphs over Its Enemies • The Paris Commune a Threat to a United France • Monarchist Quarrels Lead to the Third Republic • The Status of Democracy in the Government of the Third Republic • Steps Taken to Strengthen the Third Republic • 1870-1914: Newly United Italy Faces Many Obstacles • 1871-1914: The German Empire—Autocracy in a Democratic Framework • Russia's Long-Lived Despotism Continues after 1870 • 1868-1914: Little Japan Becomes a World Power • Age-Old Dynasties Replaced by a Troubled Republic in China • 1870-1914: Great Changes Make the United States a World Power • The United States Promotes Pan-Americanism • Latin America Slowly Progresses • The Scandinavian Countries: Little Giants in Making Progress • The Highlights of the Lowland Countries by 1914 • The Iberian Countries Remain Backward

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The period from 1870 to 1914 opened with great hope. It ended in deep despair. In this era many countries adopted written constitutions which guaranteed equality before the law and freedom of speech and press. Many countries granted more persons the vote by lowering property qualifications. In some countries women won the right to vote and to hold important positions in business and the professions. The introduction of the secret ballot made elections in some countries more honest. Many nations established free public schools and some nations separated church and state. Russian serfs and American slaves had recently been freed. Conditions

in many hospitals, prisons, and insane asylums were improved. Many governments granted recognition to labor unions, provided unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, and made laws to protect women and children in industry. Many of these gains were won because of competition between the aristocratic landowning class and the new industrialist class for control of the government in many countries. Both wanted the backing of the new and numerous working class. Leaders of the working class thus could bargain for rights with both groups. No widespread wars occurred in this period. It was an age which applied science to industry.



For what reasons was Queen Victoria, pictured here, beloved by the British? Mention some important events in her reign.

order to perfect old products and create new ones. For many, life became more comfortable and more colorful. Electric lights, telephones, phonographs, movies, and automobiles helped to make it so. The world was on the verge of the air age.

But things were far from perfect for many from 1870 to 1914. Constitutions usually favored the bourgeoisie. Voters seldom had a voice in choosing the upper houses of legislatures. Restrictions barred many from voting at all. In eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa there was very little democracy. Poverty, disease, privilege, illiteracy, and limitations on women's rights were still common. Racial, religious, and nationalistic hatreds promoted disunity within nations and among nations. Many felt unhappy and insecure. Some said this was because the materialism which accompanied the emphasis on science had tended to weaken religious feeling. As

we have seen, industrialized nations began to compete fiercely with one another in seizing colonies. As a rule, colonial peoples suffered the abuses of imperialism without enjoying many benefits from it. And finally, in 1914, Europe was plunged into horrible World War I.

## 1870 to 1914: A Bright Page in British History

London in the summer of 1897 was the scene of a glamorous celebration, the Diamond Jubilee or sixtieth anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria. Men of every race, all colorfully attired, representing every portion of the British Empire, paraded in her honor. When Queen Victoria died in 1901, the longest reign in British history came to an end. This conscientious little woman exerted much influence in British politics because of the respect British leaders had for her personality. Her happy married life was an inspiration to all Britain.

**In Britain the Ruler Reigns and the People Rule.** This celebration illustrates the great affection which the British feel for the crown. Yet British rulers exercise little actual power. No British ruler has dared to veto an act of Parliament since 1707 during the reign of Queen Anne. It is the British people through their political parties who really rule Britain. The power which a political party has in Britain depends upon how many members it succeeds in getting elected to the House of Commons. The party which has a majority in the House of Commons has the right to select a special committee from its members in Parliament. This committee of about twenty men, called a cabinet, in a sense governs Britain. The chairman of the cabinet, who is the leader of his party, is called the Prime (first) Minister (page 808). Any member of Parliament may bring up a bill in Parliament, but most important bills are introduced by cabinet members. As members of Parliament, cabinet members also take part in the debate on these bills. Because the cabi-

net represents the majority party in Parliament, usually the bills proposed by the cabinet are enacted into law. The cabinet is also responsible for carrying out all national laws and for appointing administrative officials.

But sometimes the House of Commons votes against an important bill proposed by the cabinet. Sometimes the House of Commons votes "no confidence" in the cabinet. In either case, the entire cabinet may resign. Then it is the custom for the monarch to ask the leader of the opposing party to form a new cabinet. However, a Prime Minister and his cabinet need not resign when the House of Commons votes against an important bill. The Prime Minister may instead ask the monarch to dissolve Parliament and hold a new election. This procedure, the usual one, is called "going to the country." The voters elect a new House of Commons. If a majority of its members support the policies of the existing Prime Minister and his cabinet, the same cabinet remains. If not, the opposition forms the cabinet. The voters thus act as judges when the House of Commons and the cabinet cannot agree. In short, the cabinet is responsible not to the ruler but to Parliament and, in the final analysis, to the people. This is known as *ministerial responsibility*.

**The Parliament Act of 1911: House of Commons Strengthened.** For centuries, the hereditary House of Lords had been able to kill bills passed by the elected House of Commons. As the democratic spirit spread, more and more persons became indignant about this. The showdown came in 1909. The House of Commons, which was controlled by the Liberal Party, had passed a budget that levied heavy taxes on land, income, and inheritances. Members of the House of Lords, being wealthy, were so angry that they vetoed the budget. Then the Liberals persuaded the king to threaten to swamp the House of Lords with newly created lords who would promise to limit the veto power of this upper house. As a result, the House of Lords gave in and the Parliament Act of 1911 was passed.

This act stated that the House of Lords could hold up money bills only thirty days and other bills no more than two years. (After 1949, such bills could be held up for no more than one year.) Thus the House of Lords could delay but not veto legislation. The act also changed Parliament's term from seven years to five. This does not mean that every Parliament lasts five years. Elections may be postponed in a war emergency. Or, as we know, a national election may be held at any time — "going to the country."

**The Governments of Great Britain and the United States Compared.** The British government is a democratic monarchy; ours is a democratic republic. There is no official document which might be called the British Constitution. The Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, court decisions, and important parliamentary laws, as well as unwritten customs, make up a kind of constitution. But the Constitution of the United States is a formal written document. Of course, some unwritten customs guide our government, too.

Although in Britain the House of Commons has practically all the lawmaking power, in the United States the House of Representatives and the Senate are both powerful lawmaking bodies. Our President may veto a bill passed by the Congress. Our Supreme Court may declare an act of the Congress unconstitutional. There are no such checks on laws passed by the British Parliament. Our cabinet members are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, and dismissed by him. These presidential advisers may not be members of Congress. In Britain, cabinet members must be members of Parliament. Thus, the Prime Minister and his cabinet have not only executive power but very important legislative power. In our government, however, the President and his cabinet make up the executive branch and have only indirect lawmaking powers. The President and the Congressmen are elected for fixed terms. Although members of the British House of Commons, including the Prime Minister, are elected for

a five-year term, they may, as we know, lose their jobs at any time. In various parts of the world, some governments have imitated the British form and some, the American form. Some have combined the two.

**Some British Prime Ministers, Their Parties, and Their Policies.** In 1837, a member of the House of Commons got up to make a speech. He wore a waistcoat of one bright color and trousers of another. His hair fell in long curls and his fingers were elaborately jeweled. His appearance, coupled with his flowery speech, provoked howls of ridicule. Calmly he persisted in finishing his speech, then thundered: "I sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me." The time came when there was always a mad scramble to hear the speaker. For he was the brilliant wit, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), later leader of the Conservative party and twice Prime Minister.

*Disraeli Persuades Conservatives to Adopt*

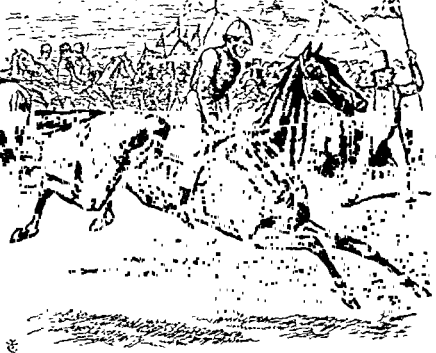


Queen Victoria, who was made Empress of India by Disraeli, rewards him with a title of nobility. Mention some achievements of Disraeli as Prime Minister.

**Reform.** The Conservative party was made up mainly of aristocratic landowners, wealthy capitalists, and country people. It was strongly nationalistic and imperialistic. It favored a protective tariff. It opposed home rule for Ireland and, in general, measures to help the poorer classes. Under the Conservatives, Britain gained control over the Suez Canal and great influence in Egypt, proclaimed Victoria Empress of India, and checked Russian expansion in the Balkans.

The Reform Bill of 1832 had granted the right to vote to the wealthier middle class. But the ever-growing lower middle class and working class protested that it was unfair to limit the vote to aristocratic landowners and wealthy capitalists. Disraeli realized that the voteless groups were growing more and more impatient. Furthermore, he said: "The rights of labor are as sacred as the rights of property." Because he also expected the Conservative party to win new voters thereby, he introduced a bill to extend the vote. His Reform Bill of 1867 was passed. In it, most city workers won the right to vote. Still voteless were many farm owners, unskilled workers, and women.

**Gladstone Promotes Liberal Reforms.** Once Disraeli criticized the speech of his strongest political opponent, Gladstone, as that of a man "inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity." Actually, William E. Gladstone (1809-1898), leader of the Liberal Party and four times Prime Minister, was a magnificent orator. Disraeli started out with radical views, but eventually became leader of the Conservative party. Gladstone began as a Tory (conservative) and ended with liberal views. Unlike Disraeli, he was not imperialistic, because he felt that colonies cost too much to get and keep. Gladstone's Liberal party was made up mainly of businessmen and workers. Its policies were home rule for Ireland, free trade, high taxes for the rich, opposition to imperialism, and many social reforms. This program appealed so much to the groups granted the vote in 1867 that, in spite of Disraeli's expectations, they



THE FALSE START

The "starter" is telling Gladstone that the time is not ripe for his democratic reforms. What democratic reforms? Prove that progress has been made by people who ignore such "starters."

voted for the Liberal party's candidates

In 1872, through Gladstone's influence, the Australian ballot was introduced. Another illustration of how British democracy progressed step by step came when Gladstone put through the Reform Bill of 1884. This law gave the vote to country workers and small farmers, and meant that Britain had almost universal manhood suffrage. But illiterate voters may be a threat to democracy. Referring to them, one Liberal in Parliament said: "We must educate our masters." That is why, beginning in 1870 with the Forster Act, several laws were passed extending educational opportunity (page 364). As we have seen, Gladstone had helped to solve the religious and land problems in Ireland. He also proposed home rule bills for Ireland, but they were defeated.

**Lloyd George Wages War on Poverty.** A more radical leader of the Liberal party than Gladstone was David Lloyd George (1863-1945). This dynamic little Welsh lawyer was virtually worshiped by workers, but was heartily hated by Conservatives. The many social reforms that the Liberals put through under his leadership, beginning in 1906, help to explain why. These included compensation

for injured workers, an eight-hour day for miners, old-age pensions, and minimum wage laws for certain industries. His National Insurance Act of 1911 provided for compulsory unemployment and sickness insurance. Especially objectionable to the Conservatives, as we have seen, was Lloyd George's budget, passed in 1910. The purpose of this budget was to place heavy taxes on the rich in order to help the poor, who made up ninety per cent of the British people. Lloyd George hoped that his budget would bring about a fairer distribution of wealth. He asked: "Who made ten thousand people owners of the soil and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth?"

**The Labor Party Demands Still Greater Changes.** Throughout the late nineteenth century, the vast majority of British workers had voted for the Liberal party because the Liberals seemed interested in their welfare. Yet many workers felt that workers should organize their own party to win even greater benefits. This feeling increased with the growth of trade unions. Beginning in the 1830's, as already noted, several laws had been passed to improve working conditions, and in the 1870's, strikes were made legal and

collective bargaining was recognized. Great Britain thus became a pioneer in recognizing trade unions.

But unskilled workers made little progress in unionization until the dockworkers' strike of 1889. By avoiding violence, the dockworkers won not only their strike, but the sympathy of important statesmen and of the public. Then many more workers who saw how the union had helped the dockworkers to improve their working conditions joined unions.

In 1901, all British unions were dealt what seemed a death blow. By a court decision — the *Taff Vale* decision — unions were held financially responsible for damage caused by their members during strikes. This decision would have made strikes virtually impossible and unions practically helpless. Worried by it, the unions organized the Labor party. The Labor party's growth was so rapid that in 1906 it had twenty-nine members in the House of Commons. Because both the Conservatives and the Liberals wanted these twenty-nine votes for their own measures, the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 was passed, repealing the *Taff Vale* decision.

In 1909, unions were dealt what seemed another severe blow. A court decision stated that union funds could not be used for political purposes. Since members of Parliament received no pay, Labor members of Parliament had been paid salaries out of union funds. This decision would have made it financially impossible for most Laborites to run for Parliament. The issue was settled when the Parliament Act of 1911 provided government pay for members of the House of Commons. From then on, union membership increased steadily and so did membership in the Labor party. Beginning in the 1920's, the Labor party replaced the Liberal party as one of the two major parties of Britain.

From the beginning, the Labor party was strongly influenced by a group of writers that included George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Sidney Webb. These writers had organ-

ized a moderate socialist group, the *Fabian Society*. This group believed that many of Marx's principles (page 430) were too rigid and revolutionary. They urged gradual introduction of socialism, a program which was eventually adopted by the Labor party.

**Britain's Brightness Begins to Fade.** By 1914, it was becoming clear that Britain was no longer the supreme economic power in the world. The British were still leaders in the production of steel and cotton and woolen goods and in the shipping industry. But now keen competition from Germany and the United States was worrying many Britishers. In fact, commercial and imperialistic rivalry between Britain and Germany were major causes of World War I. Furthermore, Britain's imports were greater than its exports. This would have worried the Britishers more if they had not had other sources of income. These sources included income from foreign investments and money received for carrying foreign goods in British ships. Finally, nationalistic movements in various parts of the empire were another source of worry.

### 1871 to 1914: The Third French Republic Triumphs Over Its Enemies

In the late 1880's, a striking-looking general named Boulanger attracted admiring crowds whenever he rode through the streets of Paris on his magnificent black horse. The enemies of the Third French Republic planned to take advantage of the general's popularity to overturn the republic, making Boulanger a military dictator. Supporters of the republic, many of whom differed on other matters, united to check this threat. When the government accused him of treason, Boulanger fled Paris and committed suicide.

The republic was threatened a second time in 1894, when Captain Dreyfus, a Jew, was convicted of selling military information to the Germans and sentenced to life im-

prisonment. It soon became obvious to many that Dreyfus had been falsely accused by the enemies of the republic. A writer, Zola, and a statesman, Clemenceau, among many others, took up the defense of Dreyfus. They charged that this case was a propaganda device to convince the French people that the republic was corrupt and that Jews were responsible for the corruption. In 1906, as a result of new evidence, Dreyfus was proved innocent. The propaganda trick had failed.

In spite of these and other crises, the Third French Republic (1871-1940) lasted longer than the First French Republic (1792-1799) or the Second French Republic (1848-1852). When the Franco-Prussian War (page 389) ended and Emperor Napoleon III was captured, France was left without a government. A National Assembly was then elected to rule France temporarily until a more permanent government could be established. To head this temporary government, the National Assembly selected Adolphe Thiers. Thiers believed in a limited monarchy controlled by the bourgeoisie and having property qualifications for voting.

**The Paris Commune a Threat to a United France.** Two immediate problems faced Thiers. One was to negotiate with Germany's Chancellor Bismarck the treaty officially ending the war. The other was civil war. The civil war had started because many Parisians wanted to turn France into a loose union of self-governing cities controlled by workers. Such cities were called *communes* and supporters of this revolutionary scheme, *communards*. Among the communards were radical republicans and left- and right-wing socialists.

These communards had never forgotten the Terrible June Days of 1848 (page 353). This workers' uprising had been suppressed because the peasants, usually conservative, had united with the bourgeoisie against them. By setting up local communes, the workers hoped to prevent the formation of such a national alliance a second time. While Paris had been besieged by the Germans, the

French government had permitted postponement of the payment of rent and other debts. But now that unemployment of workers and bankruptcy among shopkeepers were common, the National Assembly demanded that such debts be paid immediately! The communards resented this strongly. Another reason for the rebellion of the Paris Commune was the fear that the National Assembly was planning to set up a monarchy. When the troops of the National Assembly broke into Paris, horrible cruelties were committed by both sides. The National Assembly, which considered the uprising an attack on private property and the security of the nation, executed and exiled thousands. Now the National Assembly was ready for the task of creating a permanent government for France.

**Monarchist Quarrels Lead to the Third Republic.** Since most members of the National Assembly were monarchists, the quick establishment of a monarchy seemed a sure thing. Luckily for the republicans, the monarchists could not agree as to what royal family should head a new monarchy. Finally,



This cartoon depicts Boulanger as a threat to France. The shadowy figure in the background is that of Napoleon I. What is its significance here?



in 1873, they agreed on the Bourbon family. But with typical Bourbon stubbornness the candidate insisted upon restoring the old Bourbon flag instead of using the tricolor, the flag of the revolution. Monarchist Thiers had done a remarkable job of getting the German indemnity paid quickly and getting the German army of occupation off French soil. Tired of this endless debate, he joined the republicans.

Finally, in 1875, the National Assembly passed a few basic laws which, with some amendments, became the constitution of the Third French Republic. But for many years after, certain groups continued to hope for restoration of the monarchy. Among such monarchists were nobles, many army officers, many peasants, and some churchmen. This opposition to the republic explains the Boulanger incident and the Dreyfus case.

**The Status of Democracy in the Government of the Third Republic.** In the Third Republic, the French people had little to say in governing their local communities. The national government in Paris appointed the *prefects* (governors) of the ninety departments into which France was divided. The French had no direct voice in the choosing of their President. He was elected for seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies sitting together in a parliament called the National Assembly. The President actually had little power, since every act of his had to be countersigned by a cabinet member. Neither did the French have a direct voice in the choosing of their Senate. Senators were elected for a nine-year term by the votes of Deputies from each department and of delegates from local councils. The President had to get the Senate's consent if he wished to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies.

The French did have a direct voice in selecting the Chamber of Deputies, for it was elected by universal manhood suffrage for a four-year term. As in Britain, the cabinet, headed by the *Premier* (Prime Minister), had tremendous power. The cabinet, nominally appointed by the President, was

really responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. If the cabinet failed to get the support of the Chamber for an important bill, it had to resign. However, this usually meant merely a shift in cabinet positions, not the dissolving of the Chamber or a new election. To understand the difference between the cabinet system in Britain and France, let us look now at the French political party setup.

Unlike Britain, France did not have two major parties, but many minor parties or political groups. Under the Third Republic, no one political party was ever able to win a majority in parliament. This meant that the Premier always had to form his cabinet from a combination of groups, called *blocs*, in order to win the necessary majority. Often these groups had little in common except a desire to put through an important law. Consequently, disagreements occurred often, blocs were dissolved, and new cabinets had to be organized. Frequently a new cabinet would be headed by the same Premier and include most of the old political groups with the addition perhaps of one or two new groups. In form and function, France's present government is similar to that of the Third Republic.

The political groups under the Third French Republic could be classified under three headings: the Right, the Left, and the Center. The anti-republican Right included mainly nobles, peasants, and clericals. Clericals wanted strong political influence for the Church. They remembered the restrictions placed on the Church by the First French Republic. The pro-republican Left included mainly socialists from the working and professional classes. In the Center were moderate republicans.

**Steps Taken to Strengthen the Third Republic.** The bourgeoisie, which controlled the Third Republic, planned carefully to strengthen it against its enemies. To make even poor Frenchmen feel that they had a stake in the republic, the government sold bonds in very small denominations. To win over the industrious, conservative peasants,

the government established special farm banks and levied a tariff on farm products. To win the support of workers, trade unions were made legal in 1884. Compensation was provided for injured workers and pensions for the aged. To win more benefits, workers in 1895 formed the General Confederation of Labor.

French prosperity increased tremendously from 1871 to 1914, and the power of the bourgeoisie increased with it. Unlike the British, as we have seen, the French kept a good balance between agriculture and industry (page 416). Furthermore, there was a much more even distribution of wealth in France than in Britain. French businessmen, who wanted markets and raw materials, were especially pleased when the republic acquired colonies in Africa and Asia (page 463).

Many Frenchmen feared that the republic would be attacked by Germany. Many wanted revenge for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. Frenchmen realized, however, that for defense or revenge France needed a bigger army. But, unlike the German population, the French population remained small and practically stationary. That is why the republic in 1913 increased the period of required military service from two to three years. Fortresses were built along the German border and military alliances were signed with Russia and Great Britain. After the Dreyfus affair, monarchists were ousted from the army.

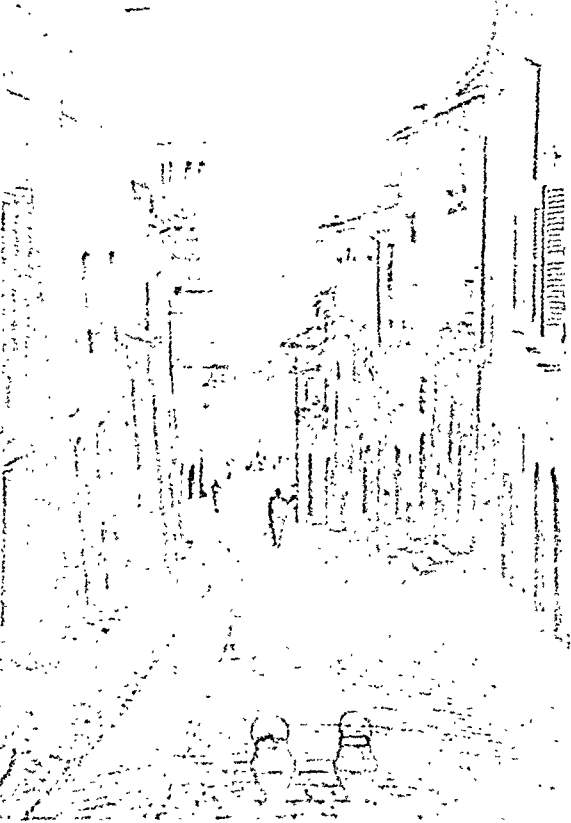
During the 1880's, the Ferry laws were passed, providing free compulsory education for the elementary grades. A major reason for this was the desire to develop in children a deep love for the republic. Since the clericals favored a monarchy, the republic ordered that no religious instruction be permitted in the public schools. In 1904, members of religious orders were forbidden to teach in either the public or the private schools of France. In fact, the republic's hostility toward clericalism was so great that another law required all orders of monks and nuns to obtain charters from the government. Since

many orders objected, the government took over their property and entered them closed. And in 1905, the separation of church and state was decreed, bringing an end to the Concordat which Napoleon had made with the Pope in 1801. Thereafter, no religion received official government recognition or government funds. The anti-church laws were sponsored by such men as Clemenceau and Briand, who placed much of the blame for the Dreyfus affair on clericals.

## 1870 to 1914: Newly United Italy Faces Many Obstacles

Promoting democracy, nationalism, and prosperity in newly united Italy was not easy. The Italian constitution had provided for the establishment of a democratic monarchy similar to that of Britain, with a parliament of two houses and a ministry responsible to parliament. It was easy, however, for a small group of wealthy people to control the government. Why? There were high property qualifications for voting. Not until 1912 was universal manhood suffrage granted. As in France, no one party was ever strong enough to win a majority in parliament. Therefore, in order to form a cabinet, it was necessary to combine many smaller parties into a bloc, which was usually an unstable group. Many government officials were dishonest and inefficient. The people themselves had had little experience in democracy. Even though newly united Italy established a free public school system, the compulsory education law was not enforced. As late as 1900, fifty per cent of the people could neither read nor write.

National unity was also handicapped because many local communities clung to their local loyalties. There was an especially sharp division between northern and southern Italy. The industrialized north was far more prosperous than the agricultural south. In the north, education was more widespread and so was respect for law and order. The friction which had developed between the Pope and the government during the unification of



Compare this Italian street with the one on which you live.

Italy continued. From 1870 to 1929 no Pope left his official residence, the Vatican. By thus making himself a voluntary *Prisoner of the Vatican*, each Pope was protesting against the government's seizure of Rome and the Papal States. The Pope for a time even advised Italian Catholics not to vote or become government officials. An Italian patriot who was also a faithful Catholic was much troubled by this situation. However, in 1929, the Church and the government settled their differences (Chapter 23).

Italy was among the least prosperous of the European nations in this period. Italy lacked the coal and iron necessary to make much progress in industry and sufficient fertile land to support a large population. Farming methods were still backward. In order to build a colonial empire in Africa (page 464), the government spent billions of lira on the army and navy. This meant an especially heavy tax burden for the poor. These condi-

tions led to a great increase in the number of socialists. The government took some steps to promote prosperity. It built more railroads, developed water power, encouraged trade, and passed a few social insurance laws. In spite of this, millions of Italians became so disgusted with conditions at home that they emigrated, mainly to the United States and South America.

## 1871 to 1914: The German Empire, Autocracy in a Democratic Framework

Constitutions, parliaments, political parties, universal manhood suffrage, elections, and even high literacy rates do not necessarily make democracy. The German Empire, established in 1871, had such a framework of democracy. Yet its government was most autocratic. The German Empire was a federation of twenty-five states, ruled some by kings, some by princes, and some by dukes. The empire's powerful upper house, the *Bundesrat*, was made up of the personal delegates of these rulers. The most powerful ruler of all was the king of Prussia, and his was the most powerful state. In both area and population, Prussia made up about two-thirds of the empire. Its king was always automatically *kaiser* (emperor) of Germany. As king of Prussia, the kaiser had enough votes in the *Bundesrat* to hold up any amendment. Furthermore, the empire's *Chancellor* (Prime Minister) was appointed by the kaiser and responsible to him — not to the lower house, the *Reichstag*. The *Reichstag* was elected by universal manhood suffrage. But it had so little power that it was once called "a hall of echoes." The kaiser, with the consent of the *Bundesrat*, could dissolve the *Reichstag*. He also controlled foreign affairs, the army, and the navy.

**Bismarck Tries to Make Germany the Strongest European Power.** Bismarck, who had used nationalism backed by autocracy and militarism to unify Germany, was Chancellor of the German Empire until 1890. He

used a similar policy to strengthen the German Empire. To promote national unity, he substituted uniform money, banking, and postal systems for the many local ones. He put through high protective tariffs against non-German goods and united the country by building new railroads and canals. To have sufficient funds for domestic improvements, he for some time opposed acquiring colonies. To prevent that great sea power, Britain, from becoming an enemy of the new Germany, he opposed building a big German navy. To combat the threat of French revenge, he formed an alliance with Austria-Hungary and Italy. He encouraged teachers and writers to propagandize for the glorification of the German state and its military ideals. The Prussian system of compulsory military service was adopted throughout Germany. Army officers had far more influence than civilians in almost every branch of the government.

Bismarck felt that there were two obstacles in the way of his nationalistic program: the Catholic Church and socialism. He accused both of having international loyalty which was interfering with their loyalty to the German Empire. He expelled Jesuits from Germany, and had laws passed in Prussia providing for government control of education and the appointment of priests. But Bismarck's struggle with the Catholic Church was unsuccessful, it resulted in a great increase in membership of the Catholic party, called the *Center*. When he began to fear the power of the socialists more, Bismarck, in order to get Catholic votes for an attack upon socialism, repealed most of the anti-Catholic laws.

Bismarck was also unsuccessful in his attack on socialists. Despite the fact that socialist meetings and newspapers were banned in 1878, the numbers in the socialist party, the *Social Democrats*, increased tremendously. Bismarck believed that the socialists were spreading national disunity by preaching to workers that the landowning aristocrats, high army officials, and big indus-

trialists were running Germany for their own benefit. To win workers away from the international socialist movement, during the 1880's Bismarck introduced sickness and accident insurance and old-age pensions. Thus, without giving workers any real influence in the government, he hoped to promote greater loyalty to the autocratic German Empire. This program was also designed to make healthier soldiers out of drafted workers.

**Kaiser William II Tries to Make Germany the Strongest World Power.** Bismarck's policy had been to make Germany the strongest country in Europe, both industrially and militarily. Kaiser William II's policy was to make Germany the greatest of world powers. William II, who became emperor in 1888, was a vain, arrogant man who



Prime Minister Bismarck. Of which of his policies would you have (a) approved, (b) disapproved? Why?

believed in the divine right of the Hohenzollerns. Such a strong-willed ruler could not permit a vigorous personality like Bismarck to share the center of the stage. Bismarck was discharged in 1890. Until 1918, when the German Empire collapsed, William II was practically his own Chancellor. In his reign, the German Empire became even more nationalistic, more militaristic, more imperialistic, and more industrially advanced. The French-speaking inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine and the Polish-speaking inhabitants of Prussia were required to speak German in their schools and public meetings. Under William II, Germany had the Number One army in the world, and a navy second only to Britain's. This position of strength, coupled with William's frequently warlike speeches, alarmed many. In expanding Germany's imperialistic program (page 464), he said: "God has called us to civilize the world."

### Russia's Long-Lived Despotism Continues After 1870

In 1881, a bomb hurled by one of his many discontented subjects killed Tsar Alexander II of Russia. In 1905, a revolution threatened the power of the Romanoff dynasty. In 1917, another revolution overthrew the Romanoffs and established a Communist dictatorship. What is the historical background of these events? Although most countries of western Europe had established limited monarchies in the nineteenth century, Russia still had an absolute monarchy in the early twentieth century. By this time, Russia's population was about 170,000,000, including people of many different languages, national origins, and religions. The country extended from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean.

The Russian tradition of absolutism had been firmly established by Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. The tsar was aided in his absolutism by privileged nobles who held important government and army posts and who paid few taxes. This heartless noble



Nicholas I was nicknamed "the Iron Tsar." In the light of his policies, why was this appropriate?

class stubbornly resisted reforms. Of this privileged society, one historian wrote: "Everything was corrupt, everything unjust, everything dishonest." Those who suffered most from this situation were the peasants, most of whom were serfs (page 281). These unfortunate millions, who were illiterate and superstitious, had a pitifully low standard of living. In the main, the Russian people lived in little country districts under conditions comparable to those on a feudal manor of medieval Europe.

**Nicholas I Fights Liberalism and Westernization But Supports Imperialism.** In many ways, the policies of preceding Romanoffs help to explain the assassination of Alexander II. For example, we have seen how Alexander I began his reign as a liberal and ended it as a reactionary under Metternich's influence. His successor, Nicholas I (1825-1855), began his reign as a reactionary and ended it even more a reactionary than Alexander. His censors checked carefully all books and newspapers. Even sheet music was examined, for Nicholas feared that some of the notes might be a secret code for spreading democratic ideas. He appointed inspectors to check up on the censors, and then other

inspectors to check up on the first group of inspectors. The secret police of this brutal autocrat placed spies in classrooms. Without a trial, thousands were exiled to Siberia, imprisoned, or executed for the slightest criticism of Nicholas's policies. Because he hated the liberal ideas of western Europe, he restricted travel into Russia by foreigners and out of Russia by Russians. He encouraged Pan-Slavism (page 382) to make all Slavic peoples look for leadership to Russia rather than to the West.

Nicholas I did show an interest in western Europe when he came to the aid of fellow-autocrats, for example, in crushing the Hungarian revolt of 1848 against the Austrian Habsburgs. Like Russian rulers before him and after, Nicholas I wanted to get control of Constantinople and thus access to the Mediterranean. In 1828, he went to war with Turkey, but failed to get Constantinople (page 350). In 1853, in the Crimean War against Turkey, Nicholas tried again (page 392). This time his allies of 1828, Britain and France, fought against him. In the peace of Paris (1856) which ended the Crimean War, defeated Russia had to give up Bessarabia and to recognize Turkey as a European power whose internal affairs were not to be interfered with.

**Liberal Alexander II Ends His Reign a Reactionary.** Nearly three hundred thousand Russian lives were lost in the disastrous Crimean War. Their humiliating defeat brought home to the Russian people the inefficiency and widespread corruption of both military and civil leaders. A cry for many reforms was met in part by the new tsar, Alexander II (1855-1881). Most of the ruthless measures introduced by narrow-minded Nicholas I were suspended. Broad-minded Alexander II introduced jury trials for persons accused of crimes, local self-government, more decent treatment for the persecuted Jews, and more schools, some admitting girls. He is most remembered, however, for emancipating Russia's 50,000,000 serfs in 1861.

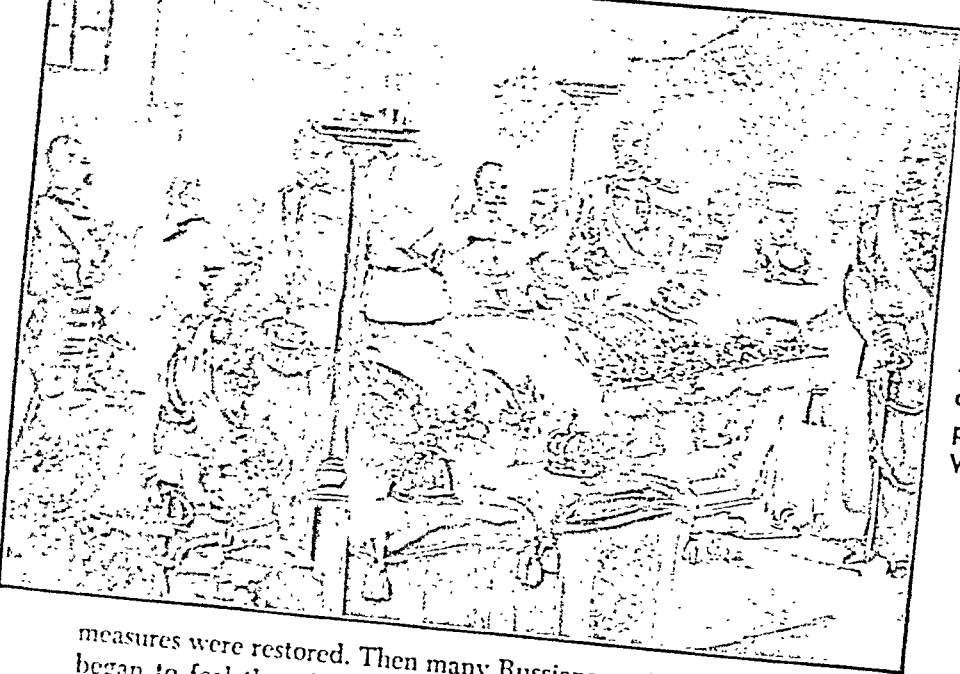
There had long been many scattered upris-

ings by downtrodden serfs throughout Russia. Alexander feared that some day the serfs might unite and overthrow the government. Furthermore, some of his liberal advisers considered it shameful for Russia to have serfdom so long after other nations had abolished it. Most serfs were still dissatisfied after their emancipation, however. The land given to a freed serf to cultivate did not belong to him, but to the *mir* (village community). For forty-nine years he had to pay dues to the *mir*, so that the *mir* could pay back to the government the money which the government had paid the nobles for the land. Many freed serfs felt that they had merely changed masters. Many were bitter because the nobles had turned over their least fertile lands to the *mir* at high prices.

Alexander II soon became narrow-minded, too. In 1863, the Poles again rebelled and were as cruelly crushed as they had been earlier under Nicholas. Alexander interpreted the rebellion as a sign that generous conduct toward subjects did not pay. Nicholas's harsh



Peasants Threshing Grain in Russia Under the Tsars. Write in your notebook your impressions of this picture.



Of all the Romanoffs, Alexander II is the one who is most likely to be assassinated. Why?

measures were restored. Then many Russians began to feel that the only way to win reforms was to destroy Romanoff despotism. One group, called *Nihilists*, asserted that they believed in no authority at all. They maintained that only by peacefully getting rid of such symbols of the old Russia as tsardom and the Orthodox Church could they create a new and happier Russia. Another group, called *Anarchists* (page 431), and other so-called *Terrorists* believed in using bombs, not ideas, as weapons to destroy the old Russia. Terrorists believed in answering the terror and murder practiced by the tsar's officials with terror and murder of their own. It was a Terrorist who later assassinated Alexander II. Other enemies of Romanoff despotism were the socialists and those members of the middle class who wanted a limited monarchy. Like other Romanoffs, Alexander II wanted Constantinople. Denouncing the horrible massacres which the Turks were practicing against Christians in Bulgaria, he declared war in 1877. The Russians won this Russo-Turkish War easily and forced Turkey to give independence to Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania and self-government to an enlarged Bulgaria. But Britain again saw a strong Russia in the Balkans as a threat to its lifeline to India. Joined by Austria, which also had am-

bitions in the Balkans, Britain's Prime Minister Disraeli demanded that a conference of the great powers be held at Berlin to talk things over. The new treaty drawn up at the Congress of Berlin (1878) reduced the size of Bulgaria. Britain took over for itself the administration of the Turkish island of Cyprus. Austria-Hungary took over that of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited largely by Serbs. The other great powers allowed Russia to take sections of Bessarabia and Armenia.

**Reactionary Alexander III Remains a Reactionary.** Ruthless suppression or extermination of Terrorists, hounding of liberal newspapers and professors, intolerant Russification (page 352) of such Russian subjects as Poles, Finns, Baltic peoples, and Jews — these were highlights in the reign of Alexander III (1881–1894). Some government officials even encouraged the wholesale massacre of Jews. It was hoped that, by building up hatred for the Jews, the government might make the people forget their grievances against it. To escape persecution, millions of Russian Jews emigrated to the United States. The outstanding highlight of Alexander III's reign was the beginning of the Russian industrial revolution. In Russian factories, working conditions were bad and the hours long.

Wages averaged about eleven dollars a month. Unions and strikes were banned. As elsewhere, industrialization meant an increase in the size of the working and middle classes. Most of these became enemies of the tsars.

**Nicholas II Rejects Mild Reforms and Suffers Revolution.** All the pent-up hatred of the tsars came to a head in the reign of Nicholas II (1894-1917), the last of the Romanoffs. Nicholas hoped that the Russo-Japanese War (page 462) would cause the people to forget their grievances and rally patriotically to the government's support. But he was wrong. Angered by heavier taxes, widespread hunger, and military and civil inefficiency, the people were ripe for revolution. The heartlessness of the tsar was brought home to them by an incident in St. Petersburg called *Red Sunday*. A priest, Father Gapon, was leading a delegation with a petition asking for reforms, when the tsar's soldiers machine-gunned them, killing hundreds.

Red Sunday was like a match thrown into the fuel of centuries of discontent. The Revolution of 1905 was on. Frightened by strikes, peasant uprisings, mutinies in the armed forces, and revolutionary meetings through-

out Russia, the tsar yielded. He promised the people freedom of speech, press, and religion and an elected parliament (a *Duma*). The first Duma, then the second, insisted upon reforms. Nicholas dissolved both. He then arranged a system of election which gave him a Duma made up mainly of aristocratic landowners and rich industrialists who supported his policies. Next, leaders of the revolution were mercilessly hunted down and exiled or executed by the thousands. Some peasants, however, gained cancellation of their debts and an opportunity to own their own farms.

In general, the Revolution of 1905 was a failure. Perhaps if the tsar had lived up to his promises to the relatively mild revolutionaries in 1905, he might not have been overthrown by more violent revolutionaries in 1917.

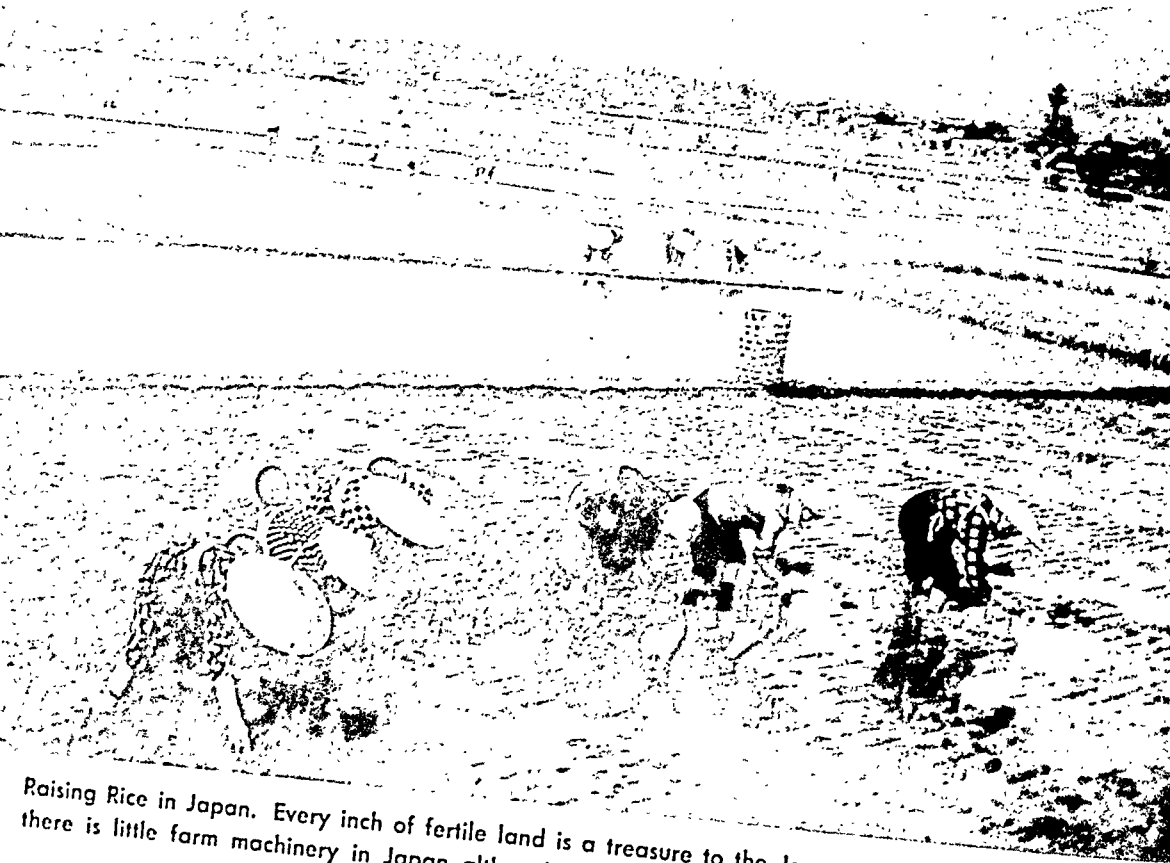
### 1868 to 1914: Little Japan Becomes a World Power

By 1914, as we know, Japan had become a world power. This was accomplished in spite of many obstacles, most of which still exist. Japan is smaller than California. Less

Tsar Alexander III after His Father's Assassination. In fear of being assassinated himself, he lived a virtual prisoner in his palace.







Raising Rice in Japan. Every inch of fertile land is a treasure to the Japanese. Why? Explain why there is little farm machinery in Japan although Japan is highly industrialized.

than twenty per cent of its land can be cultivated, because the Japanese islands are cut up by mountains. The plots of land are so small that it is not practical to use farm machinery. Most Japanese farmers are very poor. They raise much silk and tea, but rice is the main crop. Lacking pasture land, the Japanese eat little meat or dairy products. However, Japanese waters yield over four hundred varieties of fish, a main item in the Japanese diet. Japan is poor in minerals but has rivers which have been harnessed to produce electricity. The flimsy houses of bamboo and clay in which most of the Japanese people live often collapse during volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, or typhoons.

Before Perry's visit, Japan had been isolated, feudal, and backward. But beginning in 1868, the emperor regained power, feudalism was abolished, and Japan began imitating western ways (page 395). In 1889, the

Japanese received a constitution which made their government much like that of autocratic Prussia. The cabinet was responsible to the emperor, rather than to the Diet. The emperor alone could declare war and make treaties. Yet no cabinet could exist without the approval of the army and navy. And the cabinet, which was in charge of the budget, could dissolve the lower house. Few Japanese dared to criticize the government, since the constitution was handed down to them by an emperor who was considered divine. Freedom of expression was denied, although technically granted in the constitution. Women had almost no rights. In the schools, of which there were many after 1868, pupils were taught what to think, not how to think. Essentially, then, despite its constitution, Japan was a cleverly disguised dictatorship. Wealthy landowners, militarists, and industrialists really ran the Japanese government.

A few extremely rich families, together known as the *Zaibatsu*, had tremendous influence. They controlled banks, industrial plants, mines, department stores, and newspapers.

This controlling group promoted Japan's program of intensifying nationalism (page 392), industrialization (page 418), and imperialism (page 462). Wages were shockingly low and hours long in Japan's new factories. Unions were hampered by government interference. But the population kept increasing: from fewer than forty million in 1868 it rose to nearly ninety million today. Militarists and some industrialists used the surplus-population argument to get the peoples' backing (especially that of land-hungry farmers) for waging imperialistic wars.

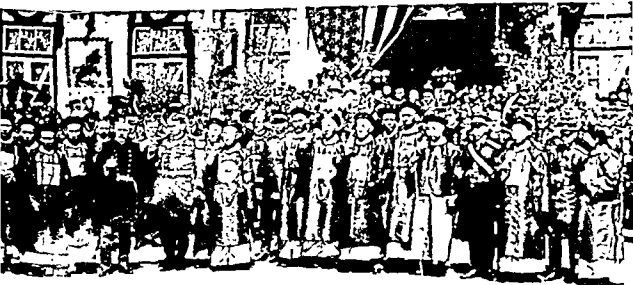
### Age-Old Dynasties Replaced by a Troubled Republic in China

In China in 1900, two hundred thousand persons—foreign merchants, missionaries, and Christian Chinese—were killed and much foreign property destroyed in a nationalistic uprising called the *Boxer Rebellion*. An international army made up of Japanese, Euro-

pean, and American soldiers came to the rescue. In suppressing the rebellion, some of these soldiers even surpassed in cruelty the fanatical Chinese nationalists. China was compelled to pay a large indemnity for the loss of foreign lives and property. The United States allotted part of its share of the indemnity to be used to educate Chinese students in America.

The Boxer Rebellion, quietly supported by the Manchu empress, had been organized by a secret, anti-foreign society, the Boxers. The Boxers loved the old China and objected to the factories and railroads which westerners were building in China. The reactionary Boxers favored Manchu rule in spite of its weakness, inefficiency, and corruption. Actually, however, the Boxer Rebellion hastened the doom of the Manchu dynasty.

**Young China Recommends a More Modern China.** For some time, an enlightened group of Chinese nationalists, called *Young China*, had been complaining that Manchu despotism was China's tragedy. These young people, educated mainly in the West, condemned the Manchus for China's lack of national unity and industrialization and for the fact that China had been the victim of im-



Officers of the United States Fleet Welcomed in China in 1907 Why was the United States especially eager to promote good will with China at this time?

perialism (page 452). They condemned the Boxers for opposing a more democratic, a more westernized, and a more industrialized China. They asked why big China could not become a world power, like little Japan.

Young China was heartened when in 1898 John Hay, American Secretary of State, asked other nations to respect China's independence and to stop seizing Chinese territory. Hay also urged "equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China." Hay's principles, called the *Open-Door Policy*, were accepted by the other nations but often evaded. The United States was eager for the Open-Door Policy, not only out of sympathy for China, but because we had no spheres of influence there. Since by this time the United States had become highly industrialized, we hoped to increase our trade in the Far East.

Pressure of reformers and the failure of the Boxer Rebellion forced the Manchu government to introduce some westernization. The army and the schools borrowed many ideas from Europe. In the old schools, Chinese students had been given projects like this: "Write in pentameters on: the sound of the oar and the green of the hills and of the water." In the new schools, pupils discussed such statements as: "Metternich and Bismarck greatly aided the advance of their countries." Yet the basic problems of China's extreme poverty, illiteracy, disunity, and foreign aggression remained unsolved. Many groups were now convinced that the Manchu dynasty must go.

**Sun Yat-Sen's Program for Modernizing China.** The man who did most to make it go was Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), "the George Washington of China." Dr. Sun traveled all over the world enlisting support and raising funds for the establishment of a republic in China. A reward of \$50,000 was offered by the Manchus for his assassination. He united Young China and other groups into what was later called the *Kuomintang* (Nationalist party). It adopted a three-point program, based on a study of western prog-

ress. This included: (1) a united China free from foreign control, (2) a democratic China guaranteeing civil liberties to all, and (3) a less poverty-stricken China guaranteeing an adequate livelihood for all. Dr. Sun hoped that economic security might be achieved by reduction of heavy taxes and rentals on land and by greater industrialization.

In 1912, Dr. Sun's supporters succeeded in overthrowing the nearly three-hundred-year-old Manchu dynasty. A republic was set up with a powerful general, Yuan Shih-kai, as President. Dr. Sun and his followers from the south of China were willing to accept ambitious Yuan, a northerner with headquarters at Peking, in the hope of avoiding civil war between the north and south. Instead, Yuan brought about civil war. He dissolved parliament, made himself military dictator, and planned to become emperor. He waged relentless war on Sun's followers, who, distrusting him, were trying to set up a republican government in southern China with headquarters at Canton (page 596).

## 1870 to 1914: Great Changes Make the United States a World Power

The United States from 1870 to 1914 as compared with the United States before 1870 was almost like a different country. Let us look at this before-and-after picture: *Before 1870*: a mainly agricultural nation with most Americans living on farms or in small villages and towns; *after* (by 1914): the world's most highly industrialized nation with most Americans living in cities. *Before 1870*: a South concentrating on the cultivation of cotton; *after*: a South growing many products and developing industry. *Before 1870*: expansion within the continental limits of the United States only (pages 456); *after*: expansion outside these limits into the Caribbean and the Pacific (page 465). *Before 1870*: the covered wagon, the stagecoach, and the pony express; *after*: transcontinental railroads, automobiles, and the beginnings of airplane travel. *Before 1870*: relatively little direct voice of voters in

the government; *after*: the initiative and referendum (page 362) in many states and the direct election of United States Senators.

Other great changes took place in this period, too. To improve their lot, many groups began to organize and exert pressure on the government. In protest against the growth of big monopolies protected by high tariffs, little businessmen demanded that the government pass anti-trust laws. In protest against low prices for farm products and high railroad rates, farmers organized in political groups and co-operatives (page 430). In answer, the government passed some laws to cheapen money, thereby raising prices, and created the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroads. Consumers were protected by the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. In protest against low wages and poor working conditions, skilled workers formed the nation-wide American Federation of Labor. To answer the demands of women for more rights, a woman suffrage amendment was proposed (ratified in 1920), and the medical and legal professions were slowly opened to women.

This was the period, too, when free high school education became available to most American children. With the disappearance of the frontier after 1890, and with American workers fearing the competition of cheap labor, the government began to limit, rather than encourage, immigration. The telephone, the movies, basketball, and organized baseball were all born in this period.

## The United States Promotes Pan-Americanism

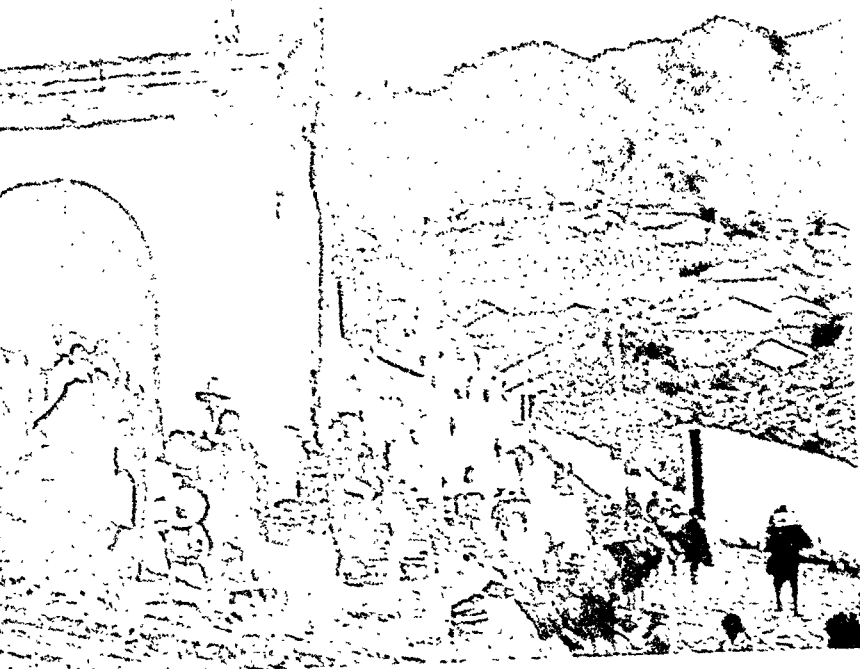
In 1823, through the Monroe Doctrine, the United States helped to save the newly won independence of the Latin-American republics. That early, some persons realized that wars could be prevented, trade increased, and understanding promoted if these republics and the United States could permanently co-operate. In 1826, Simón Bolívar called a congress at Panama in the hope of furthering

such co-operation. This co-operation was later called *Pan-Americanism*. Bolívar's congress was unsuccessful. But in 1889, the United States invited the Latin-American republics to meet at Washington, D.C., in another such conference. Here the delegates discussed such problems as the lowering of tariffs, arbitration, and the standardization of weights and measures. To exchange information and provide for continued co-operation, a permanent organization was formed, later called the *Pan-American Union*. The Union is now subordinate to the more important *Organization of American States*.

But many Latin Americans were hostile to the United States. They accused us of trying to dominate the Caribbean countries economically and politically after the Spanish-American War (page 465). They said that *Pan-Americanism* was just a trick to enable the United States to dominate all Latin America. They asked such questions as: "Why did you Americans suddenly become interested in Pan-Americanism about the time you became highly industrialized?" "Was it because you wanted our raw materials and wanted us as customers for your manufactured goods?" We shall see, however, as the good-neighbor spirit spread, how much has been accomplished at recent Pan-American conferences.

## Latin America Slowly Progresses

Revolutions and rule by military dictators continued to plague the Latin-American republics for many years after they had won independence. By about 1890, however, the governments of such countries as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, among others, became somewhat more stable. For example, no revolution broke out in Argentina between 1890 and 1930. By 1890, too, all the Latin-American republics had brought an end to slavery by peaceful means. Although Latin America still has a high degree of illiteracy, in the late nineteenth century many free public schools were established. Universities, libraries, and



Write a paragraph in your notebook on what this picture tells about life in a Latin-American village.

such great newspapers as *La Prensa* of Argentina were founded in this period. Although boundary wars continued, some nations showed a willingness to settle disputes peacefully. To commemorate the peaceful settlement of a boundary dispute in 1904, Argentina and Chile placed a statue, the *Christ of the Andes*, on their joint mountain border. The spirit of the occasion was expressed thus: "Sooner shall these mountains turn to dust than the people of Argentina and Chile break the peace which they this day have declared at the feet of their Redeemer."

**Liberals Begin to Challenge Controlling Conservatives.** In general, throughout the nineteenth century the landowning aristocracy, usually known as conservatives, had dominated most governments in Latin America. As commerce and industry spread, a new business class which combined with professional groups to form liberal parties, challenged this domination. The relatively small number of factory workers, as well as the large number of immigrants coming to Latin America from Europe, usually joined the liberal parties. Consequently, for the first time, the liberals in some countries were able to oust the long-established conservatives from control. Many liberals demanded that laws

be passed for universal suffrage, protection of workers, expansion of free public education, separation of church and state, and a better distribution of land ownership (page 375). In some countries, notably Uruguay and Costa Rica, many such laws were passed.

However, industrialization has progressed at a slow pace in many Latin-American republics. Thus the landowning aristocracy remains strong. In revolutions which have broken out since 1914, conservatives have often regained power. Nevertheless, in order to win the support of the growing working and middle classes, even the conservatives have introduced many reforms.

**The Problems of Specialization and Foreign Investments.** An important reason why industrialization has lagged in Latin America is the emphasis which many of these republics have placed on specializing in one or two products. Cuba's specialty has been sugar; Chile's, nitrates and copper; Argentina's, meat and wheat; Brazil's, coffee; Bolivia's, tin; Venezuela's, oil; and that of the Central-American republics, coffee and bananas. Sometimes the world demand for one of these products decreases. Then the entire country suffers and sometimes even a revolution breaks out.

Such public watering places are common in many Indian villages of Latin America. Discuss three aspects of life pictured here.



Foreigners had invested heavily in these specialties of the Latin-American republics. Foreigners, too, had built factories and railroads and established banks in Latin America. Such investments had helped to develop Latin America. However, by 1914, the cry arose that most of the profits from these investments were helping foreigners far more than Latin Americans. When some Latin-American republics would not or could not pay their debts, some foreign nations threatened to collect them by force. To prevent such nations from violating the Monroe Doctrine, the United States stepped in to collect the debts for the foreign investors. When American forces were kept on in these countries to maintain order and protect American property, many Latin Americans objected.

**Mexico: A Case Study in This Period.** Dictator Díaz, once a lieutenant of Juárez (page 381), ruled Mexico almost continuously from 1876 to 1911. But Díaz was quite unlike Juárez. Under Díaz, peace, order, and great industrial progress prevailed, but freedom of speech and press and trade unions were suppressed. Díaz was more interested in wealth for himself and the upper classes than he was in the welfare of the poverty-stricken peons. He found it profitable to invite foreign

capitalists to invest in Mexico's mines, oil wells, and railroads. Intellectuals desiring freedom and peons hungry for land combined in the Revolution of 1911 to overthrow Díaz. The Mexican Constitution, adopted in 1917, provided for breaking up large estates for the benefit of peons and for loosening the grip of foreign investors on Mexico's natural resources. It recognized unions and recommended laws to benefit workers. It also provided for government control of church schools and for government ownership of church property. Other Latin-American republics have had experiences which resemble those of Mexico with Díaz and the Revolution of 1911.

### **The Scandinavian Countries: Little Giants in Making Progress**

There are no forts along the Swedish-Norwegian border. There are very few very-rich or very-poor Scandinavians. These peoples are highly literate, peace-loving, progressive, and fairly prosperous. Each Scandinavian country is a limited monarchy whose king's power became more limited in the period from 1870 to 1914. Norway was the first country to grant woman suffrage (1907), and

Denmark and Sweden soon followed suit.

The Scandinavian countries pride themselves on solving their problems in a reasonable way. For example, in 1870, Denmark granted its possession, Iceland, self-government and, in 1944, complete independence. Another Danish possession, Greenland, has been granted much home rule. For over sixty years all Danes over sixty have received old-age pensions from the government. By 1914, in spite of its small size, small population, and not especially fertile land, Denmark was among the richest agricultural countries. It is illegal for any one farmer to own a big estate in this tiny country. Here are some explanations some give for Denmark's prosperity: hard work, stress on vocational education for both children and adults, and co-operation among farmers in their many co-operatives (page 430). The co-operative movement recognizes private ownership but operates through collective organization. Thus it has been called *a middle way* between capitalism and socialism. Sweden, especially, has experimented with a wide variety of co-operatives. All the Scandinavian countries have made great progress in clearing slums and building model housing projects. Some consider Swedish housing the finest in all Europe. This has contributed greatly to Sweden's fine health record.

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna had forced Norway to become united with Sweden under the Swedish king. Like many forced unions, this was an unhappy marriage. The Norwegians are mainly fishermen and small farmers. In Sweden much of the land was held in large estates by aristocrats. Furthermore, Sweden's rich iron deposits speeded industrialization there. Consequently, a business and working class developed. These differences led to many quarrels. One quarrel arose over whether Norway, with its large merchant fleet, should have its own, rather than Swedish, consuls in foreign cities. In 1905, the Norwegians declared their independence. They won the support of Swedish labor unions, and the king graciously ac-

cepted the decision. No blood was shed.

## Some Highlights of the Lowland Countries by 1914

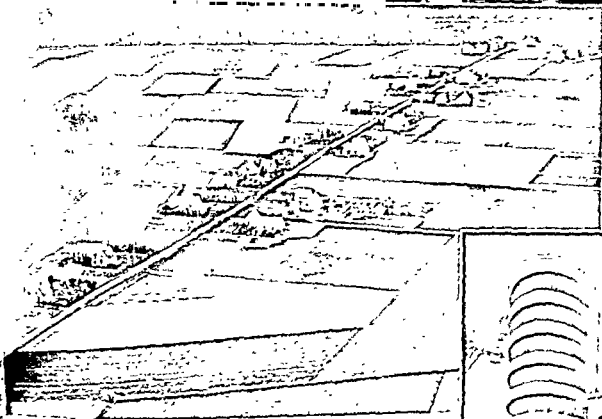
A major issue in both Belgium and Holland in the period before World War I was the question of religious instruction in the government-run schools. Clerical parties favored religious instruction and Liberals and Socialists usually opposed it. This issue was compromised in both countries, but has sometimes been revived in Belgium. Agitation by Liberals and Socialists led to the adoption of universal suffrage for both men and women in both countries by 1919. Belgium was the pioneer country in adopting a system of elections which gave parties representation in parliament in proportion to votes received. This system, called *proportional representation*, is now used in one form or another in many other countries.

By 1914, both of these limited monarchies had become quite prosperous in spite of having large populations in proportion to their small size. They had distinguished themselves in commerce, agriculture, and industry. Belgium held the rich Congo and Holland still possessed the rich Netherlands East Indies.

## The Iberian Countries, Spain and Portugal, Remain Backward

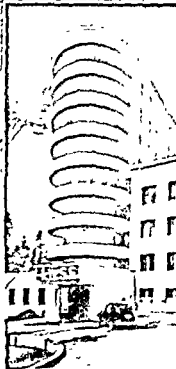
As late as 1900, life for the average Spaniard was not very different from what it was in 1500. For centuries the peoples of the once-proud Spanish Empire had suffered from feudal conditions, extreme poverty, illiteracy, civil wars, and corrupt governments. For forty years prior to 1873, bloody battles were fought between extreme conservatives and liberals. In 1873, a republic was established, but soon control was in the hands of one dictator after another. By 1875, the Bourbons were back, and the privileges of the upper classes were restored. This kind of shifting from a monarchy to a republic to a dictatorship has happened in recent Spanish history, too (page 539).

A Harbor In Norway.  
For centuries fishing  
has been a major oc-  
cupation of the sea-  
going Norwegians.  
How does Norway's  
geography help to ex-  
plain this?



In Denmark, where farming is the leading occupation, only one per cent of the land is held in large estates. Denmark covers only 16,600 square miles and has more than four million inhabitants. Find out why the Danes are among the more prosperous of Europeans.

This military hospital in Helsinki, Finland, is an example of one of the many types of modern architecture to be found in Scandinavian countries. What light does this picture throw on Finland's concern for its veterans?

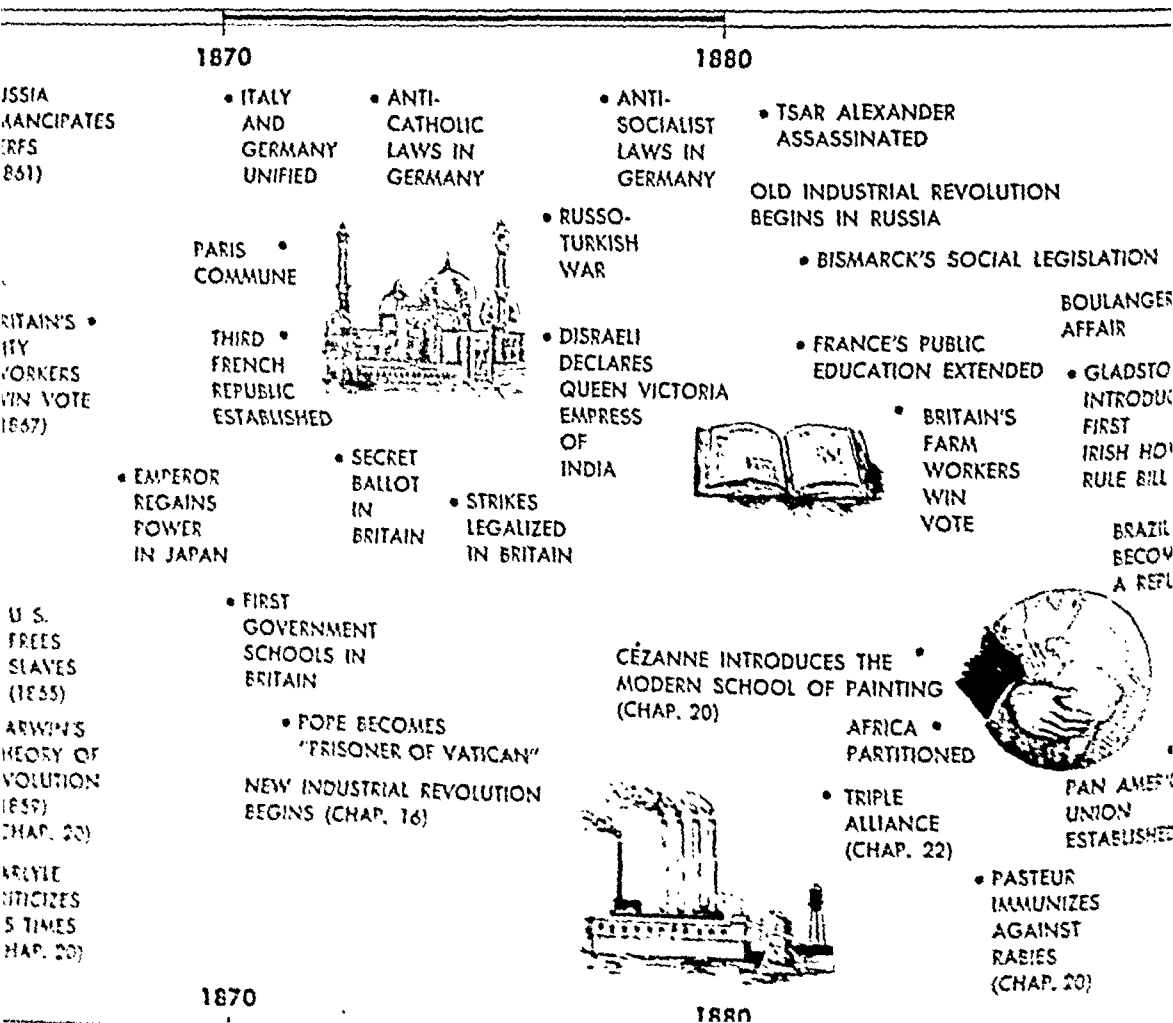




Even though the restored Bourbons established a parliament, it meant little to most Spaniards. This was because political parties which were supposed to be rivals ran sham elections. They constantly engaged in corrupt deals for rotating government positions. It was difficult to correct these evils because many Spaniards adopted a "what's the use" attitude. Furthermore, the fishermen of Galicia, the industrialized Catalans, the non-Spanish-speaking Basques, and the proud Castilians, for example, felt that they had little in common. Many unhappy Spaniards left Spain in search of a better life in Latin America. Not only politics, but Spain's poor farm land and slow rate of industrialization discouraged them. In this period, too, Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines in the Spanish-American War.

The pattern of Portugal's history between 1870 and 1914 closely resembles that of Spain. Disgusted with the inefficiency and corruption of their monarchy, the Portuguese people revolted. They established a republic in 1910 with universal manhood suffrage, religious freedom, and free public schools. However, the republic inherited a huge debt which the government tried to pay by taxing the people heavily. But the income of the average Portuguese was extremely low, for in both agriculture and industry Portugal had made little progress. Since much of Portugal's debt was owed to Britain, Portugal became practically a British protectorate. Discontent in Portugal was evidenced under the republic by many revolutions and cabinet changes. Like Spain, Portugal was destined to become a dictatorship in the 1930's.

## SOME HIGHLIGHTS



# PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

## Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

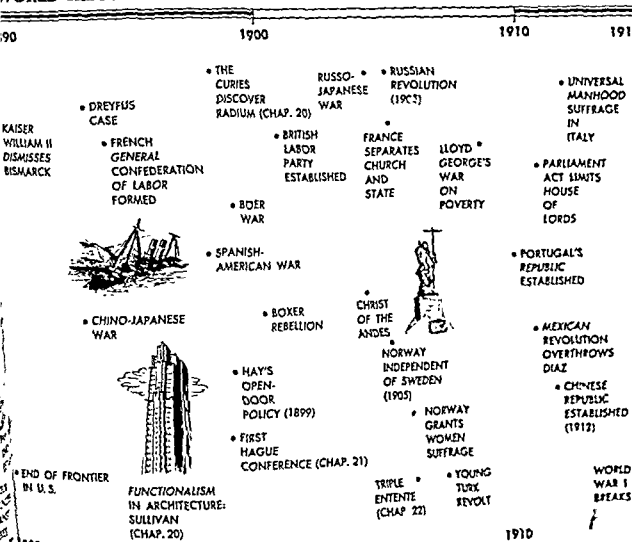
Queen Victoria • "going to the country" • ministerial responsibility • Parliament Act of 1911 • Disraeli • Reform Bill of 1867 • Reform Bill of 1884 • Forster Act • Lloyd George • Lloyd George's Budget • Labor Party • Taff Vale decision • Trades Disputes Act of 1906 • Fabian Society • Boulanger • Third French Republic • Dreyfus case • Thiers • Paris Commune • Chamber of Deputies • bloc • Ferry laws • "Prisoner of the Vatican" • Bundesrat • Reichstag • Social Democrats • Kaiser William II • Nicholas I • Crimean

War • Alexander II • Nihilists • Terrorists • Russo-Turkish War • Congress of Berlin 1878 • Alexander III • Nicholas II • Revolution of 1905 • Red Sunday • Duma • Japanese Constitution of 1889 • Zaibatsu • Boxer Rebellion • Young China • Open-Door Policy • Sun Yat-sen • Kuomintang • Yuan Shih-kai • Chinese Revolution of 1912 • Pan-Americanism • Díaz • Mexican Constitution of 1917 • Mexican Revolution of 1911 • the middle way • proportional representation • Portuguese Revolution of 1910

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Discuss five highlights of the period from 1870 to 1914.
2. What factors turned the period from 1870 to 1914 from one of "great hope" to one of "deep despair"?
3. Britain's monarchy is a democracy. Prove.

## WORLD HISTORY 1870-1914



4. How does a bill become a law in Great Britain?

5. Discuss the steps which may follow if the House of Commons votes "no confidence" in the cabinet.

6. Discuss the events which led to the Parliament Act of 1911.

7. Point out the important differences between the British system of government and our own system.

8. What major differences were there between the British Conservative and Liberal parties between 1870 and 1914?

9. Discuss the programs of (a) Disraeli, (b) Gladstone, and (c) Lloyd George.

10. Trace the growth of the British Labor party in its relationship to unions and their problems.

11. By 1914, it was obvious that Britain was in for some serious economic problems. Prove.

12. Show how (a) the Boulanger affair and (b) the Dreyfus case were threats to the Third French Republic.

13. Discuss the (a) origin and (b) fate of the Paris Commune.

14. Point out similarities and differences between the government of the Third French Republic and that of Britain.

15. Show how the Third French Republic tried to strengthen itself (a) economically, (b) militarily, and (c) educationally.

16. United Italy started life under tremendous handicaps. What handicaps? How did the government try to hurdle them?

17. Contrast the government of the German Empire with that of Britain.

18. List the policies of Bismarck of which you (a) approve; (b) disapprove.

19. Discuss Kaiser William II's program for making Germany a great world power.

20. For Tsars Nicholas I, Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II, discuss (a) ways in which their reigns were similar and (b) one highlight in the reign of each.

21. Why were the serfs who were emancipated by Alexander II still dissatisfied?

22. In general, what was Russia's foreign policy under the above four tsars?

23. Discuss the causes and results of the Russian Revolution of 1905.

24. Prove that Japan was quickly westernized without being democratized.

25. Compare the Boxers with the Young China movement.

26. What was Sun Yat-sen's program for China? How did Yuan Shih-kai try to sabotage it?

27. Under the headings *Political*, *Economic*, and *Social*, list some of the great changes which took place in the United States between 1870 and 1914.

28. What are the purposes of Pan-Americanism?

29. When the liberals challenged the conservatives in Latin America, some progress resulted. Give examples.

30. Discuss the causes and results of the Mexican Revolution against the policies of Díaz.

31. Show how (a) the Scandinavian countries and (b) the Lowland countries tried to solve their problems in this period.

32. Show that the Iberian countries have had difficulties in solving their problems.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. If the British monarch has so little power, why don't the British establish a republic?

2. The British parliamentary system is especially sensitive to the will of the people. Explain.

3. In a sense, the Parliament Act of 1911 created a one-house legislature. Explain.

4. The Liberals under Gladstone made war on privilege; under Lloyd George, they made war on poverty. Prove.

5. Prove that the setbacks suffered by unions in the long run benefited the Labor party in Britain.

6. What lessons are there for lovers of democracy in (a) the Boulanger incident and (b) the Dreyfus case?

7. The Third French Republic might easily have been a monarchy. Why?

8. France's many political parties resulted in many problems for the Third Republic. Discuss.

9. Discuss fully your reasons for agreeing with or disagreeing with specific policies of the Third Republic.

10. How might a study of Italy's problems from

1870 to 1914 help many other countries today?

11. To what extent was the German Empire ruled by one man?

12. What policies of Kaiser William II would you expect to cause friction with other countries? Why?

13. Compare the life of an average nineteenth-century Russian with your own.

14. Which policies of the nineteenth-century tsars do you think (a) weakened, (b) strengthened Russia? Give reasons.

15. In the reign of Alexander III, Russia's economic conditions began to change, but political conditions remained the same. Discuss.

16. To what extent do you think (a) Russia and (b) the world would be better off today if the Revolution of 1905 had succeeded?

17. In what respects could Japan after 1870

be called "the Prussia of the East"?  
18. In a sense, China was "ruled" by the Boxer Rebellion. For what reason?

19. What do you think was the greatest change occurring in the United States after 1870? Why?

20. Pan-American trade agreements for mutual benefit. Discuss.

21. What do you think Latin America could do to solve some of its political and economic problems?

22. Compare the provisions of the American Constitution of 1917 with the program of Juárez.

23. What policies of the Spanish-American War would you recommend for other countries? What would you not? Why?

24. What do you think has been the most serious problem of the Latin American? Why?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. From the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature obtain references on magazine articles describing the June 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Read some and contribute to a committee report on what history can be learned from the coronation ceremony.

2. Make a diagram showing how the British parliamentary system works.

3. Draw a cartoon such as (a) a Liberal cartoonist might have drawn of Disraeli, or (b) a Conservative cartoonist might have drawn of Lloyd George.

4. As a research project, make a report on either (a) Lloyd George's Budget of 1910, (b) the Fabian Society, (c) the Boulanger incident, (d) the Crimean War, (e) the emancipation of Russia's serfs, (f) Russia's pogroms, (g) the Zai-batsu, (h) the Open-Door Policy, (i) Mexico's Díaz, (j) Sweden's middle way, or (k) Sun Yat-sen. Cite your sources.

5. Make up a table of contents for a book on the history of the Third French Republic from 1871 to 1914.

6. Interview someone who has lived in or traveled in Italy or read the article on Italy in Velle's *An Intelligent American's Guide to the World*. Then write an article entitled: *There Are Really Two Italies* (north and south).

7. Write an imaginary page in Bismarck's diary

written when he received news of the coronation of Kaiser William I.

8. Use your library card catalog for sources of information on Kaiser William I or Germany. Select from these references five examples of his which you consider important clues to his personality and program. Tell what is each one.

9. Write an essay entitled: *He Was a Catalyst* by Nicholas I or *The Russian Revolution Reached Russia*.

10. Read in Scott and Sutton's *Feeding Russia* Gapon's petition to the tsar of Russia in 1905. To what extent do you consider the conditions included sensible?

11. Work out with others a dramatization of the 1868 picture of Japan, using Jiji's *The Progress of Japanese History* as a possible source.

12. After reading the account of the Boxer Uprising in Noyes's *A Short History of the Chinese*, decide with others what Chinese features in it might serve well for a play.

13. Plan and produce a committee a bulletin board exhibit designed to promote interest in Pan-Americanism. Secure materials from the Pan-American Union or from the records of services of various international treaties.

14. Using the card catalog, compile a bibliography on the cooperation of Sweden in Denmark. Read a section of a book on the subject and note

those which you think would be most interesting to the rest of the class.

### Summing Up

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15. Prepare a talk for a town meeting on: Are the Zaibatsu patriotic?

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\*Eaton, David Livingstone, *Foe of Darkness*. A tribute to a man who dedicated his life to bringing Christianity, health, and education to Africans.

Grattan, *Introducing Australia*. Discusses business, government, culture, and Australia's relationship to the British Commonwealth.

\*Hartman, *Machines and the Men Who Made the World of Industry*.

\*Hoskyn, *The British Dominions Beyond the Sea*.

Kipling, *Collected Verse*. Poems by the "British poet of imperialism." See also his *Plain Tales from the Hills*.

Lamprey, *The Story of Weaving*.

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Llewellyn, *How Green Was My Valley*. A gripping novel about the coal miners of Wales.

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Pearson, *Dizzy: The Life and Personality of Benjamin Disraeli*. For the mature student.

\*Quennell and Quennell, *History of Everyday Things in England*. 1733-1851 on the old Industrial Revolution and 1851-1934 on the new Industrial Revolution and its effects.

\*Quinn, *Picture Map Geography of Asia*.

Rothery, *Scandinavian Roundabout*. Almost anything you want to know about Scandinavian life.

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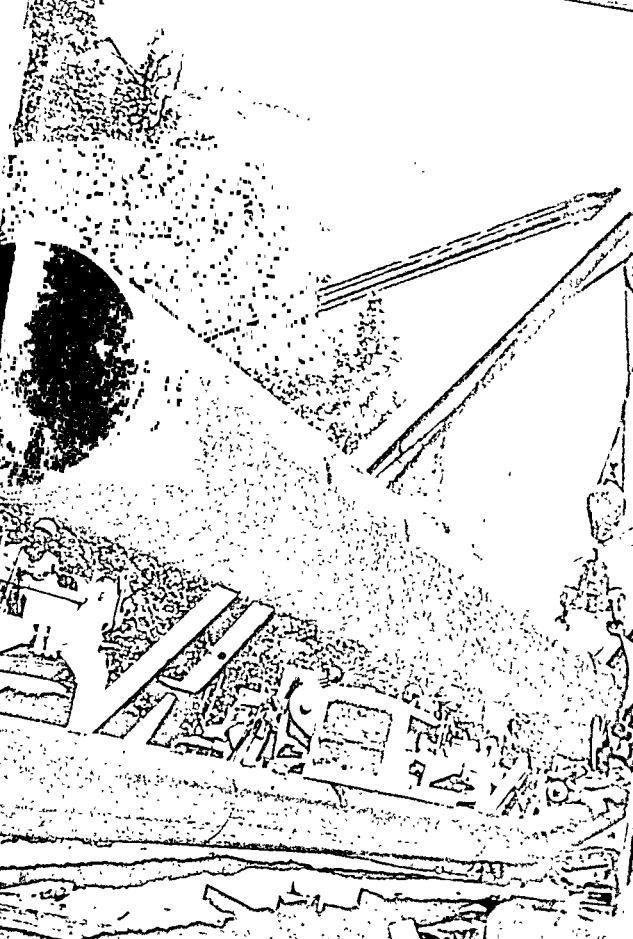
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Townsend, *European Colonial Expansion Since 1871*. A good reference book on the new imperialism.

\*Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History*. Volume Four. Deals with the period from 1790 to 1901.

Wallbank and Taylor, *Civilization — Past and Present*.

(Color plate opposite) An Oil Pipe Line Under Construction in the Canadian Rockies. This is just one example of the amazing industrial development of Canada since World War II. Rich sources of iron, oil, and uranium have been discovered in Canada. This industrialization has given a big boost to the Canadian standard of living.



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## • UNIT SEVEN

# Taking Stock of Some Peaceful Progress

Some Symbols of Peaceful Progress Since the Renaissance

(Left) Florence Nightingale "She taught nurses to be ladies and she brought ladies out of the bondage of idleness to be nurses." Thus she aided the sick, the ladies, and society as a whole. (Above, left) Hugo Grotius, the Father of International Law. (Above) Goya's *The Forge*—an Example of the Artist's Vigorous Realism.





## CHAPTER 20 . . . THE ARTS AND SCIENCES SINCE THE RENAISSANCE

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**Classicism: Stress on Fixed Patterns, Reason, and Ancient Classics • Romanticism: Stress on Freedom, Emotion, and Medieval Subjects • Realism: Stress on Contemporary World Problems and Everyday Subjects • Highlights of Art, Literature, and Music in the United States and Latin America • A Reminder about the Arts Elsewhere • Progress in Science Since the Scientific Revolution • Hunter, an Eighteenth-Century Surgeon with Modern Ideas • Jenner Saves Millions by Introducing Vaccination • Pasteur Proclaims the Germ Theory of Disease • Lister Introduces Antiseptic Surgery • Other Heroes in the War Against Disease • The Marvelous Medical Progress of the Twentieth Century • Darwin Formulates His Theory of Evolution • Mendel Modifies the Darwinian Theory • Explorers Advance Science • Dalton Opens the Door to the Atomic Age • The Atomic Age: Both a Promise and a Threat**

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### Classicism: Stress on Fixed Patterns, Reason, and the Ancient Classics

A formal landscaped garden, statues among the trees, mirrors on the walls of a cave . . . Sounds artificial, does it not? This is the way the brilliant English poet, Alexander Pope (1688-1744) mapped out the grounds of his estate. Following just as formal rules, he mapped out his polished poetry. Pope illustrates well the cultural trend known as *classicism*. Classicism dominated literature and art throughout the eighteenth century. Classicists in both literature and art borrowed many of their themes and rules from the ancient Greeks and Romans. Thus classicism was really an outgrowth of Renaissance hu-

manism (page 215). Classicism stressed reason rather than emotion. It appealed especially to aristocrats and wealthy merchants. Renaissance dramatists such as Shakespeare had appealed to all the people.

In the classical period, French courtiers at Versailles<sup>1</sup> sat in chairs of molded gold or inlaid with ebony, ivory, and mother of pearl. Their rooms were adorned with handsome Beauvais tapestries and vases of dainty Sèvres porcelain. Men wearing velvet or satin knee breeches and silk stockings with ribboned garters showed exaggerated courtesy toward rouged and heavily perfumed court ladies bedecked in powdered wigs and lacy ruffles. To highlight her beauty, a lady

<sup>1</sup> The most famous painter of the artificial court life at Versailles was Watteau. Corneille and Racine (page 263) were leading French classical dramatists.



David's *The Death of Socrates*, a Classicist Painting.

usually wore a small black beauty patch on her cheek. Such elegance prevailed to a lesser degree among the upper classes of other European countries.

**Some Writers Typical of Classicism.** In this classical age, just as the people were expected to obey without question their king, nobles, and clergy, so writers and artists obeyed fixed rules. Obviously not all writers or artists who are called classicists show every one of the characteristics of classicism or have similar points of view. For example, Jonathan Swift, like his contemporary, Pope, was an English classicist. Yet Pope, the opponent of change, had written: "One truth is clear, whatever is, is right." But Swift ridiculed the whole human race for what seemed to him its cruelty, stupidity, and intolerance. In his *Gulliver's Travels*, one character describes mankind as "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth." Thus this book is more than a fantastic adventure story. It is a biting satire whose purpose, according to some, was to shame men into being decent and kind. The classical historian, Edward Gibbon, author of the *De-*

*cline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, considered the fall of this empire the greatest tragedy in history. Gibbon, who was in turn a Protestant, a Catholic, and a Deist, blamed the softening influence of Christianity for contributing to the fall of the Roman Empire.

The German states of the eighteenth century produced three famous dramatists: Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe. Lessing, called the *father of German literature*, wrote a dramatic poem, *Nathan the Wise*, stressing the importance of religious toleration among Christians, Jews, and Moslems. Schiller is the most popular German playwright and *William Tell*, his most popular play. Deeply religious Schiller's writing shows great reverence for the family and great love for freedom. Goethe's masterpiece, *Faust*, deals with a legend in which a quack doctor sells his soul to the devil in order to obtain knowledge and worldly pleasures. Its central theme is the age-old conflict between the bad and the good in all men.

**Some Artists Typical of Classicism.** Canova, an Italian, sculptured a statue of one of Napoleon's sisters. But being a classicist, he gave her the body of a Roman god-

Thorwaldsen, a Dane, also made his  
 es look like those of the ancient Greeks  
 Romans. Houdon, a French sculptor, did  
 is of such contemporaries as Voltaire and  
 rge Washington. Voltaire's mocking smile  
 brilliantly captured.

a dramatic series of pictures telling a satir-  
 story of corruption, drunkenness, and  
 morality in eighteenth-century England  
 s the work of the great painter and en-  
 ver William Hogarth. Two British por-  
 it painters of this time, Reynolds and  
 insborough, made fortunes by painting  
 stocrats. Their portraits were usually flat-  
 ing ones which made the men look daz-  
 ngly elegant and the women fashionably  
 arming. Strongly influenced by British  
 tists were the eighteenth-century American  
 portrait painters, Copley, West, and Stuart.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Stuart's portrait of Washington is reproduced on  
 our one-cent stamp.



Six-year-old Mozart performs for Empress Maria  
 Theresa. A whole chapter might be written about  
 the significance of this picture. Why?

In France, a revolutionary Jacobin, David,  
 was a conservative in observing fixed rules  
 of painting. His famous works include not  
 only *The Assassination of Marat* and *The  
 Coronation of Napoleon*, but many on Greek  
 and Roman themes as well.

**Some Musicians Typical of Classicism.**  
 In the age of classicism lived four great mu-  
 sical geniuses. All produced many and varied  
 compositions. Two, Johann Sebastian Bach  
 and George Frederick Handel, were Ger-  
 mans, both born in 1685. The organ and  
 choral music composed by devout Bach gives  
 listeners the feeling that Bach was constantly  
 reaching out for closer communion with God.  
 He might be called the Palestrina (page 222)  
 of the Protestant Church. Yet Bach, who  
 composed the world-famous *B Minor Mass*  
 and *St. Matthew Passion*, was frequently  
 criticized for making original interpretations  
 of the music he played instead of sticking



Ludwig von Beethoven.  
 His life has lessons for the rest of us. Find out  
 what lessons.



Chopin, Who Expressed His Love of Country in His Music. Find out how.

to the notes. And Frederick the Great was one of few who fully appreciated Bach's genius while he lived. Handel's father tried to force him to become a lawyer instead of a musician. If his father had succeeded, the world would have been deprived of such great music as Handel's stirring oratorio, *The Messiah*, so popular at Christmas services.

The other two geniuses, Haydn and Mozart, were eighteenth-century Austrians. Haydn is usually considered the father of the symphony, the sonata, and the string quartet. Mozart played a musical instrument at three, became a composer at four, performed in public at five, and had a sonata published at six. Among Mozart's well-loved compositions are the operas *The Marriage of Figaro* and *The Magic Flute*. This "musician's musician" started life as the rage of Europe, but died at thirty-five and was buried in a pauper's grave.

Another child prodigy was the German Ludwig von Beethoven (1770-1827), who composed masterpieces even after he became

stone-deaf. Unlike the earlier musical giants, he did not compose mainly for kings and aristocrats. His music is less formal than theirs and more emotional and nationalistic. Therefore he is sometimes not considered a classicist. Among his great works are his nine symphonies. The Third, the *Eroica*, he later regretted composing in honor of Napoleon. His magnificent Ninth Symphony is known as the *Choral*.

### Romanticism: Stress on Freedom, Emotion, and Medieval Subjects

The life and work of a Polish musician, Frederic Chopin (1809-1849), express a more radical break with classicism than Beethoven's. His creative piano compositions include many *polonaises*, *mazurkas*, and other Polish national dances. One of the women with whom Chopin became infatuated was George Sand, a French novelist. Like Chopin, she was a rebel against conventions and the fixed rules of the classicists. Her writing was highly emotional and imaginative and sometimes fantastic. The classicist Pope had been quite satisfied with things as they were. George Sand wrote of revolutionizing society to build socialistic utopias. She rebelled against the inferior status of women by taking a man's name and by wearing men's clothing.

Musicians like Chopin, writers like George Sand, and other artists who rebelled against classicism are known as *romanticists*. Many romanticists selected their subject matter from the Middle Ages rather than from Greece and Rome. Many romanticists were inspired by the spirit of freedom and of nationalism shown in the American and French revolutions. Romanticists were interested in the hopes and dreams of the average man and in the grandeur of nature untouched by man. However, not all romanticists had all these traits.

**Some Musicians Typical of Romanticism.** The romantic period which began about 1800 is chock-full of musical composers who, like Chopin, express the nationalistic

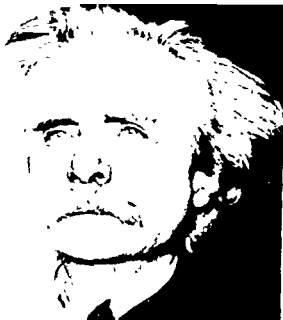
spirit of their country. Using the *Nibelungenlied*, German legends of the Middle Ages (page 201), Richard Wagner created four colorful musical dramas—the *Ring Cycle*. Although much of Wagner's music is considered heavy, its intense quality has an almost hypnotic influence on many listeners. His popular march from *Lohengrin* is frequently played at weddings and his opera *Parsifal*, at Good Friday services.

Unlike Wagner, the composer Brahms disliked the idea of combining music and drama to form grand opera. However, Brahms's compositions include practically every other form of music. His *German Requiem* was composed in honor of German soldiers killed in battle. Another German, Mendelssohn, composed many fine musical works. But probably his best is the one he composed when only seventeen, his *Overture to a Midsummer Night's Dream*. The Austrian composer, Franz Schubert, was only thirty-one when he died. Yet he left behind hundreds of tender poetical melodies, including the beloved *Unfinished Symphony*.

At the court of Louis XIV the most popular dance was the slow and graceful minuet. In the nineteenth century, although many Englishmen found it shocking, the waltz became the fashion. The compositions of two Austrians, the Johann Strausses, were largely responsible for the waltz's popularity. Strauss, Junior, the waltz king, composed the *Blue Danube* and *Tales from the Vienna Woods*.

France had its romanticist musicians, too. They include Bizet, composer of the melodramatic opera, *Carmen*, and Gounod, who created an exciting opera out of Goethe's *Faust*. Two famous Italian composers were Verdi and Puccini. Neither was considered much of a musician in his youth. But such operas as Verdi's *Aida* and *Il Trovatore* and Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and *La Bohème* delight audiences all over the world today.

Many popular song-writers have obtained their melodies from the exciting music of the Russian romanticist composer Tchaikovsky. His strong Russian nationalism shows itself



Ill health did not prevent Edvard Grieg, Norwegian composer, from playing his beautiful melodies on concert tours.

in the *1812 Overture*, which commemorates Russia's victory over Napoleon. Another Russian, Rimsky-Korsakoff, selected his themes from the legends and folk songs of Russia and the East. He is famed for his symphonic suite *Scheherazade* and opera *Le Coq d'Or*. In this period, too, the British team Gilbert and Sullivan wrote light operas such as the tuneful and witty *Pirates of Penzance* and *The Mikado*.

The smaller European countries also produced many famous romanticist musicians. The Hungarian Franz Liszt, a brilliant pianist, composed the *Hungarian Rhapsodies*. Anton Dvořák, a Czech, composed the *New World Symphony*, which was based on the melodies of the American Negro and Indian. Norwegian Edvard Grieg, whose nationalistic music reflects his country's traditions and environment, composed the *Peer Gynt Suite*. And the Finn, Jan Sibelius, composed the popular *Finlandia* and many less popular works which are far superior to it.



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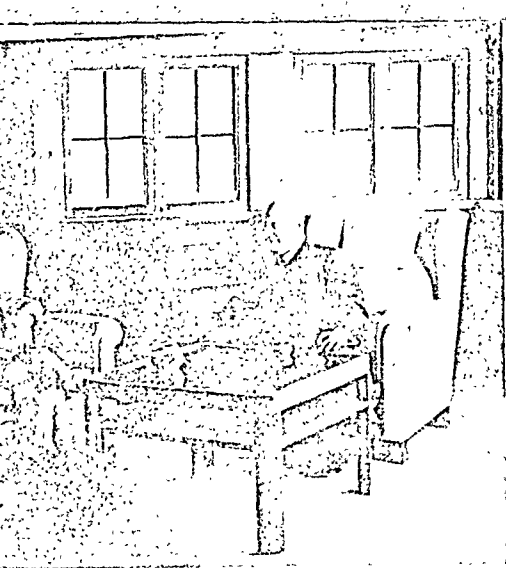


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the Finnish Composer Sibelius, and His Wife in their Home Near Helsinki. Listen to a composition by Sibelius, such as *Finlandia*, and tell what appeals to you most in it.

**Some Writers Typical of Romanticism.** Many of the romanticists showed a deep interest in what one British poet called "the short and simple annals of the poor." This interest is strong in the poems of the beloved Scot, Robert Burns. Other evidences of Burns's romanticism appear in his poems about field mice, flowers, freedom, and Scottish nationalism. The romantic poems of the Englishman William Wordsworth glorify nature. A typical Wordsworth line is:

My heart leaps up when I behold  
A rainbow in the sky . . .

The lives of the revolutionary romanticist British poets, Byron and Shelley were full of adventure, passion, rebellion, and defiance of customs. So was their poetry. Byron's *Don Juan* and *Childe Harold* are a combination of romance and gloomy satire. Shelley's *To a Skylark* and *Prometheus Unbound* express the spirit of liberty and paint colorful pictures. Both poets died young—Byron, of fever when a volunteer in the Greek struggle for independence from Turkey; and Shelley, of accidental drowning in the Mediterranean. These lines show Shelley's rebellious spirit:

Men of England, wherefore plough  
For the lords who lay ye low?

Wherefore weave with toil and care  
The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Novels such as *Ivanhoe* by the Scottish romanticist, Sir Walter Scott, give glamorous impressions of the Middle Ages. The *Idylls of the King*, a poem by a later nineteenth-century British writer, Tennyson, also deals with medieval times. The era in which Tennyson lived is called the *Victorian Age*, after Queen Victoria (reigned 1837–1901). In this period, many felt that the world was becoming too materialistic. They blamed the Industrial Revolution and the emphasis on science for this worldly attitude. They stressed patriotism, respectability, morals, and more upright living. Many persons were helped to quiet their religious doubts by Tennyson's poem *In Memoriam*, which relates how Tennyson conquered his own doubts by faith. His optimistic hopes for a world free from war are indicated thus in another poem, *Locksley Hall*:

Till the war drum throbbed no longer and  
the battle flags were furled.  
In the Parliament of man; the Federation of  
the world..

"God's in his Heaven, all's right with the world." This line from *Pippa Passes* expresses the joyous and hopeful spirit of another Victorian poet, Robert Browning. Browning's masterpiece, *The Ring and the Book*, and his poem, *My Last Duchess*, both dramatic monologues, show a keen understanding of human beings.

A stern Victorian moralist was Carlyle, author of the *French Revolution* (page 327) and *Heroes and Hero Worship*. He criticized democracy, the Industrial Revolution, science, and mechanical observance of religion as evil influences, and urged all to "do the duty which lies next them." But the most popular book of Victorian England was Macaulay's exciting *History of England*, written in sparkling style and biased in favor of the middle-class reforms of the Whig party.

The leader of the nineteenth-century romantic movement in French literature was



According to the art critic, Cheney, "It is said among the French that Corot was the painter of three thousand pictures, of which ten thousand were sold to Americans." What does this statement signify? What made such pictures as *A Pond at Avray* above very popular?

Victor Hugo. Hugo hated tyranny so much that he exiled himself in protest against the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III (page 355), whom he contemptuously called "Napoleon the Small." In his novel *Les Misérables*, Hugo depicts the triumph of human goodness over injustice, a theme dear to his heart. Another French romanticist, Alexandre Dumas, wrote such dramatic historical novels as the *Three Musketeers* and the *Count of Monte Cristo*. Previously most novelists had described the personalities of their characters, but Dumas allowed his characters to reveal their own personalities through their dialogue.

"I was a valiant soldier in humanity's war of liberation." So said the German poet, Heine, who hated autocracy and censorship. *The Lorelei* and others of his beloved poems have become song lyrics. Another German, strongly nationalistic Hegel, considered monarchy the ideal government and Prussia, the ideal monarchy. Included in Hegel's writings are the ideas that "might makes right" and that wars promote progress.

The greatest poet in all Russian literature

was Pushkin. His greatest works are *Eugene Onegin* and *Boris Godunov*. Pushkin broke with the stiff and formal classicism of his predecessors and introduced Russian readers to exciting romanticism. Pushkin's life was somewhat Byronic, for he engaged in revolutionary activities and was killed in a duel.

**Some Artists Typical of Romanticism.** Delacroix of France was a leader of the romantic movement in painting. His typically romantic subjects were chosen from the Crusades, the poetry of Byron, and the French Revolution. Famous Delacroix paintings in vivid color and full of dramatic appeal include *The Bark of Dante* and *The Oriental Lion Hunt*. In Britain, landscapes were the favorite subjects of the romanticist painters. One painter, Constable, had such love for nature that he has been called "the painting Wordsworth." Another, Turner, painted such exciting landscapes that he has been called "the painting Byron." French landscape-painter Corot retained a classicist touch by portraying wood-nymphs in his misty nature scenes. Millet, on the other hand, portrayed



Daumier's *The Doctors*. What do you think is the meaning of this satirical drawing? Do you think he was unfair? Explain.

humble peasants hard at work in such paintings as *The Angelus* and *The Man with the Hoe* (page 436).

The Middle Ages influenced the romantic period in architecture as well as in the other arts. Many nineteenth-century buildings were in imitation of the medieval Gothic style. The Parliament buildings in London and St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City are examples.

### Realism: Stress on Contemporary World Problems and Everyday Subjects

**Some Artists Typical of Realism.** Little children playing, scenes from the life of St. Anthony, a coarse-featured Spanish queen, the dazed look of a feeble-minded king, bloody bullfights, and the horrors of the battlefield — these were some of the varied sub-

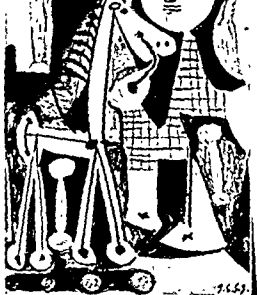
jects painted or etched by Francisco Goya. This Spanish artist portrayed life as he saw it. Artists and writers who portray life as they see it are called *realists*. In many ways, realism is a protest against the sentimental and imaginative quality of romanticism. Some call realists who stress the ugly or unpleasant side of life *naturalists*. Many would include Goya in this group.

Actually, the age of realism began about 1850, over twenty years after Goya's death. This indicates how difficult it is to divide such movements as classicism, romanticism, and realism into fixed time periods. It is equally difficult to classify all writers and artists under these headings, for many writers and artists have characteristics of all three movements. Realism reached its height about 1900. Problems resulting from the Industrial Revolution, the spread of socialism, and the development of such sciences as psychology<sup>3</sup> gave the realists their subject matter. The twentieth century has been an age of experimentation in every phase of life, including art and literature. The work of some modern artists and writers is so radically different from previous art that it is neither easily understood nor easily classified.

One French realist, Daumier, was once imprisoned for ridiculing King Louis Philippe in a cartoon. Daumier's paintings and cartoons portray some human weaknesses with gentle wit, but he had only a savage brush for cruelty and injustice.

Who hasn't noticed how the appearance of a garden, a river, or a beach frequently changes? The sun, the moon, the clouds, or the wind produce countless lights and shadows which give us constantly changing impressions. Because they tried to catch any one of these quickly changing impressions, such painters as Monet and Renoir have been called *impressionists*. Even though the outlines of their subjects seem rather blurred, their work is full of glowing light and color. Monet's *Grand Canal, Venice* and Renoir's

<sup>3</sup> Psychology is the science which studies the way in which the mind works.



(Left) Picasso's *Child with Horse* shows why the artist is called a cubist. How? (Right) Do you think that in this painting, *The Card Players*, Cézanne succeeded in making impressionism "a solid art"? Explain.



(Above) *Bedroom at Arles* by Vincent Van Gogh. What outstanding characteristic of Van Gogh's painting is missing from this reproduction? Explain (Left) Rodin's *The Thinker*. On the basis of this statue, what do you consider Rodin's outstanding characteristic as a sculptor?

the *Canoeists' Luncheon* are popular impressionist paintings. One painting, *Lunch on the Grass*, by another French impressionist, Manet, was so very unusual that it shocked all Europe.

Cézanne wanted "to make of impressionism an art solid and durable." Therefore, in such paintings as the *Card Players*, he tried to get rid of the misty vagueness of the impressionists while retaining their emphasis on light and color. Few painters have poured as much of their own passionate feelings into their work as did another experimenter, Van Gogh. In his *Café in Arles*, as in his other paintings, Van Gogh's passionate expression is intensified by dazzling use of color. Cézanne had spent his last days in seclusion because he was sensitive to the severe criticism of his work. Van Gogh, convinced of the corruption of civilization, went mad and committed suicide. Gauguin, whose art was somewhat similar to theirs, and who was also disappointed in modern society, withdrew to live among and paint the natives of Tahiti in the South Pacific.

Cézanne, who really introduced the modern school of painting, had said that most objects tend to take the shapes of cones, spheres, and cylinders. A Spanish painter and sculptor, Picasso, and others — called *cubists* — experimented with portraying natural objects in such shapes.<sup>4</sup> Some psychologists say that our dreams are a clue to our thinking. Certain modern painters attempt to portray in queer shapes some of the fantastic experiences which people undergo in dreams or nightmares. Such radical painters as Dali, a Spaniard, are called *surrealists* and their art, *surrealism*. Dali's *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans* is one of those paintings difficult for many to understand.

Many consider the Frenchman, Rodin, the greatest of modern sculptors. His lifelike statues *The Kiss* and *The Thinker* seem almost to be moving. Like the impressionist painters, he used light and shadows to make

<sup>4</sup> The cubist influence is also evident in the design of some modern architecture, furniture, and textiles.

his figures appear real. The Belgian, Meunier, made statues of miners and other workmen, and the Yugoslav, Městrovic, sculptured energetic figures expressing nationalism.

**Some Musicians Typical of Realism.** The pound of hoofbeats, a hanging, a duel — the music of the German Richard Strauss expresses them all with dramatic realism. Many consider Strauss not so much a realist as "the last of the romanticists." Yet the symphonic poem, *Don Juan*, and the operas, *Salome* and *Electra*, so break with musical tradition that they stamp Strauss as one of the first modern composers. Like the painting of the impressionists, the original music of Frenchman Claude Debussy produces a fleeting, dreamy, shimmering effect. Debussy's prelude *The Afternoon of a Faun* and his opera *Pelléas and Mélisande* were so different that, when first produced, they were attacked by critics and hissed by the public. Today, however, they are treasured by lovers of modern music.

One of the most original of modern composers is Russian-born Igor Stravinsky. Much of his music is bold, boisterous, and disturbing. Although the first performance of his *The Rite of Spring* led to fist fights in the audience, today many are fascinated by it. Stravinsky's *The Fire Bird* was composed at the request of Diaghilev, the great master of Russian ballet. In Soviet Russia today, two strongly nationalistic composers, Prokofiev and Shostakovich, have been daring experimenters. Prokofiev's music is almost brutal in its forcefulness, yet tinged with humor. Among his best-known works is *Peter and the Wolf*, a fairy tale in music. Shostakovich wrote his Seventh Symphony in praise of the defense of Leningrad in World War II.

**Some Writers Typical of Realism.** Like the painter Goya, the English writer Jane Austen was realistic in the age of romanticism. Her ironic and witty novel *Pride and Prejudice* is the story of ordinary incidents in the author's neighborhood. Another English woman novelist, George Eliot, portrays in the *Mill on the Floss* the tragic lives of some working people of her time. Her masterpiece,



Balzac. A student of French history could learn much from his novels. Find out why.

*Silas Marner*, a story of a discouraged man who regains his love for life through the influence of a little girl, shows the effects of technological unemployment in the weaving industry.

His sympathy for the poor, his delightful humor, and his attack on injustice in courts, poorhouses, and debtors' prisons helped to make Charles Dickens one of the world's most popular novelists. Some of the characters in such novels as *David Copperfield* and the *Pickwick Papers* represent common types recognized by everybody. Dickens's contemporary, Thackeray, in such novels as *Vanity Fair* pokes fun at the English upper classes. He reveals them as snobbish hypocrites loving money too much.

The British author of the *Outline of History*, *The Time Machine*, and other books, H. G. Wells, believed that through education and co-operation men could build a happier world. To educate the people, he wrote in popular style on such difficult subjects as science and socialism. George Bernard Shaw,

an Irish-born socialistic writer, took delight in ridiculing many accepted notions. His plays preach that war is hateful rather than heroic; that women chase men rather than the reverse, and that there is much quackery in medicine, science, and law. *Arms and the Man* and *Man and Superman* are among his typically witty and intellectual plays.

The French writer, Honoré de Balzac, wrote more than eighty novels which he combined in a collection called *The Human Comedy*. *The Human Comedy* gives a satirical picture of the middle class in nineteenth-century France with emphasis on the self-satisfaction, greed, and misery of individual characters. Certain other French writers are more naturalistic than Balzac in that they place greater stress on the cruel and sordid. For example, Flaubert in *Madame Bovary* shows how the heroine sinks from a position of middle-class respectability to disgrace and suicide because of her romantic inclinations.

Modern French writing has been full of variety. Anatole France was an enemy of intolerance, nationalism, and war. His ironical novel, *Penguin Island*, is a kind of history of civilization which ridicules the faults of human beings and governments. Rostand's play, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, is heroically romantic. Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* is a many-volumed psychological novel which analyzes the thoughts and actions of the characters represented.

One of the most important of nineteenth-century realistic dramatists was Henrik Ibsen, a Norwegian. In such plays as *A Doll's House* and *An Enemy of the People*, Ibsen protests against corruption, hypocrisy, and the inferior position of women. Ibsen attacked democracy as a device by which the middle classes hoodwink the lower classes by giving them the vote but not much real influence in the government. A German who wrote realistic plays was Hauptmann. In one, *The Weavers*, the sufferings of working people are tragically portrayed. German-born Thomas Mann has won a world-wide reputation for the brilliant learning and character por-

trayal displayed in such novels as *The Magic Mountain*.

Most Russian literature of the nineteenth century mirrors the misery of the Russian people under the rule of their autocratic tsars. Their novelists, among the world's leaders, wrote in realistic and often pessimistic fashion. Gogol, in his *Dead Souls* and the *Inspector-General*, pokes fun at greedy landowners and lazy and corrupt government officials. But as Pushkin said of him, "Behind his laughter you feel the unseen tears."

Turgenev's great novel, *Fathers and Sons*, describes the revolutionary unrest in nineteenth-century Russia. Dostoevsky's great psychological novels, *Crime and Punishment* and *The Idiot*, deal sympathetically with the effect of disease, crime, and oppression upon the unfortunates of society. Many regard *War and Peace* by the pacifist and reformer, Tolstoy, as the greatest novel ever written. It is a realistic study of Russia during the Napoleonic wars. Tolstoy's famous love story, *Anna Karenina*, compares the extravagant life of the Russian aristocracy with the more noble and Christlike life of simple peasants. To Tolstoy, violence was the greatest evil and helping others, the greatest good.

Many of the characters in the realistic short stories and plays — such as the *Cherry Orchard* — of Chekhov are alcoholics, thieves, or lunatics. They represent the despair and decay of Russia under the tsars. The plays of another realist, Gorky, agitated against tsardom and supported revolution.

## Highlights of Art, Literature, and Music in the United States

As yet America has not produced a Michelangelo, a Shakespeare, or a Bach. For a long time, most American writers and artists were strongly influenced in their style and subject matter by the literature and art of Europe. Romanticist Washington Irving, who was among the first to write about typically American subjects, is known as the *father of American literature*. Poe's poems, such as *The*

*Raven*, are weird and haunting. His short stories, although frequently on morbid themes, are considered models in their field. Romanticist Emerson denounced pessimism and preached self-reliance. And Walt Whitman, who has been called the *poet of democracy*, glorified America and its plain people. Said he: "The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem."

Realism stands out in the homespun humor of Mark Twain, in the sad and philosophical poetry of Edward Arlington Robinson, and in the pessimistic psychological plays of Eugene O'Neill. Realistic novelists such as Theodore Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis have expressed sharp criticisms of certain phases of American life. Like Europe, modern America has had writers who have experimented with new and radical styles of writing — Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos, for instance. Part of the narrative in Dos Passos's *U. S. A.* consists of newspaper headlines and newsreel items.

American popular music is popular everywhere. Among the most popular songs of the past century have been such simple melodies as *My Old Kentucky Home* by Stephen Foster. Popular, too, have been mournful Negro spirituals, lonely cowboy tunes, and spirited mountain music. Popular dance music of the twentieth century is based upon such unusual rhythms as ragtime, jazz, and swing. Popular songs on the ever-popular theme, *love*, by such composers as Irving Berlin and Richard Rodgers are sung by millions. *Woodland Sketches* by Edward MacDowell, patriotic marches by John Philip Sousa, and operatic compositions by Victor Herbert and George Gershwin have contributed much to America's musical reputation. Among the daring experimenters in American music of the twentieth century have been Walter Piston and Austrian-born Arnold Schönberg.

The American painter Winslow Homer broke with Europe both in subject matter and technique. He painted realistic pictures of native landscapes and seascapes. Many modern American public buildings have been decorated with murals of native scenes

painted by such realistic artists as Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton. Gutzon Borglum carved the faces of four American presidents into the mountain at Mount Rushmore in South Dakota as a memorial for all time. Augustus Saint-Gaudens sculptured a famous statue of Lincoln now in Chicago.

The architecture of many American public buildings shows Greek and Roman influence. Many American homes have been constructed according to English Georgian models. In southwestern United States, the influence of Spanish architecture is especially strong. Louis Sullivan made America's own greatest contribution to architecture. Sullivan believed that the form in which a building is constructed should follow the use to which it is to be put. This theory that form follows function is called *functionalism*. His ideas paved the way for the building of skyscrapers. Sullivan's pupil Frank Lloyd Wright insisted that every building constructed ought to be in harmony with its location as well as with its function.

## Highlights of Art, Literature, and Music in Latin America

From colonial times, most Latin-American artists and authors have tended to imitate European art and literature, especially that of Spain. The homes of well-to-do Latin Americans usually have the patios (open courtyards) and balconies typical of Spanish homes. Widespread illiteracy and rigid censorship have tended to discourage creative artists and writers in Latin America. Outstanding Latin-American poets, however, have been Nicaraguan Ruben Dario and Chilean Gabriela Mistral.

Recently some Latin-American authors and artists have selected their subject matter not from Europe but from the native scene. For example, the novel, *Broad and Alien Is the World*, by the Peruvian Alegria deals with the sorrowful life of Indians in their native land. The Mexican socialist painters, Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, depict the



Some Japanese Chinaware. If you had a choice of one of these objects, which would you select for its artistic merit? Why?

problems of peasants and workers in Mexican history. Much Latin-American music is an interesting blend of Spanish gaiety, haunting Indian sadness, and exciting Negro rhythm. The Brazilian, Villa-Lobos, among others, has become a world-famous musician. And the Cuban conga and rumba, the Argentine tango, and the Brazilian samba are danced in ballrooms throughout the world.

## A Reminder about the Arts Elsewhere

As we have seen, for centuries Chinese artists have imitated the decorative architecture, handsome wood carving, and impressionistic painting of their ancestors. We have also seen that most Japanese art is based on Chinese models. The precision and accuracy of Japanese workmanship is apparent in dainty and colorful wood-cut prints and in beautifully painted decorative screens. Japan-





*The Wrestlers, a Remarkable Piece of Work Carved Out of a Single Block of Wood by an East African Sculptor.*

ese pottery and porcelain are superior, but Japanese sculpture is inferior to that of most other Eastern peoples. For a long time Japanese writers imitated the Chinese, who in turn imitated the writing patterns of their ancestors. In recent years, many Asians have begun to write in the manner of Western realists.

Here are a few highlights of other areas: Persian artists have excelled in rug weaving and in delicate miniature painting. The sculpture of central Africa and of the islands of the South Pacific is noteworthy for its originality, simplicity, and vigor. So, too, is some of the fine poetry of the South African Bantu.

## Progress in Science Since the Scientific Revolution

**Hunter: An Eighteenth-Century Surgeon with Modern Ideas.** There are no

triumphal arches or costly monuments dedicated to the memory of the Scottish surgeon John Hunter. Yet his keen observation and daring experiments in the face of powerful opposition from other doctors paved the way for modern surgery. Before Hunter, most injured or diseased arms or legs were amputated, often by barbers. Frequently such amputations caused the patient to bleed to death or die of blood poisoning. Hunter's study of the blood-circulation theory of Harvey (page 227) and his experiments on animals taught him that diseased or injured parts of an arm or a leg could be removed without crippling or killing the patient. After Hunter, most barbers confined themselves to cutting off hair instead of limbs.

Hunter deliberately inoculated himself with the pus of horrible diseases so that he could study the effects. By collecting and exhibiting over ten thousand specimens of human and animal anatomy Hunter established the first of the modern natural history museums which have been so helpful to researchers. Hunter's museum also met powerful opposition. Prime Minister Pitt cried out: "What? Buy specimens for a museum! Why, I haven't money enough to buy gunpowder!"

**Jenner Saves Millions by Introducing Vaccination.** For centuries in England it was commonly said, "From smallpox and love but few remain free." Again and again, smallpox epidemics spread through the world, killing millions and leaving millions of others horribly scarred. Young Dr. Edward Jenner adopted Hunter's practice of observation and experimentation to rid the world of this dreadful disease. He had heard a dairymaid say: "I cannot catch smallpox, for I have had cowpox." Cowpox is a similar, but milder disease contracted by horses and cattle and passed on to humans. Jenner injected the pus from the hand of a milkmaid with cowpox into the arm of a healthy boy. This procedure is called *vaccination*. Next, the daring doctor injected smallpox pus into the arm of the brave boy. To Jenner's joy, the boy did not contract the disease. Vaccination had made

his body immune to smallpox. Jenner's experimental technique was later applied by other doctors to prevent other diseases.

**Pasteur Proclaims the Germ Theory of Disease.** Another great general in the war against disease was the French chemist, Louis Pasteur. In the summer of 1885, a young boy who had been bitten by a mad dog was sent to Pasteur. Such bites frequently result in a dreadful disease, *hydrophobia* (rabies). Using the same principle used by Jenner, Pasteur inoculated the boy with a mild form of rabies. When the patient did not develop rabies, another great victory in preventive medicine had been won. Pasteur had earlier found that many diseases are caused by germs (bacteria).<sup>5</sup> His experiments proved that many bacteria are killed when milk is heated to a high enough temperature—a process called *pasteurization*. Thus this French chemist, whom many of his contemporary doctors bitterly denounced because he did not have a medical degree, became the *father of modern bacteriology*. By conducting experiments similar to those of Pasteur, a German bacteriologist, Robert Koch, discovered the germs which cause tuberculosis and cholera.

**Lister Introduces Antiseptic Surgery.** An English physician, Joseph Lister, is said to have saved more lives by the introduction of his system than all the wars of the nineteenth century together had sacrificed. "Lister's system," based upon Pasteur's germ theory, was to kill the bacteria which cause infections during operations. He sterilized with carbolic acid not only the patient, but also the doctor, nurses, and instruments. Thus he introduced modern antiseptic surgery.<sup>6</sup>

**Other Heroes in the War Against Disease.** Just as English Lister had taught surgeons

how to kill germs, several Americans taught them how to kill pain. Among those who first used ether as an anesthetic had been a doctor, Crawford Long, and a dentist, William Morton. In fact, medical history is filled with the names of people of all nationalities who have waged war against disease and pain. A Russian, Metchnikoff, proved that the white corpuscles in the blood kill many germs. A Japanese, Noguchi, developed a preventive vaccine and a serum for curing yellow fever. A Frenchman, Roux, discovered the germ which causes diphtheria. A German, von Behring, discovered the serum used to inoculate a person against it. And an American, Schick, discovered a test to determine whether a person is susceptible to or immune to it.

Florence Nightingale, an Englishwoman, helped to make nursing the noble and scientific profession that it is today. She found conditions frightful in the British camp and field hospitals during the Crimean War. She was shocked at seeing the wounded lying around in filthy beds, irregularly fed and poorly tended. The steps she took to bring order out of chaos in hospitals have been imitated all over the world.

**The Marvelous Medical Progress of the Twentieth Century.** More medical progress has been made in the past fifty years than in the previous 2400 years since Hippocrates (page 92). The average American baby born in 1900 had a life expectancy of about fifty years. The average American baby born today has a life expectancy of about seventy years. His chances of enjoying good health are much greater. Roentgen's invention of the X-ray enabled doctors to diagnose diseases more accurately. The X-ray is even used to treat certain diseases. Other rays, given off by radium, are today used in the treatment of cancer. Such elements which give off rays are called *radioactive*. Radium was extracted from the mineral *pitchblende* after many discouraging experiments by a husband-and-wife team, Pierre and Marie Curie. Medicine has also been aided by radioactive rays pro-

<sup>5</sup> Pasteur helped the wine industry by proving that, if wine is kept at a certain temperature, bacteria cannot cause it to spoil. His knowledge of bacteria also enabled Pasteur to save the silk industry of France.

<sup>6</sup> Prior to Lister, many physicians believed that certain kinds of pus were helpful in healing wounds



Madame Curie, One of the Most Remarkable Women in All History. Why?

duced in the generation of atomic energy.

In recent years, it has been discovered that, although a man may eat hearty meals, parts of his body may be starving for lack of certain vitamins in his diet. It was found that vitamins of one kind or another prevent such diseases as pellagra and scurvy, as well as many eye, skin, and bone troubles. In the early 1900's, it was discovered, too, that some people are so affected by certain foods that they develop headaches, hives, asthma, or other ailments. In short, they are said to be *allergic* to these foods. Medical specialists in this field have helped thousands to better health by testing to determine what foods these people should avoid.

Until 1922, a person suffering from diabetes could not expect to live more than about two years. When a Canadian, Dr. Banting, discovered that diabetic patients could be treated with insulin, he made it possible for them to enjoy a normal life span. All kinds of infections and diseases have been cured by the so-called *miracle drugs* recently discovered. These include the sulfa drugs, penicillin (discovered by British Dr. Fleming), and streptomycin (discovered by American Dr. Waksman).

Medical progress has also been considerably advanced by blood transfusions and

plastic surgery. Many doctors today realize that there is a close connection between mental disturbances and bodily ailments. Much is being done by psychologists and psychiatrists to make their patients mentally and emotionally healthy. The modern pioneer in this field was Austrian Dr. Freud.<sup>7</sup>

Still unconquered are such enemies of man as heart disease, cancer, multiple sclerosis, and the common cold. Unfortunately, too, there are many areas of the world where standards of health are not much higher than they were in the days of Hippocrates.

**Darwin Formulates His Theory of Evolution.** Until about a century ago, it was commonly believed that men, plants, and animals long, long ago looked exactly as they do today. In 1859 a book, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, denied that this was so. Its author, an English biologist, Charles Darwin, asserted that the appearance of men, plants, and animals is different today from what it was in the distant past and from what it will be in the far future. The slow and never-ending changes which go on all the time over the centuries, he said, explain this difference. This belief that the many complex forms of life today have descended from a few lower and simpler forms, gradually modified over a long period of time, is called *evolution*.

Darwin maintained that there is a constant struggle for existence going on in all forms of life. He said that nature selects only the strongest and fittest to survive. Some species die out entirely when they cannot adapt themselves to changing environments. The descendants of the fittest inherit their special qualities. In time, then, according to Darwin, there will be very little resemblance between newcomers and their ancient ancestors.

Darwin's book became a best seller overnight. All over the world, people began to

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting that even in ancient times Plato wrote: "This is the greatest error in the treatment of sickness, that there are physicians for the body and physicians for the soul, and yet the two are one and indivisible."

praise his ideas enthusiastically or to denounce them violently. Many of the book's critics called it an attack on the biblical story of the creation. Some still do. In time, however, many of these critics came to believe that evolution is a divine plan, just another example of God's glorious work.

The Darwinian Theory illustrates that "there is nothing new under the sun." Hints at the theory of evolution appear in the works of ancient Greeks. In the eighteenth century particularly, certain scientists had laid the groundwork for Darwin. A Swedish botanist, Linnaeus, had named and classified plants and animals, thereby laying the foundations of the modern sciences of botany and zoology. A French biologist, Lamarck, had developed a theory of evolution somewhat similar to that of Darwin. An English geologist, Lyell (Darwin's friend), had given an evolutionary explanation of changes in the earth's surface. Lyell stated that slowly, over a period of millions of years, our lakes, rivers, and mountains had been formed or changed by such natural forces as glaciers, floods, tides, or winds. To some extent also, Darwin owed his idea of the survival of the fittest to the Malthusian theory (page 432) that population tends to outstrip the food supply.

Obviously, evolution was in the air. In fact, at about the same time that Darwin came to his conclusions on natural selection, another English naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, had come to similar conclusions independently in far-off Malaya. The theory of evolution influenced fields other than science. Gradually more and more persons began to accept the idea that change is inevitable (page 6) and part of the natural order of things.

**Mendel Modifies the Darwinian Theory.** Although scientists accept the Darwinian Theory, further experimentation has added changes and new interpretations to it. Thus the theory of evolution itself became subject to evolution. For example, a monk named Mendel carried on experiments with the cross-breeding of plants. He discovered that



Johann Gregory Mendel. Why should history pupils as well as biology pupils know about the contributions of men like Mendel?

through natural selection new types may arise suddenly instead of over a long period of time. Such types are called *mutations*. Mendel's laws of heredity — to which others contributed later — have been of great help in the scientific breeding of animals and plants.

**Explorers Advance Science.** Scientific expeditions of explorers have greatly aided biologists and other scientists. About 1800, a German naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt, had led such an expedition throughout South America. More detailed knowledge of the plants, animals, and minerals of Asia was obtained through the explorations of a French missionary, Huc. Similar information on Africa was obtained by Livingstone and Stanley, and later on the Arctic region by Norway's Nansen, America's Peary, and others, and on Antarctica by Norway's Amundsen, America's Byrd, and others.

**Dalton Opens the Door to the Atomic Age.** Nineteenth-century Britain produced not only a Darwin, but also a Dalton. John Dalton developed the *atomic theory* that all matter is made up of minute particles, *atoms*,

which can be neither created, nor divided, nor destroyed. Modern scientists estimate that a spoonful of water contains a million billion atoms. Dalton stated that one element, such as oxygen, can be distinguished from another element, such as hydrogen, by the weight of its atoms. However, according to Dalton, the atoms of one element unite with the atoms of another in a given ratio to form compound atoms called *molecules*. For example, two atoms of hydrogen combine with one atom of oxygen to form a molecule of water ( $H_2O$ ).



Lavoisier. After he was guillotined in the Reign of Terror, an observer remarked: "Only a moment to cut off his head, and perhaps a century before we shall have another like it."

Like Darwin's theory of evolution, Dalton's atomic theory was not entirely new. And it, too, has been corrected and clarified by more recent scientists. Back in the fifth century B.C., the Greek Democritus had expressed the idea that matter is composed of atoms. In the eighteenth century, an Englishman, Priestly, and a Frenchman, Lavoisier,<sup>8</sup> had

<sup>8</sup> Many consider Lavoisier the father of modern chemistry.

laid the basis for modern chemistry. For centuries it had been commonly believed that there were only four basic elements: earth, air, fire, and water. Lavoisier helped to discredit this belief by proving that fire, for example, is merely the chemical combination of a gas which he called *oxygen* with other elements. Today, scientists know of more than one hundred elements. These are arranged according to their atomic numbers in what is called a *Periodic Table*.

**The Atomic Age: Both a Promise and a Threat.** For fifty years after his death, many scientists thought that Dalton's atomic theory was false. However, by 1900, not only was the atomic theory confirmed, but important new discoveries were made concerning it. For example, it was found that the atom is not the tiniest particle of matter, but has within it so-called *protons*, *electrons*, and *neutrons*. Experiments proved that the atom itself can be smashed or split. An element which lends itself well to splitting (fission) is uranium, of atomic weight 235 (*U-235*). Splitting *U-235* leads to a chain reaction, the splitting of one atom setting off the splitting of another and releasing tremendous energy in the process. Atomic energy is called "the basic energy of the universe." Some sources of uranium are Canada, Czechoslovakia, and the Belgian Congo. Scientists of many lands, including Englishman Rutherford, Danish Bohr, German-born Einstein, and American Oppenheimer, experimented with producing atomic energy.

Atomic energy may usher in the greatest era in the history of mankind. Atomic research has led to new methods of treating diseases such as cancer, of determining the rate of growth in plants, and of following the pace at which a machine is wearing out. Atomic energy may eventually be widely used as a source of heat and power, thus vastly increasing production in agriculture and industry and raising standards of living throughout the world.

But atomic energy may also mean the end

Draw an original cartoon indicating that the problem is one of directing atomic energy, rather than of caging it.



of civilization. When the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan, during World War II, more than half the city was wiped out. Since then, far more deadly atomic bombs have been produced and more efficient means have been devised for delivering them. Some scientists have estimated that the death toll in one day of atomic warfare could run as high as forty millions. That is why many feel that the survival of civilization depends upon successful international control of atomic energy (Chapter 27).

In 1952, a new type of bomb, the hydrogen bomb (H-bomb) was tested. Its power was as great as that of five million tons of TNT. (The power of the atomic bomb which destroyed Hiroshima was equivalent to twenty thousand tons of TNT.) Furthermore, it would be possible to build an H-bomb, but not an atomic bomb, in any size. The first H-bomb exploded at Eniwetok in 1952 released destructive power equal to 5,000,000 tons of TNT. All this means a heavy responsibility for governments, and perhaps an even heavier responsibility for schools and churches.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Terms to Identify

classicism • romanticism • Victorian Age • realism • naturalism • impressionism • cubism • surrealism • functionalism in architecture • vaccination • hydrophobia • pasteurization • antiseptic surgery • anesthetics • X-ray • radioactive rays •

vitamins • allergies • insulin • miracle drugs • psychiatrists • theory of evolution • mutations • atomic theory • molecules • Periodic Table • fission • U-235 • A-bomb • H-bomb • Darwin • Linnaeus • Lamarck • Lyell • Mendel • Dalton

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Mention three characteristics of classicism.
2. Of the classicists discussed, select the (a) two writers, (b) two artists, and (c) two musicians who appeal to you most. Tell why.

3. Point out ways in which romanticism differs from classicism.
4. Of the romanticists discussed, select the (a) two musicians, (b) two writers, and (c) two paint-

ers whom you would like to know more about. Tell why.

5. Prove by examples that romanticism was strongly influenced by political and economic conditions in the early nineteenth century.

6. Prove by examples that realism was strongly influenced by political and economic conditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

7. Of the realists discussed, select the (a) two artists, (b) two musicians, and (c) two writers whom you would like to know more about. Tell why.

8. Indicate some distinctive characteristics of literature, music, and art in (a) the United States, (b) Latin America, (c) Japan, (d) any other area.

9. Select five of the medical scientists mentioned who you think did most to prolong life or preserve health. Give reasons for your choices.

10. Sum up the marvelous medical progress of the twentieth century.

11. Show that the work of (a) Darwin, (b) Linnaeus, (c) Lamarck, (d) Lyell, (e) Malthus, and (f) Mendel was connected.

12. Mention ways in which explorers might contribute to science.

13. Prove by examples that throughout history, men of many nationalities contributed to the development of an atomic age.

14. Prove that the atomic age is both a promise and a threat.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Appreciation, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. With others, using a large outline map of the world, write the names of ten famous (a) writers, (b) artists, or (c) scientists on the native country of each. Indicate also the century in which he or she lived. Make your choices from every period of history and every area of the world.

2. Using anthologies such as *Adventures in World Literature* by Inglis and Stewart, Gardner's *Art through the Ages*, or Thompson's *Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, read up on the (a) classicists, (b) romanticists, or (c) realists you want to know about.

3. In committee, plan and prepare a bulletin board exhibit of examples of classicist and romanticist and realist art. Borrow or purchase prints from a museum.

4. For a group research project, with the help of the librarian prepare a report on social and cultural life in any country during the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Include discussion of (a) clothing, (b) manners, (c) dances, (d) furniture, (e) architecture, and (f) other information you find interesting.

5. Write a biographical sketch of any (a) writer, (b) artist, (c) musician, or (d) scientist mentioned in this chapter. Include a discussion of how his work was influenced by the times in which he lived and of how he influenced his times.

6. Join a guided tour in a museum. Take notes on any phase of the arts since the Renaissance. Compare your notes with those of a classmate.

7. With some classmates, listen to the records of or attend a concert on the music of some of the great musicians. Compare your classmates' reactions with your own and with those of your music teacher.

8. Write a report entitled "Nationalism in Music (or: in Art, or: in Literature)," or one entitled "Literature Which Expresses Sympathy for the Plain People" (see, for example, Charles Dickens).

9. Read one chapter in a book by any one of the following historians: Macaulay, Gibbon, Carlyle, or Francis Parkman. Write your reactions to (a) the style and (b) the subject matter.

10. Tell how any book you have read in your English class uses problems of modern times as its theme.

11. Study some cartoons of Daumier or some in a current newspaper. To what extent (a) do they reveal, or (b) might they distort, history?

12. From the newspapers clip articles about important current figures in (a) art, (b) literature, (c) music, or (d) science. Indicate reasons for the importance of each.

13. "We cannot go on indefinitely reviving revivals. Architecture must move on or die." — Walter A. Gropius. (a) Explain this statement. (b) With others, study the buildings in your community to see to what extent the statement would apply to them.

14. From an anthology of world literature, select a poem by (a) an Asian, (b) an African, or (c)

a Latin American which deals with some problem faced by his people. Sum up in prose the attitude expressed.

15. Prepare a matching test on (a) great writers, (b) great musicians, (c) great artists, or (d) great scientists. In Column I, list their names; in Column II, one important work of each. Test your classmates on it.

16. Check the newspaper for radio or television broadcasts of operas. After listening to one with a classmate, discuss your reactions to it.

17. Note the historical significance of music by listening to a record of Tchaikovsky's *Overture, 1812* and reading up on it.

18. With others, prepare a brief bibliography of historical novels for the class, including author, title, and theme of each.

19. Make a list of questions you would like to have class experts answer on modern world (a) music, (b) science, (c) architecture, (d) painting, (e) literature, (f) sculpture, (g) drama, or (h) dancing.

20. Select from Boni's *Fireside Book of Folk-songs* or Rugoff's *A Harvest of World Folk Tales* those items which you would recommend to others. Tell why.

21. With a classmate, make a chart of the characteristics of each which might help a person to recognize a building in any one of the following styles of architecture: (a) Greek, (b) Romanesque,

(c) Gothic, (d) Moslem, (e) Renaissance, (f) modern.

22. If you are medically minded, read the chapter on infectious and contagious diseases in the Wells-Huxley book, *The Science of Life*. Jot down what you consider the five most interesting points made.

23. Collaborate in dramatizing the hardships faced by such scientists as Pasteur in getting their ideas adopted.

24. Write an essay entitled: "How Scientists Build Upon the Work of Other Scientists," "Operations Before and Since the Discovery of Anesthesia," or "Florence Nightingale Inspired Me."

25. As a committee member, interview either (a) a doctor, (b) a chemist, (c) a science teacher, or (d) a pharmacist, and ask him what he thinks is the most important progress made in his field in the past fifty years. Ask him also what he thinks might be done to speed up progress in his field. In committee, help to summarize the findings.

26. Read and report on some of the most recent articles listed in the Readers' Guide on the uses of atomic energy.

27. Write an imaginary page in the diary of your grandchild telling how atomic energy has affected his life.

28. Prepare a talk for a panel discussion of: "Would the world be better off if atomic energy had not been harnessed?"



# CHAPTER 21 . . . THE PEACE MOVEMENT TO 1914

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**The Costs of War • Causes of Wars • Some Wars Between Rival Countries Before Modern Times • Some Wars Between Rival Countries in Modern Times • Some Wars Within Countries • The Peace Movement Before Modern Times • The Peace Movement in Modern Times • Some General Principles of International Law • Some Wartime Principles of International Law**

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" . . . Here before us lie the bodies of comrades and friends. Men who until yesterday or last week laughed with us, joked with us, trained with us. Men who were on the same ships with us as we prepared to hit the beaches of this island (Iwo Jima). . . . Somewhere in this plot of ground there may lie the man who could have discovered the cure for cancer. Under one of these Christian crosses, or beneath a Jewish Star of David, there may rest now a man who was destined to be a great prophet — to find the way, perhaps, for all to live in plenty, with poverty and hardship for none. Now they lie here silently in this sacred soil, and we gather to consecrate this earth in their memory. . . ."

— From the *Memorial Address on Iwo Jima*  
by Chaplain Roland B. Gittelsohn.

Iwo Jima is a small island in the Pacific Ocean south of Japan. To capture it, in the closing days of World War II, thousands of American boys courageously gave their lives. In a sense, the ideas expressed by the Iwo Jima chaplain might be a fitting memorial for the billions of men of all nationalities and religions who have died in the thousands of battles throughout history. As a foundation for our study of the peace movement, we shall

now study some of the costs and causes of war and something about the different types of wars through the ages.

## The Costs of War

Few persons would question the need for preparedness in the world today. However, it is unfortunate that most of the tax money in most countries today goes to pay for past wars and to prepare for future wars. Much of the cost of modern wars is passed on to generations yet unborn. If countries could feel confident that peace would be lasting, such money, instead of being spent on destruction, might be used for constructive purposes. Millions spent on medical research might lead to cures for diseases now called incurable. More parks, highways, schools, and food and better homes and clothing might be made available to more persons. By stimulating the production of war materials, war forces factories to cut down on the production of goods which consumers need and enjoy. Many wars have been followed by widespread disease, famine, unemployment, infla-

tion, depression, corruption, and immorality. Wars kill off or cripple many of the youngest and the healthiest of male adults. Bombs dropped in modern wars have cost millions of civilian lives and destroyed libraries, schools, churches, and museums as well. Thus it might be said that in modern wars civilians as well as soldiers are on the front line.

While a war is being waged, there is usually unity within a nation and among its allies. When the war ends, suspicion, fear, jealousy, and hatred often tend to cause splits within each nation as well as among victorious allies. Furthermore, during wars and in periods following wars, civil liberties are frequently curbed. Wars often leave a heritage of hate which may lead to wars for revenge. Because of intense nationalism, modern wars have been savagely fought. The soldier who fought for a feudal lord or in the pay of a foreign king did not fight so intensely as a modern soldier fights for his nation. Because of the Industrial Revolution, modern wars have been fought with more deadly weapons. Because of imperialistic rivalries, modern wars are more widespread.

## Causes of Wars

Throughout history, the causes of wars have been remarkably similar. People have usually been willing to fight to defend their country or community. Frequently, too, they have fought so-called holy wars to defend or extend their religious beliefs. City-states, nations, or empires have gone to war in every age to maintain the balance of power against rising competitors, to expand boundaries, or to get revenge for losses in previous wars. Would-be dictators with ambition to rule much of the world have caused many wars.

Often, just as those in power have fought to preserve their privileges, the underprivileged have fought to win some rights. History is filled with wars fought for independence, such as the American and Latin-American revolutions. And greedy groups or individuals have brought about wars in order to obtain



This question has faced the blacksmith throughout history. How has he usually answered it? Give proof. How is the world answering this question today? Why?

land, slaves, plunder, tribute, raw materials, precious metals, or markets.

"Three cheers for war in general!" "War alone . . . puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to face it." These quotations from dictator Mussolini, who seized control of Italy in 1922, illustrate the spirit of militarism. The tradition of militarism has been one of the greatest obstacles to world peace through the ages. All countries have tended to glorify their military heroes far above their great artists, scientists, or religious leaders. Militarists insist that man is by nature warlike and that war is inevitable. Militaristic dictators like Mussolini have often made evil use of patriotic holidays, parades, and medals to arouse in their people a spirit of aggressive militarism. From ancient times, such political leaders and certain writers have dramatized the glories of the battlefield and ignored its horrors. To keep this warlike spirit burning, militarists have



"Grounded."

Buck in The Chicago Sun-Times

In the light of your knowledge of the causes of wars, what other chains have held back world peace?

often used schools, newspapers, and the radio to arouse hatred of foreign countries.

Aggressive militarism has been one of the main causes of modern wars. Other causes include imperialistic rivalries, aggressive nationalism, discontent arising from low standards of living, and intolerance toward racial, religious, or national minorities. Another main cause of modern wars is the fact that such international agreements as do exist are difficult to enforce. This situation is often

called *international anarchy*. Many say that all these causes arise because the peoples of one nation do not understand the peoples of another. Perhaps this explains why, sometimes, after a war is over and passions have cooled, many who have studied the situation come to the conclusion that the war might have been avoided.

## Some Wars Between Rival Countries Before Modern Times

It has been said that, if the ancient Persian Empire had defeated the Greek city-states, we might have inherited an Oriental civilization rather than a Western civilization. In spite of the Greek victory, imperialistic rivalries between the city-states of Athens and Sparta soon led to the Peloponnesian Wars. As a result, the Greek peninsula was left so weak that it was absorbed first by Alexander's empire and later by the Roman Empire. Alexander's conquests brought about a fusion between the Orient and the West. Oriental influence on European and American life might have been much stronger if Carthage had defeated Rome in the Punic Wars. However, the famed Carthaginian general, Hannibal, though he scaled the Alps and won many victories, lost the last battle.

After the collapse of the Roman Empire about 500 A.D., wars between feudal nobles kept Europe in constant turmoil. In 732, the Frankish leader, Charles Martel, defeated the Moslems at the Battle of Tours. This victory insured a Christian rather than a Moslem Europe. Over three centuries later, the conflict between Christians and Moslems was renewed in the Crusades. Neither side won a clear-cut victory. Today, although Europe is Christian, western Asia and North Africa remain mainly Moslem. Before 1000 A.D., infant nations began to develop. The victory of the French invader, William the Conqueror, at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 helped to build a powerful England. England and France became rivals for trade and territory. War broke out between them when the Eng-

lish king claimed the French throne. Joan of Arc's victories in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) paved the way for the unification of France. At about the same time, Mongol conquerors, such as Genghis Khan, from the Far East were hammering at the doors of eastern Europe.

## Some Wars Between Rival Countries in Modern Times

The horrors of modern warfare were first felt in the terrible Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which was caused by national rivalries and religious hatreds. Dynastic rivalries involved the Habsburg, Hohenzollern, and Bourbon families in many wars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this period, too, the Romanoffs warred upon Sweden and Turkey to expand Russia's western boundaries.

By 1756, nations were ready for those world-wide struggles for colonies and commerce which were to plague modern times. The first of these was the Seven Years' War. Later, militaristic Napoleon I tried to get control of the entire European continent. His aggression was finally stopped at Waterloo in 1815. The nationalistic wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were fought both to form nations, such as Italy, Germany, and the Latin-American republics, and to break up empires, such as the Austrian and Turkish. Since about 1850, imperialistic rivalries have been a major cause of wars. The Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars, for example, were caused by Russia's desire to obtain the Dardanelles as an outlet to the Mediterranean. As we shall see, imperialistic rivalries in Africa, Asia, and the Near East also helped to bring about World Wars I and II. Militaristic aggression by dictatorships in Germany, Japan, and Italy was another important cause of World War II. And in 1950, the United Nations condemned the North Koreans as aggressors for invading South Korea. As we shall see, this aggression was halted by the co-operation of many nations.

HOW MANY ROCKS WOULD YOU SAY ARE IN HIS PILE?



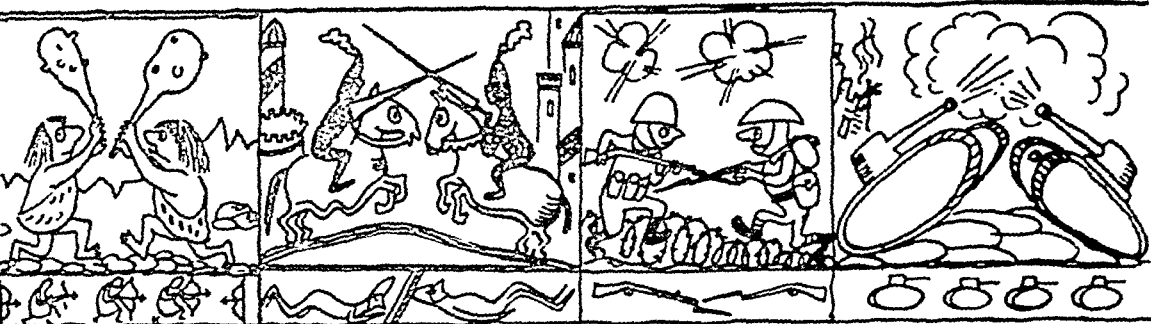
Do you find this cartoon sad or funny? Explain.

## Some Wars Within Countries

Throughout history, groups within the same country have sometimes engaged in bloody conflicts. In ancient Sparta, for example, the helots, weary of bearing the burden of supporting the aristocracy, rose in rebellion. The rebellion was savagely suppressed. In ancient Rome, a bitter struggle broke out between Marius, who claimed to represent the common people, and Sulla, the representative of the aristocrats. Sulla emerged triumphant from the mutual massacres. As perpetual dictator, he passed laws favoring the aristocrats. Rome had its slave uprisings, too.

In fourteenth-century Europe, downtrodden peasants revolted. Examples are the uprising of the Jacquerie in France and Wat Tyler's rebellion in England. Neither succeeded. At the end of the fifteenth century in England, a different kind of group conflict broke out. In the Wars of the Roses, groups of warring nobles competed for the throne of England. In these wars, the Tudor family, who were ancestors of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I, won out. Similar conflicts developed on the continent of Europe and in China.

Religious differences between Protestants



and Catholics also led to conflicts within nations. Such conflicts were followed in the late seventeenth century by struggles between different classes. In some respects, the English Revolution (1688), the American Revolution (1775), and the French Revolution (1789) were struggles by the middle class to win rights and to reduce the power and privilege of the aristocratic class. Our own War between the States (1861–1865) was caused by disagreements between the agricultural South and the industrial North. In recent years, bloody conflicts have occurred within many countries between such groups as radicals and reactionaries. Many democracies have tried to prevent such dangerous conflicts by reducing religious, political, or economic discrimination. For history has shown that special privileges granted any one group cause bitterness among the less favored.

### The Peace Movement Before Modern Times

"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks." . . . "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." These sentiments are expressed in the Bible. Buddha in ancient India preached against violence. And Confucius in ancient China insisted that a government needs armies least of all. From ancient times, men have preached that the world can never achieve peace until all mankind lives up to religious principles. The Pax

Romana preserved a kind of universal peace by promoting unity among the many peoples living within the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, there were frequent bloody feuds between rival individuals and groups, and frequent skirmishes on the empire's borders. The Christian Church of the Middle Ages attempted to lessen the horrors of warfare by forbidding fighting on certain days (the Truce of God). Later, certain Christian sects, notably the Quakers, condemned war entirely.

In the fourteenth century, the poet Dante recommended that the governments of Europe unite in a league for peace. A Frenchman, Pierre Dubois, proposed that differences among nations be settled by an international court, that war be outlawed, and that warlike nations be boycotted. For these reasons, some call Dubois the world's first pacifist.

### The Peace Movement in Modern Times

In early modern times, men of many nationalities suggested that European nations unite in a league to promote peace. Among them were French King Henry IV, an English Quaker, William Penn, and French intellectuals, Voltaire and Rousseau. In 1713, a Frenchman, Abbé de St. Pierre, suggested that the Christian states of Europe form a perpetual league for promoting peace and a court for settling international disputes, with decisions enforced by military action.

In 1789, an Englishman, Jeremy Bentham,



recommended disarmament and the granting of independence to colonies. He denounced secrecy in international discussions and demanded that all international agreements be published. In 1795, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant proposed a world league of all nations – not merely of the Christian nations of Europe. Kant blamed kings for war. He predicted that, if all governments became republics, peace would be more certain. His feeling was that, given a choice, the people would always vote for peace. Kant also recommended abolition of standing armies, and adoption of rules for making warfare less cruel.

After the Napoleonic Wars, Alexander I of Russia suggested the Holy Alliance. Its purpose was to build a peace based upon Christian principles and backed by European monarchs. Unfortunately, this Holy Alliance soon gave way to the Quadruple Alliance, which suppressed democracy and nationalism throughout Europe. In this period, the big European powers held conferences whenever change threatened existing governments or their territories. This practice, called the *Concert of Europe*, was designed to preserve the power of the aristocratic classes. Yet it did help to prevent a general European war for a period of one hundred years (1815–1914).

In a sense, the *Concert of Europe* resembled the balance-of-power policy. Both attempted to prevent any one power from dominating the continent of Europe. However,

the balance-of-power policy had in 1756 failed to prevent such a world-wide war as the Seven Years' War. So, too, the *Concert of Europe* failed to prevent such regional wars as the Crimean War of 1853 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Furthermore, there were many local wars to achieve democracy and nationalism. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, too, certain nations formed alliances in the hope of either avoiding wars or winning them. However, such alliances caused fear and suspicion among nations outside the alliances. Outsiders often formed rival alliances, and war frequently resulted.

In the nineteenth century, many peace societies sprang up, including the American Peace Society. Its founder, William Ladd, considered war so criminal that he condemned even defensive wars. At this time, too, some nations began to settle some disputes not by war, but by submitting their arguments to a third neutral party for decision. This practice is called *arbitration*. In the nineteenth century, too, socialists argued that wars are caused by capitalism, and that only capitalists benefit from wars. They demanded, therefore, that the workers of the world unite in opposition to war. However, when wars broke out, patriotism proved stronger than socialism. The workers of one country were usually ready to go to war against the workers of another. Socialists were accused of causing bloody revolutions by encouraging class struggles between rich

and poor. Moreover, it is pointed out, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was born in revolution, has engaged in many wars, and encourages revolutions in other countries.

The peace movement has gathered strength in the past century. The Swedish discoverer of dynamite, Alfred Nobel, left a huge sum to award annual prizes to persons who do much to promote peace. A Scottish immigrant to the United States, Andrew Carnegie, who made a fortune in steel, left millions to set up the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Its aim is to "hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization." In this period, too, the republics of the western hemisphere held frequent meetings to promote co-operation to prevent wars with one another.

Two conferences were held at the Hague, a city in the Netherlands (in 1899 and 1907), in an effort to promote peace. The tsar of Russia called the First Hague Conference for the purpose of bringing about a reduction in armaments. This conference worked to establish more humane rules of warfare. The use of poisonous gases and the bombing of cities, among other evil practices, were prohibited. The conference also established a court, the Hague Tribunal, to arbitrate disputes among nations. However, nations were not required to turn over their disputes to this court, nor to accept its decisions. The Hague Conferences failed to bring about a reduction in armaments.

In spite of all these peace efforts, World War I broke out in 1914. A League of Nations was formed in 1919, and many conferences were held to promote disarmament (page 551). During the early 1930's, the hatred of war had grown so strong that many college students in many countries took a pledge never to fight in any war. These students realized the absurdity of such a blanket pledge, however, when their countries were threatened by invasion in World War II. Many of them gave their lives defending their countries. In 1945, the United Nations (Chapter 26) was established to promote peace.

## International Law in War and Peace

"I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed." This statement was made by the Dutch scholar, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). Shocked by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, Grotius wrote a book, *On the Laws of War and Peace*, which became the foundation of modern international law. Grotius, called the *father of international law*, got many of his ideas from the leagues formed by the Greek city-states which had exchanged ambassadors and made treaties. He also studied the universal body of law developed by the Roman Empire, laws of the sea, and feudal customs.

**Some General Principles of International Law.** In modern times, nations have been brought closer together by improved transportation and communication and by increased world commerce. Thus there is an even greater need for international law. Here are some of the general principles of international law which many nations have recognized: All nations, large or small, are considered equal before international law. All nations must respect the independence and territory of other nations. Interference in the internal affairs of any nation is prohibited. Each nation has the right to govern itself in whatever manner it desires. Each nation is required to live up to the terms of the treaties it signs. Freedom of the seas is guaranteed to all nations. Each nation, however, controls its own territorial waters as well as the air above its territory.

**Some Wartime Principles of International Law.** There are certain specific rules of international law for wartime which most nations recognize in theory. For example, blockades must be effective in order to be respected by neutrals. This means that the blockading nation must station enough ships at the ports of the enemy to prevent other ships from entering or leaving. Passengers on

merchant vessels are guaranteed that their safety will be assured before such vessels are sunk.

The use of such cruel devices as poisonous gases, dum dum bullets,<sup>1</sup> and bacteria in warfare is prohibited. Prisoners of war are guaranteed food, medical attention, and other rights similar to those of the soldiers of the country which has imprisoned them. Protection is promised civilians of warring powers.

As for neutrals, "free ships make free goods." This means that neutral merchant vessels may carry any cargo except war materials — *contraband* — to any port. Neutral countries are also permitted to exchange ambassadors or ministers, even with warring

<sup>1</sup> A *dum dum bullet* is one with a hollow nose, which, on hitting a victim, expands to break bones and tear flesh. Few victims of dum dum bullets survive.

powers. Many of these principles were laid down in international treaties or conferences. For example, it was agreed at the Geneva Conference of 1864 that no warring power would attack hospitals or ambulances clearly marked with the Red Cross flag.

As we shall see, the Permanent Court of International Justice (the *World Court*) was set up by the League of Nations and is now part of the United Nations. Both the League and the United Nations have tried to work out codes of international law which would be acceptable to all nations. Unfortunately, international law has frequently been violated and violators have usually gone unpunished. However, after World War II, certain leaders of defeated Germany were tried by an international court at Nuremberg. Some were convicted of waging aggressive war and of committing crimes against humanity.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Discuss the heaviest costs of war through the ages.
2. Show that the causes of war have not changed much through the ages.
3. In your own words, define international anarchy.
4. Give examples of wars between rival countries in ancient and medieval times.
5. Give examples of wars caused by (a) dynastic, (b) nationalistic, and (c) imperialistic rivalries in modern times.
6. For what reasons were wars fought within countries in various periods of history?
7. Review any three of the wars you have mentioned in questions 4, 5, and 6 and jot down their causes and results.
8. Show that religions and religious leaders in all parts of the world have been vitally interested in the peace movement throughout the ages.
9. Discuss specific contributions to the peace movement of any three individuals in modern times.
10. For what reasons and by what methods did the Concert of Europe try to preserve peace?
11. Discuss (a) the reasons for the calling of the Hague conferences and (b) their results.
12. Why is Grotius important in the history of international law?
13. Sum up (a) some general principles of international law and (b) some wartime principles of international law.
14. Define (a) militarism, (b) arbitration, (c) contraband.
15. Identify in connection with the peace movement: (a) Dante, (b) Pierre Dubois, (c) Abbé de St. Pierre, (d) Jeremy Bentham, (e) Immanuel Kant, (f) Alexander I, (g) William Ladd, (h) Alfred Nobel, (i) Andrew Carnegie, (j) Geneva Conference of 1864.
16. Discuss the differences between national law and international law.
17. Indicate the weaknesses of the Hague Tribunal.
18. Discuss the Nuremberg trials.



## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Show that the "Memorial Address on Iwo Jima" appeals to both the heart and the head.
2. Explain how the costs of modern wars are passed on to generations as yet unborn.
3. Classify the causes of wars throughout history under the headings *Political*, *Economic*, and *Social*.
4. Write your own reflections on any three of the causes of wars.
5. Why is it difficult to get rid of international anarchy?
6. What do you think might be done to avoid (a) wars between rival countries and (b) wars within countries?
7. Why is it not surprising that religious organizations have taken a leading role in the peace movement?
8. Give your reaction to any two of the various peace proposals made by individuals mentioned in this chapter.
9. Review the Concert of Europe to find out how peaceful were its methods to bring about peace. Discuss.
10. Why do alliances organized to try to prevent wars often help to cause wars?
11. What is your opinion of the efforts of the Hague conferences to make warfare less cruel?
12. How was the Hague Tribunal handicapped from the start?
13. What would you add to (a) the general principles of international law and (b) the wartime principles of international law? Tell why.
14. For each of the principles of international law, point out why it is needed.

## Recommended Reading for Unit Seven

(Books preceded by an asterisk (\*) are easy to read.)

Bauer and Peyser, *How Music Grew from Prehistoric Times to the Present*. Well-illustrated and readable history of music from earliest times.

\*Bolton, *Famous Men of Science*.

Bradley, *No Place to Hide*. Record of atomic tests at Bikini.

Cheney, *Story of Modern Art*. Both pictures and text help to develop understanding and appreciation of modern art.

Cheney, *A World History of Art*. Emphasis on painting and sculpture.

Cottler and Jaffe, *Heroes of Civilization*. For more information on such scientists as Lavoisier, Pasteur, Lister, Metchnikoff, and Einstein.

Craven, *Men of Art*.

Craven, *A Treasury of Art Masterpieces*. Includes about 150 colored reproductions of the world's masterpieces and interesting comments on each.

Curie, *Madame Curie*. Fascinating story of the scientific work and family life of the remarkable woman who with her husband

Garland, *History of Medicine*. Even if you don't expect to be a doctor, read this for its rich information and human interest.

Gassner, *Masters of the Drama*. The drama throughout history.

Hecht, *Explaining the Atom*. Readable even if you are not a scientific expert.

Hogben, *From Cave Painting to Comic Strip*. Full of chuckles, facts, and beautiful illustrations. Historical study of man's communication by means of pictorial symbols.

Hoover and Gibson, *Basis of Lasting Peace*. Historical survey of peace efforts.

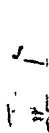
Jaffe, *Crucibles: the Life and Achievements of the Great Chemists*.

\*Kainz and Riley, *Exploring Art*. Designed to promote a greater appreciation of art.

\*Krehbiel, *How to Listen to Music*. Designed to promote a greater appreciation of music.

\*Lewellen, *You and Atomic Energy and Its Wonderful Uses*.

Macy, *Story of the World's Literature*. Emphasis on French literature.

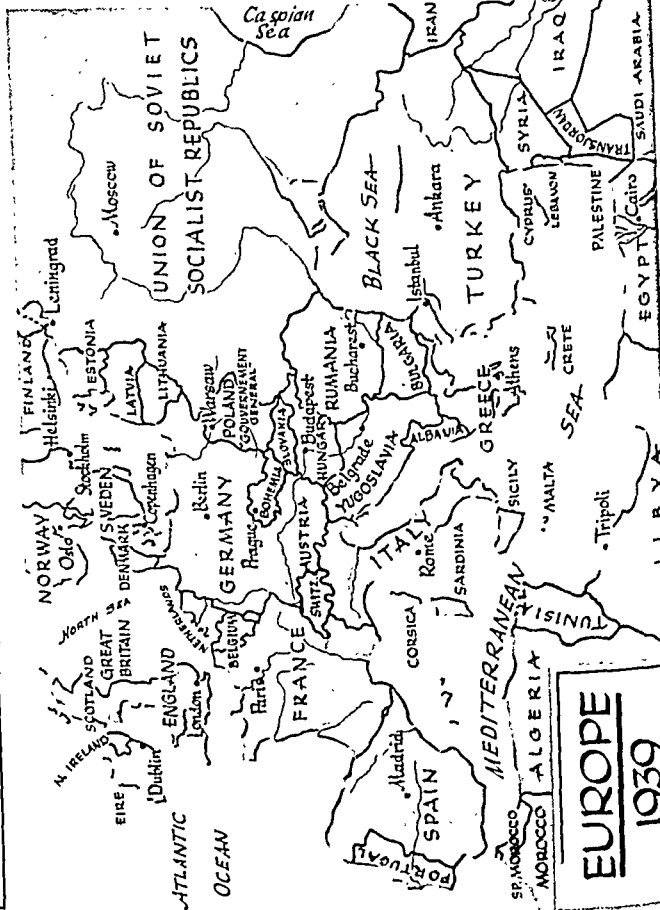
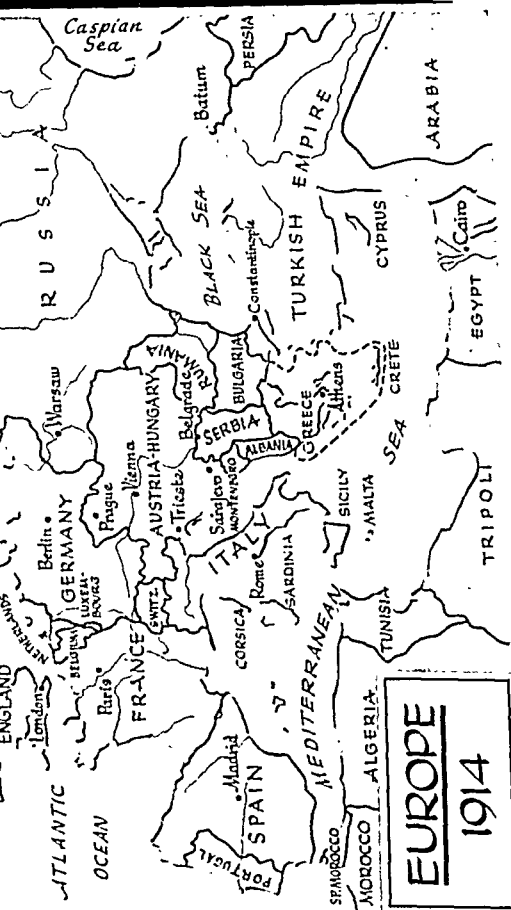


## • UNIT EIGHT

### 1914 To 1945: From World War I Through World War II

Some Symbols of the Period from World War I Through World War II  
(Above) Trench Life in World War I; Communist Lenin; Fascist Mussolini; Nazi Hitler. (Below)  
American troops invade a Pacific island in World War II.





## CHAPTER 22 . . . WORLD WAR I, BORN OUT OF PAST EVILS, GIVES BIRTH TO SOME NEW EVILS

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**Basic Causes of World War I • From Crisis to Crisis to the Crisis at Sarajevo**  
• The Sarajevo Crisis Leads to a Chain Reaction • World War I: Stress on Defense, Staying Power, and Morale • Staying Power Promoted by Controls, Blockades, and Submarines • Staying Power Promoted by Building Morale • The Central Powers Win Many Battles, But Allied Staying Power Is Stronger • The Germans Inflict Terrible Losses on the Russians • 1917: Mainly a Dark Year for the Allies • The Entry of the United States Brightens Up the Allies' Dark Year • The Allies Knock Out the Central Powers • The Paris Peace Settlement: Dreams Clash with Realities • Results of World War I: A World Hard Hit and Greatly Changed • The Peace Movement between Two Wars (1919-1939) • The League of Nations Strongly Influenced by the Big Powers • The League Handles Social and Economic Problems and Political Disputes • Some Obstacles to the League's Success • Alliances, Peace Pacts, and Disarmament to Promote Security

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One Sunday late in June, 1914, in the little town of Sarajevo, Bosnia, a fanatical Serbian nationalist pumped bullets into the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife. This assassination was the immediate cause of World War I. For years before the assassination, many Europeans had been expecting a great war to break out at any time. Hatred, fear, suspicion, and ambition among nations had long charged the European atmosphere with a kind of electricity. The assassination was only the spark which set it off. But why did the Serbian nationalist want to murder the royal pair? Why did what seemed like a local inci-

dent six weeks later involve not only Austria-Hungary and Serbia, but also Germany, Russia, France, Belgium, and Great Britain in war? To answer these questions, a study of the basic causes of World War I is needed. The roots of these causes are sunk deep into the nineteenth century.

### Basic Causes of World War I

**The New Nationalism Breeds Strong Hatreds.** "I could not see for my generation any reason for existing, unless it were for the hope of recovering our lost provinces." This statement concerning Alsace-Lorraine, f



The Arrest of the Assassin of Archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28, 1914. In a sense, the world has not yet recovered from this assassination. Discuss.

a French statesman, Poincaré, illustrates the passionate nationalism of many Frenchmen before 1914. It is obvious that such nationalists might even welcome a war of revenge. Equally passionate was the desire of nationalistic Italians to take from Austria what they considered their lost provinces, the Italian-speaking areas Trentino and Trieste (*Italia Irredenta*, page 386). Poles, ruled by foreign nations, wanted their own nation restored. As we know, there lived in the empires of Austria-Hungary and Turkey subject peoples of many nationalities. The Balkan nations, such as Serbia, wanted to get their fellow nationalists living in these empires to join them in forming greater Balkan nations. This, of course, would mean the break-up of these empires. Naturally, Austria-Hungary and Turkey would resist strongly. Russia, a Slavic nation, considered itself the protector of Slavic peoples. This *Pan-Slavism* (page 382)

clashed with a similar attitude on the part of Germany, *Pan-Germanism*. Austria-Hungary, with its large Slavic population, was especially worried about Russia's *Pan-Slavism*.

Keeping these passions at fever pitch was the intolerant spirit of the new nationalism (page 396). Super-patriots fanatically and defiantly ranted about their national honor and stirred up hatred of other nations.

**Militarism Breeds More Militarism.** In such an atmosphere of hatred, fear, and suspicion, big armies and navies were inevitable. And big armies and navies aroused more hatred, fear, and suspicion. Europe became an armed camp as each nation tried to outdo the others in increasing its armaments. Most nations in continental Europe increased their regular armies and also built up large citizen armies by drafting all able-bodied men for a period of compulsory military service. Rivalries in building navies also added to Europe's heavy tax burden. Supporting this mad military race were many career army and navy men and munitions manufacturers, such as the Krupps in Germany. Many statesmen felt that, with a big army and navy behind them, their words would count for more at international conferences. Over a century earlier, Prussian Frederick the Great had expressed this feeling thus: "Diplomacy without force is like music without instruments." The powerful, land-owning Prussian Junkers, who made up the high officer core of the German army, believed that war was a noble game and that military officers were the most worthy members of society. This belief was widespread elsewhere, too. Especially in Germany, Austria, and Russia, high military officials had far more influence in the government than high civilian officials.

**Imperialism Breeds Intense Rivalries.** In our study of imperialism we saw how industrialized nations struggled to get colonies for raw materials, markets, and fields for investment of capital. This struggle led to some wars, but important issues were left unsettled in Africa, Asia, and the Balkans. For example, German East Africa blocked the

dream of Britons who wanted to build a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. In China, Germany was giving Britain fierce competition for spheres of influence and concessions. Germany and Italy, unified too late to get the best colonies, were dissatisfied with what was left. Nationalism and militarism were closely associated with imperialism, for nationalists and militarists, among others, gloried in seeing their country's flag wave over colonies in many parts of the world.

**International Anarchy Leads to Rival International Alliances.** In the tense period before 1914, each nation was a law unto itself. International anarchy (page 524) prevailed, for nations had little faith in international law or international organizations. There was no effective authority to which a nation might appeal when it felt that it was the victim of aggression. Groping for some guarantee of security, or perhaps hoping to strengthen themselves for an aggressive step, nations joined alliances.

**A Triple Alliance Helps to Breed a Triple Entente.** Bismarck was a shrewd tactician in the game of international politics. He knew that France would never forget its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. He therefore devoted himself to keeping France from making allies at the same time that he went about winning allies for Germany. Such a policy, he thought, would maintain the peace of Europe and enable Germany to strengthen itself at home. In 1882 he completed the formation of a *Triple Alliance*, made up of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Austria-Hungary was glad to join this secret defensive alliance because Russia was an aggressive rival of Austria in the Balkans. Italy joined because of bitterness toward France for having just made a protectorate of Tunis in North Africa. Italy had wanted Tunis because it was just across the Mediterranean from Italy and was inhabited by many Italians.

Bismarck was terrified that France might form an alliance with Russia, thereby encircling Germany. To keep Russia friendly, he

had signed a separate secret agreement with that country behind Austria's back. How enraged the Austrians would have been if they had known that this treaty recognized that Russia had certain special rights in the Balkans! To keep the British friendly, Bismarck for some time refused to compete with them in struggling for colonies or in building a big navy. Thus Bismarck had accomplished his purpose of winning allies and keeping France friendless.

Then, in 1890, Kaiser William II dismissed Bismarck and discontinued the treaty with Russia. The kaiser had decided to throw Germany's full support to Austria-Hungary. This gave France an opportunity to win a friend in Russia. France lent huge sums to the Russians to help them industrialize and to build the Trans-Siberian railroad. In 1894, France and Russia signed a secret defensive alliance, which they agreed to keep as long as the Triple Alliance existed. Now William II further reversed Bismarck's policy by antagonizing Britain. He began to compete with the British for colonies and in building a big navy. He showed friendliness to the Boers in their war with the British. Furthermore, Germany in 1903 began extending from Constantinople to Baghdad the railroad which ran from Berlin to Constantinople. The British were afraid that this road would give Germany tremendous economic influence in the Turkish Empire and also threaten the British lifeline to India. Finally, Germany's rapid industrialization was making the Germans serious rivals of the British in the world's markets. Thus Great Britain was thrown into the arms of a France eager for friends. The two countries settled their differences in North Africa (page 463) and in 1904 came to a friendly understanding.

France now wanted to make its two new friends, Russia and Britain, friends of each other. But the obstacles were great. Britain had long opposed Russia's attempts to get Constantinople, also, the two nations were imperialistic rivals in the Middle East (page 462). But now that both feared Germany

more than they feared each other, they came to terms. In the same year that they partitioned Persia, they formed with France a defensive alliance, the *Triple Entente*. Now Europe was split into two armed camps, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.

Lying, spying, and trickery were sometimes practiced by diplomats against their own allies. So much was shrouded in secrecy that even high officials in the same government did not know what agreements had been made. Usually the people were the last to know by what agreements their diplomats had bound them. A Russian soldier fighting to defend his homeland in World War I did not know that he was also fighting to acquire Constantinople. For these reasons, some include secret diplomacy among the basic causes of World War I.

### From Crisis to Crisis to the Crisis at Sarajevo

From 1905 to 1914 there was a series of international crises, any one of which might easily have caused World War I to break out earlier than it did. Two of these crises occurred over Morocco. These crises arose because Kaiser William II was violently opposed to France's efforts to make a protectorate of Morocco. Because Germany's colonies were pretty worthless, the Germans hated to see North Africa being divided between Great Britain and France (page 464). With Russia engaged in a war with Japan in 1905, William II thought this would be a good time to test the strength of the Triple Entente. He made threatening gestures in 1905 and in 1911 and got his answer. Britain firmly supported its ally, France, on both occasions. Germany backed down.

In 1908, while a revolution was going on in Turkey, Austria-Hungary annexed the two Balkan provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Technically these were Turkish territory, but in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin (page 484), they had been given to Austria-Hungary to administer. Because the population of these

provinces was mainly Slavic, both Russia and Serbia protested the annexation.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, this action would make it more difficult for Serbia to realize its dream of getting an outlet on the Adriatic Sea. Russia's allies, France and Britain, would not support the protests. Russia, weakened by both a revolution and the war with Japan in 1905, backed down. The peace of Europe was shakier than ever because of the burning hatred for Austria-Hungary left in the hearts of the Serbs.

In 1912, encouraged by Russia, the Balkan states of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro declared war on Turkey. Speedily they defeated Turkey and divided up almost all of its European territory. At last the Serbs obtained their port on the Adriatic — through the annexation of Albania. But they did not have it long. Austria, backed by Italy and Germany, demanded that an independent Albania be set up. The Triple Entente, although sympathetic to Serbia, backed down. Bulgaria had gained much territory from the first Balkan War. Bulgaria's Balkan allies wanted it to share its spoils with them. When Bulgaria refused, a second Balkan War broke out in which the Bulgarians were soundly thrashed. Turkey, too, pounced upon Bulgaria to recover a small section of its lost territory. All the Balkan allies made gains. Serb territory was doubled. Austria was now furious. The Austrians feared that the Slavic peoples in Austria-Hungary would want to unite with this Greater Serbia. Secret societies among Slavic peoples in both Serbia and Austria multiplied to achieve this union. One of them, the Black Hand, had as its slogan "Union or Death." It was a member of this society who assassinated Archduke Ferdinand and his wife. In this crisis, neither side backed down. And World War I began.

<sup>1</sup> Actually a Russian diplomat had negotiated a secret agreement approving such an annexation. But in return Austria-Hungary was supposed to help get the Straits open to Russian warships. It was only when Austria-Hungary refused to live up to its part of the bargain that Russia complained.

## **RUSSIA INVADES GERMANY; GERMANY INVADES FRANCE, BUT DOES NOT DECLARE WAR; ENGLAND'S DECISION TODAY; BELGIUM MENACED, LUXEMBURG AND SWITZERLAND INVADED; GERMAN MARKSMEN SHOOT DOWN A FRENCH AEROPLANE**

### **The Sarajevo Crisis Leads to a Chain Reaction**

Some Austrian officials thought that the assassination gave Austria-Hungary an excellent excuse to crush Serbia once and for all. They argued that it was better to wage war while Serbia was still relatively small than to wait until it grew larger and stronger. In short, they believed in what has been called *preventive war*. One month after the assassination, the Austrian government sent four harsh demands to Serbia and required an answer in forty-eight hours. The Austrians felt secure in making these deliberately harsh demands because the German government had promised to support Austria no matter what demands were made. The Serbs accepted all the demands but one: the demand that Serbia permit Austrian officials to go into Serbia to hunt down those who had plotted the assassination. The Serbs suggested that, if Austria were still dissatisfied, the dispute might be turned over to the Hague Court. Austria refused and on July 28th declared war.

And then the chain reaction, which many had predicted would result from the rival alliances, began. Russia, foe of Austria and friend of Serbia, began to mobilize its army. Germany asked Russia to demobilize. Russia refused. Germany declared war on Russia. Germany asked Russia's ally, France, its intentions. The answer was vague. Germany declared war on France. When Germany violated Belgium's neutrality (page 352) by

sending troops to invade France by way of Belgium, Great Britain declared war. Britain looked upon a strong military power in control of its little neighbor as a pistol pointed at its own heart. By the end of August, Japan, Britain's ally in the Far East (page 463), declared war. Japan wanted to take over Germany's possessions in the Far East. The Turks, who had a secret treaty with the Germans, declared war on their long-time foe, Russia, in October. As usual, they feared Russia's ambition to get Constantinople.

Italy refused to join its partners in the Triple Alliance on the grounds that they were fighting an offensive, not a defensive, war. Instead, the Italians joined the side of the Triple Entente in 1915. This side, known as the *Allies*, had promised in the secret Treaty of London that, after victory, Italy would receive its long-desired *Italia Irredenta* from Austria. Shortly afterwards, Bulgaria joined Austria, Germany, and Turkey, which were known as the *Central Powers*, Bulgaria wanted revenge for Serbia's seizure of territory as a result of the second Balkan War. By 1918 there were twenty-three nations on the side of the Allies against the four Central Powers.

What nation or nations were guilty of causing World War I? No nation, or all the nations involved in the chain reaction. All had practiced policies which led them to a situation where none felt that it could back down. At the last minute, some of the leaders of the great powers tried to keep the war from spreading, but it was too late.



## World War I: Stress on Defense, Staying Power, and Morale

**Trench Life, Weapons, and Methods of Fighting.** Millions of men lived an underground existence through most of World War I. Opposing armies had dug long, zig-zagging trenches connected with other trenches behind these. Deep beneath the trenches at various points were underground shelters, called *dugouts*, where soldiers rested and where equipment was stored. Soldiers spent long, weary days of waiting in these muddy and often lice- and rat-infested trenches. The rattle of machine guns, the scream of bursting shells shot from cannon sometimes twenty miles away,<sup>2</sup> and the whine of rifle fire were some of the sound effects of trench life. Sometimes, after the enemy had been pounded for days or even months with heavy artillery barrage, the signal would be given for men to go *over the top* into *no man's land* (the area between the opposing trenches). The men would inch their way across this often short distance on their

<sup>2</sup> The Germans produced a giant siege cannon which was so developed by the end of the war that it could fire into Paris from a distance of about seventy miles.

bellies, cut the barbed-wire entanglements, and hurl grenades at the enemy. Then, using pistols and bayonets, they would try to capture his trenches. The capture often meant little, for there were other trenches behind, and the trench was often recaptured. To gain just a few yards, thousands of men courageously sacrificed their lives.

World War I, largely because of the lack of offensive weapons, was a defensive war. The lines on the western front between Germany and France, for example, changed little over a four-year period. At the start in 1914, the Germans tried to capture Paris. At the end in 1918, they were still trying to capture Paris. The Germans tried to create an effective offensive weapon by using poison gas in 1915, in violation of agreements made at the Hague Conference in 1907. In agony and terror, French troops fled from their trenches. This surprise offensive might have worked, had the Germans pressed their advantage. But French and Canadian reserves were rushed in. Using nothing but wet handkerchiefs to protect their faces, they plugged the gap in their line. Later, chemists produced many different gases which were used on both sides and troops were equipped with

A German Scouting Plane in World War I. Compare with planes today.



The British created an offensive weapon in the armored tank, which could plow through obstructions and spit fire in all directions. The airplane was introduced to warfare in World War I. But planes were not very effective offensive weapons at this time, because they were too frail, too slow, and too few. Often they were shot down by rifle fire, or by the newly invented anti-aircraft gun. The use of the airplane was at first confined to scouting the enemy, taking pictures of its position, and directing artillery fire. Sometimes individually and sometimes in squadrons, pilots would drop light bombs or fire on enemy pilots, using pistols or rifles or, toward the end of the war, light machine guns. As compared with tank and air warfare in World War II, tank and air warfare in World War I only hinted at the shape of things to come.

**Staying Power Promoted by Controls, Blockades, and Submarines.** Because it was soon obvious that World War I was going to be long-drawn-out, nations took drastic steps to build up their staying power. Many governments took over railroads, controlled production, rationed food and fuel, and fixed wages and prices. Everyone not on the fighting front was expected to do his part on the home front. It was made clear that factory workers, farmers, chemists, and engineers could win battles as well as soldiers.

The British navy played a strong role in ruining Germany's staying power. It set up a tight blockade of German and Austrian ports. Thus Austrians and Germans suffered severe shortages of such items as food, cotton, copper, rubber, and oil. In desperation, the German fleet, which had been bottled up in the Kiel Canal, ventured into the North Sea. There, in 1916, at the Battle of Jutland, off the Danish coast, more British ships were sunk than German. But the British forced the German fleet back to Kiel, where it remained until the end of the war. The British fleet practically rid all waters of German naval and merchant ships. This meant that the ships of the Allies could bring in food, war supplies, and soldiers from all parts of the British Empire and elsewhere.

To maintain their staying power and to destroy that of the Allies, the Germans made extensive use of the submarine, never before used in warfare. The stealthy submarines' deadly torpedoes destroyed so much Allied shipping that for a time the Allies feared that their cause was lost. Some means used by the Allies to combat submarine warfare were depth bombs, laying of mines, and traveling in convoys escorted by warships.

**Staying Power Promoted by Building Morale.** But staying power also requires that the people believe in the righteousness of their cause and have confidence that their



side will win. In short, morale must be high. The Allies publicized to their own people and to the world some startling German statements. For example, concerning the invasion of Belgium, the German chancellor had called the treaty guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality "a scrap of paper." Allied propaganda pictured the Germans as brutal bar-

barians ruled by a ruthless autocrat determined to destroy civilization. German propaganda charged the Allies with a devilish plot to monopolize world trade and colonies and to crush Germany in an "iron ring made up of enemy powers. Both sides told horror stories about their enemies. In Vienna one company offered for sale to either side

horror pictures with blank spaces for captions to make the enemy look like a monster. Newspapers on both sides were censored so as to stress gains rather than losses.

### **The Central Powers Win Many Battles, But Allied Staying Power Is Stronger.**

*The Well-Laid German Plan Strikes Some Snags.* The possibility of a two-front war had always been a nightmare to German militarists. That is why Bismarck had been so eager to keep on friendly terms with Russia. That is why, too, the German General Staff many years before 1914 had worked out a plan to be put into immediate effect in case a two-front war should break out. The first step of this plan was to reach Paris with lightning speed by slashing through Belgium, thus avoiding the heavy French fortifications along the French-German border. Then, with France knocked out of the war, the German armies would be transported on Germany's efficient railways to the Russian front in the east. There it was expected that the German army, the most efficient in the world, would easily defeat the Russian army, which was the largest in the world but ill equipped and poorly organized.

The brave resistance of the Belgians under King Albert gave the French time to bring up more of their troops and the British time to land an army. But not until the Germans reached the Marne River, fifteen miles from Paris, were they stopped. There, in early September 1914, a combined attack led by French commanders Joffre and Foch saved Paris. The German plan had failed. Both armies dug in in trenches which stretched for six hundred miles from Switzerland to the North Sea. The Allies were fortunate in being able to hold onto such channel ports as Calais and Dunkirk. They were unfortunate in losing to the Germans Luxembourg, Belgium, and northeastern France. This gave the Germans control of fertile fields, valuable coal and iron mines, and many factories.

An important reason for the failure of the

German plan was the invasion of East Prussia by the Russians. The Germans weakened their western front in France by withdrawing many troops to protect the eastern front. In a series of battles, one of them at Tannenberg, German troops led by Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff forced the Russians out of German territory. The Russian general was so ashamed of his sloppy strategy at Tannenberg that he shot himself. By the spring of 1915, Hindenburg held considerable Russian territory. The Russians had had some successes in the Austrian province of Galicia. But by the fall of 1915 the Austrians, aided by the Germans, drove the Russians out of Galicia and Russian Poland. Soon, both sides dug in along a front, which, when Rumania was defeated in 1916, extended nine hundred miles from Riga on the Baltic to the Black Sea.



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side will win. In short, morale must be high. The Allies publicized to their own people and to the world some startling German statements. For example, concerning the invasion of Belgium, the German chancellor had called the treaty guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality "a scrap of paper." Allied propaganda pictured the Germans as brutal bar-

barians ruled by a ruthless autocrat determined to destroy civilization. German propaganda charged the Allies with a devilish plot to monopolize world trade and colonies and to crush Germany in an "iron ring" made up of enemy powers. Both sides told horror stories about their enemies. In Vienna one company offered for sale to either side

FROM WORLD WAR I THROUGH WORLD WAR II

and Sweden, on the grounds that their ultimate destination was Germany. But soon Americans became much more than annoyed with the Germans. Americans pride themselves on hating to see the strong take advantage of the weak. Propagandists knew this. They therefore spread horrible atrocity stories, mainly untrue, of the Germans' treatment of the Belgians. Bitterness toward Germany increased when German agents tried to incite Mexico to go to war against us. There were still other reasons why Americans favored the Allies over the Germans. With Britain in control of the seas and so many countries fighting on the Allied side, most of our business and large loans went to the Allies. Many Americans therefore wanted the Allies to win.

American sympathy for the Allies increased when the German government violated our rights as a neutral (page 529) by issuing orders telling American ships when and where to sail. They would, they said, permit one American passenger ship a week to travel along a given sea lane to England. Worst of all, German submarines had been torpedoing merchant vessels of both belligerents and neutrals without warning and without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew. This violation of international law cost many American lives, including the 128 lost on the British liner, *Lusitania*. President Wilson had protested again and again. But this unrestricted submarine warfare continued almost without interruption. Finally, he asked Congress for a declaration of war, maintaining that "the right is more precious than peace" . . . and "the world must be made safe for democracy." War was declared April 6, 1917.

**The Allies Knock Out the Central Powers.** With the entry of the United States into the war, the Germans knew that they must act fast or they were finished. Their people, like those of the Allies, were war-weary. Millions were close to starvation. Peace talk was spreading rapidly among civilians and soldiers and in the Reichstag.



Yankee Doughboys Relax from Fierce Fighting in World War I and Find Comfort in Music.

Peace talk was prevalent in the Allied countries, too. But there the entry of the United States had checked declining morale. Shiploads of American food and munitions were coming in, paid for by huge loans from the United States. The submarine campaign was being ruined by the combined Allied and American navies. Three hundred thousand American troops had been landed in France by December, 1917, much to the amazement of the German General Staff. By the end of the war there were two million soldiers in the American Expeditionary Forces (A.E.F.) under the command of General John J. Pershing.

To act fast before the United States could fully mobilize its strength, General Ludendorff, in March, 1918, launched a gigantic drive against Allied forces on the western front. His armies were increased by soldiers not yet recovered from their wounds, by sixteen-year-old boys, and by troops from the eastern front no longer needed against the defeated Russians. One sledge-hammer attack after another created huge dents in the Allied line. Terrible losses were suffered on both sides. At last, the Allies woke up to the

*The Germans Inflict Terrible Losses on the Russians.* The terrible Russian defeats exposed the corrupt leadership, bad discipline, and even pro-German feeling of some Russian officers. Supplies were so low that many a Russian soldier had to wait until another Russian soldier was killed before he had a rifle to fight with. As we shall see, a revolution in 1917 caused Russia to quit the war. After only three years of fighting, Russia had over nine million casualties, far more than any other nation was to have in four years of fighting.

#### **1917: Mainly a Dark Year for the Allies.**

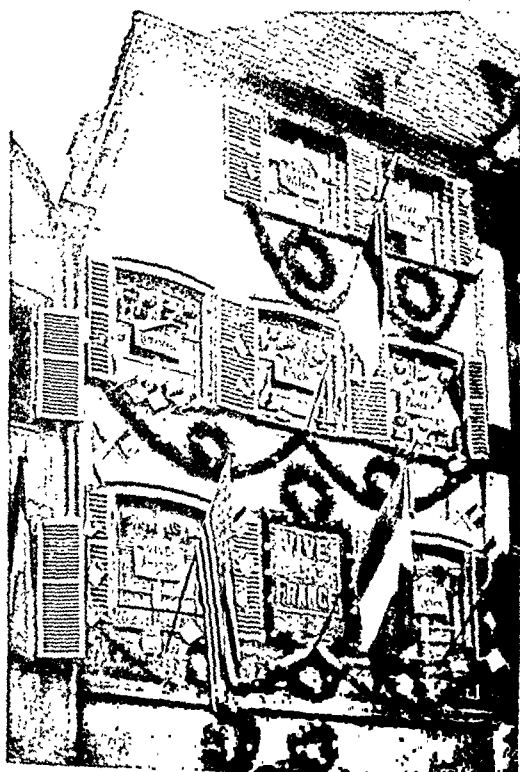
The loss of Russia was only one of many reasons why, in general, things looked dark for the Allies in 1917. They looked back sadly at their disastrous defeat by the Turks in 1915 in the Dardanelles campaign. A major purpose of this campaign had been to open up the Dardanelles in order to get munitions to the Russians. By 1916 the Central Powers had conquered not only Luxembourg, Belgium, and northeastern France, but also Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. Although the deadlock of the western front had not been broken by the Germans at Verdun, in this battle and in the counteroffensive at the Somme more than a million Allied troops were lost. And in October, 1917, the Italians had been badly beaten by Austro-German forces at Caporetto in northern Italy, losing over six hundred thousand men.

Yet all was not dark for the Allies in 1917. They looked back gladly at the capture of Germany's Far Eastern and Pacific possessions in 1914 by Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Allied troops had also conquered all the German colonies in Africa except German East Africa, which was conquered in 1918. The Allies were eager to weaken Turkey and to insure Britain's lifeline to India. Therefore, much of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria — all claimed by Turkey — had been seized. And Egypt had been made a British protectorate.

**The Entry of the United States Brightens Up the Allies' Dark Year.** The brightest

spot in the Allied picture in 1917 was the entry of the United States into the war. Few Americans in 1914 knew what the war was all about. Many had never even heard of the places mentioned in the war news. When President Wilson declared our neutrality, he had the approval of millions of Americans. But it was difficult to remain neutral. Many Americans tended to favor the countries from which they or their ancestors had emigrated. Furthermore, propagandists on both sides tried to win American sympathy. Allied propaganda was more tactful and skillful and based upon a deeper understanding of Americans.

Yet at first there was considerable annoyance with the British. Some American cargoes which they seized we did not consider contraband. They also seized American cargoes going to such neutral countries as Holland



Alsace Lorraine Celebrates Its Liberation As a Result of World War I. What has made this area one of the world's most serious trouble spots for centuries?

and Sweden, on the grounds that their ultimate destination was Germany. But soon Americans became much more than annoyed with the Germans. Americans pride themselves on hating to see the strong take advantage of the weak. Propagandists knew this. They therefore spread horrible atrocity stories, mainly untrue, of the Germans' treatment of the Belgians. Bitterness toward Germany increased when German agents tried to incite Mexico to go to war against us. There were still other reasons why Americans favored the Allies over the Germans. With Britain in control of the seas and so many countries fighting on the Allied side, most of our business and large loans went to the Allies. Many Americans therefore wanted the Allies to win.

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## ARMISTICE SIGNED, END OF THE WAR! BERLIN SEIZED BY REVOLUTIONISTS; NEW CHANCELLOR BEGS FOR ORDER; OUSTED KAISER FLEES TO HOLLAND

need for a unified command, an advantage the Germans had enjoyed since the early days of the war. French General Foch was selected Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces.

Foch permitted the Germans to wear themselves out in their offensive. Then he launched his counteroffensive in the second Battle of the Marne. Americans distinguished themselves in their first fighting in this battle at Château-Thierry. After the Marne victory, the Allies relentlessly kept pounding away and driving the Germans northward towards their own borders. Germany's allies were cracking, too. In September, Bulgaria surrendered; in October, Turkey; and on November 3, after a severe trouncing by the Italians, Austria-Hungary gave up. Throughout the Austrian Empire, subject peoples were revolting and declaring their independence. Desertions in the army, mutiny in the navy, socialist revolutions in many German states, threats of a general strike, and the flight of the emperor to Holland — all contributed to the collapse of imperial Germany. On November 11, 1918, the armistice was signed.

### The Paris Peace Settlement: Dreams Clash with Realities

In December, 1918, President Wilson set sail for Europe. He was on his way to a conference in Paris, meeting to draw up the

peace treaties ending World War I. About ten million men had been killed in this war. About twenty million had been wounded. And nearly five million were missing. Famine, massacres, diseases, and revolts had cost the lives of about ten million civilians. In one way or another the war had cost over three hundred billion dollars. These facts and many other effects of the war were known to the delegates who were meeting at the Paris Peace Conference in January, 1919. What were they going to do to try to prevent such horrible slaughter and destruction from happening again?

Woodrow Wilson had already gone on record with his views. He had called for a "peace without victory," meaning no harsh punishment for the losers which might make them seek revenge. He had said plainly: "There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages." In January, 1918, he had prepared what he considered to be a program for a lasting peace. He hoped that this program, the *Fourteen Points*, would become the war aims of the Allies. To bring an end to secret diplomacy, he recommended "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at." To protect the rights of neutrals, he suggested freedom of the seas. To reduce economic and imperialistic rivalries, he favored the lowering of tariff barriers. To prevent armament races, he advocated a reduction in armaments. To curb imperialism, he suggested "an adjustment of all colonial areas . . . in

the interests of the populations concerned." In recognition of nationalism, he recommended, for example, that Alsace-Lorraine be returned to France and that Poland be recreated as an independent nation. He further suggested that the subject peoples of the Austrian and Turkish empires determine for themselves what government they desired, a principle called *self-determination*. To prevent international anarchy, Wilson urged the formation of a League of Nations.

On Wilson's arrival in Europe, parades were held in his honor. Bands played. The streets were showered with flowers. Some streets were even given his name. For the millions who cheered him with tears in their eyes remembered that he and his country had come to their aid in their darkest days. But at the peace conference itself, idealistic Wilson faced strong opposition. The other leading delegates objected to many of his Fourteen Points. Cynical seventy-eight-year-old Clemenceau, the French delegate, is said to have ridiculed Wilson thus. "Ten Commandments were good enough for God, but Wilson has to have fourteen." Clemenceau wanted revenge. He and millions of other Frenchmen could not forget that the Germans had invaded France in 1870 and again in 1914. They wanted a peace with victory, one so severe that it would not be possible for

Germany to invade France a third time.

Prime Minister Lloyd George, the British delegate, who had waged a war on poverty in Britain (page 475), was ready to go along with some of Wilson's Fourteen Points. But he did not want anything to get in the way of advancing Britain's cause at the conference. Doggedly, he wanted to maintain the traditional British balance of power on the continent by preventing France from gaining too much at Germany's expense. He also wanted to make sure that the British Empire would get most of the German colonies. He saw the conference as an opportunity to eliminate Germany as Britain's naval and commercial competitor.

A great obstacle to Wilson's Fourteen Points was the secret treaties which the Allies had made with one another during the war. It was agreed that, if the Allies won, France would get Alsace-Lorraine and control of the left bank of the Rhine. Britain was to get most of Germany's African colonies and to share with Russia, France, and Italy Turkey's lands east of the Mediterranean. Russia was promised the Dardanelles and Constantinople. Italy's rewards were to be *Italia Irredenta* and most of the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Japan was to receive Germany's concessions in Shantung and some of Germany's Pacific islands. The delegates

The Big Four at the Peace Conference at Versailles. The decisions made by these men had important effects on the lives of millions of persons unborn at the time the decisions were made. What decisions? What effects?





of the countries which had arranged these secret deals were there to see that they were fulfilled. Thus the dreams of Wilson were clashing head on with the realities of imperialism.

To the conference had come representatives of all the victorious powers, as well as those of various groups who wanted the delegates to consider their special problems. Among these were Irish, Hindus, Negroes, and Jews. Neither Russia, which had quit the war, nor the defeated Central Powers had been invited. At first, the conference was dominated by Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando of Italy — the *Big Four*. Later, Orlando withdrew and the *Big Four* became the *Big Three*. Italy had demanded the Adriatic port, Fiume, and Wilson had refused to compromise because such an annexation would violate the principle of self-determination.

But Wilson soon found, after many heated arguments, that he had to make many compromises in order to get support for the formation of a League of Nations. He felt that ultimately such a league might correct mistakes made in the peace settlement. Of his Fourteen Points, this one was dearest to his heart. Although he had opposed secret diplomacy, the *Big Three* made the most important decisions of the conference in secret. As a compromise with Britain, he dropped the question of freedom of the seas. Nothing was done, either, about the reduction of tariffs.

### The Paris Peace Settlement Punishes the Losers and Rewards the Victors

Separate treaties were drawn up with each of the defeated powers. Together they are known as the Paris Peace Settlement. After the one with Germany — the Treaty of Versailles — was drawn up, German leaders were called in and told to sign it.

Germany was compelled to limit its army to 100,000 and its navy to a few ships and

to abolish conscription. It was forbidden to keep troops or forts on the west bank of the Rhine. Thus Wilson won a reduction in armaments, but not for the victors. Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France, which also received the use of the rich coal mines next door in the Saar Basin for fifteen years. Toward the creation of an independent Poland, Germany had to give up West Prussia and Poland. To give Poland access to the sea, the German port of Danzig was made a free city under the control of the League of Nations. Thus a strip of land called the *Polish Corridor* split Germany in two. After plebiscites in the interests of self-determination, northern Schleswig went to Denmark and part of Upper Silesia, a highly industrialized area, to Poland.

All Germany's colonies were turned over to the League of Nations, which assigned them to various victorious powers to administer until they were considered ready for independence. Such colonies — *mandates* — were actually run as any other colonies, except that reports on their administration had to be submitted to the League. The British Commonwealth got the major share of these mandates. This arrangement won the British over to strong support of a League of Nations. Britain itself got German East Africa (now Tanganyika). The Union of South Africa got German Southwest Africa. Australia and New Zealand got Germany's Pacific islands south of the equator. Japan received Germany's Pacific islands north of the equator and Germany's concessions in the Shantung peninsula. Many of these changes were in accord with the secret treaties. The Treaty of Versailles also specified that Germany was entirely responsible for the war and the damage caused by it. This is known as the *war-guilt* clause.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany's ally, had started breaking up even before the peace conference met. The treaty dictated to this empire officially broke up the Habsburg realm into the independent countries of Austria, Hungary, newly-created

Czechoslovakia, and parts of newly-created Poland and Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia had been formed out of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and some other provinces. This arrangement recognized the principle of self-determination. Yet Austria, a German nation, was forbidden to unite with Germany. Hungary was obliged to give Transylvania to Rumania, and Bulgaria to give territory to its Balkan neighbors, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Italy finally received *Italia Irredenta* and southern Tyrol, as promised in a secret treaty. Besides, in 1924, Yugoslavia yielded Fiume to Italy.

Defeated Turkey was practically pushed out of Europe by the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, in which Greece gained much. In Asia, Turkey was required to give up Transjordan, Palestine, and oil-rich Mesopotamia to Britain, and Syria and Lebanon to France. All became mandates. Again, the secret treaties had prevailed over the Fourteen Points. Because Turkey refused to accept all of the terms of this treaty, and even won a war with Greece, a new and more generous pact, the Treaty of Lausanne, was granted the Turks in 1923. This time Turkey regained its small strip in Europe, including Constantinople, and some of its territory in Asia Minor.

Like Germany, the other defeated Central Powers, except Turkey, were required to reduce their armies and pay reparations. Austria, Hungary, and Turkey, as well as the newly created countries, all had to promise that they would respect the religions and customs of minority groups within their borders.

In 1917, the Germans had dictated to the Communist government of Russia the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Russia was compelled to give up the states along the Baltic Sea, its part of Poland, the Ukraine, and some territory in the Caucasus. This cost Russia 75 per cent of its coal and iron and about 80 per cent of its factories and fertile fields. After the war, in keeping with the Fourteen Points, the Allies compelled German troops to get out of Russia. Then arrangements were

made to recognize Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland as independent nations. The peace settlement also recognized Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia from Russia. Later, Russians were to complain that the Allies had deliberately cut them off from the West by establishing a block of newly created nations from the Baltic to the Black Sea. From the Allied point of view, this arrangement was a way of living up to the self-determination policy, and, at the same time, checking the spread of communism to western Europe.

## Results of World War I: a World Hard Hit and Greatly Changed

If the peoples of the world had had an opportunity to vote on the peace treaties, they would probably have turned them down overwhelmingly. "What hand would we say that signed such a harsh peace?" exclaimed one German statesman. Germans resented the war-guilt clause, reparations, and the army of occupation to be stationed in the Rhineland for 15 years. They called the Allies "the disarming Germans," but they were enraged at the loss of territory. They denounced the mandatory system as a critical scheme to give the world's German colonies.

From the French point of view, the terms were too soft. The French felt that Litovsk proved that the Germans could be trusted. They had hoped to see the Rhineland state transformed into a free state from which Germany could not speedily recover. They had hoped to see the Rhineland state transformed into a free state from which Germany could not speedily recover. They had hoped to see the Rhineland state transformed into a free state from which Germany could not speedily recover.

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under the Polish flag, and  
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ould mean joining the League of  
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f the League was a part of the treaties.  
United States, which demanded neither  
rations nor territories, signed separate  
ties with Germany and Austria-Hungary.  
**The World Economically Hard Hit.**  
ople starving, many strikes, widespread  
employment, numerous bank and business  
failures, and industry in general just limping  
along — this was the economic picture of  
Europe after World War I. Billions had been  
spent on destruction. Now taxpayers were  
being burdened with still heavier taxes as  
countries engaged in a new and even greater  
armament race. To pay their debts, many  
European nations issued huge quantities of  
paper money, causing runaway prices. This  
inflation wiped out savings and practically  
ruined the middle class. Each nation tried  
to buy little from and sell much to other  
nations. To do this, they set up high tariffs,  
which only caused world trade to decline  
more.

The problem of war debts and reparations  
contributed to making the economic picture  
still darker. The United States had lent the  
Allies and some of the newly-created coun-  
tries, such as Finland, eleven billion dollars.  
The Allies maintained that they could only  
pay these war debts if Germany paid them  
the thirty-three billions the Germans owed

in reparations. Fin-  
Germans did not want to pay the  
and the Germans asserted that they could  
not pay. Many Americans kept insisting that  
the Allies did not want to pay the war debts,  
and the Allies asserted that they could not  
pay. The Allies made it difficult for the Ger-  
mans to pay reparations, assuming that they  
wanted to, by levying high tariffs to keep out  
German goods. The United States made it  
difficult for the Allies to pay their war debts  
assuming that they wanted to, by its high  
tariff policy.

The French, angered at not collecting f  
reparations, in January, 1923, occupied the  
great German industrial center, the Ruhr.  
When the Germans there refused to operate  
the factories, mines, and railroads, the French  
tried without success to operate them with  
their troops. Germany became almost para-  
lyzed economically. French industry suffered,  
too. The British, who wanted to keep the  
Germans prosperous as customers for British  
goods, objected to the Ruhr occupation. In  
1924 an international commission got Ger-  
many to agree to pay reparations if the an-  
nual payments were cut. France then left  
the Ruhr. After paying for a few years, the  
Germans won from another international  
commission a considerable reduction in the  
total reparations required. Then came the  
great depression of 1929. The Germans soon  
could not pay, and the Allies gave up trying  
to collect any reparations.

The United States had always maintained  
that there was no connection between repara-  
tions and war debts. However, in 1931,  
President Hoover seemed to recognize a con-  
nection when he recommended a postpone-  
ment of payment of both for one year.  
Although the war debts were not officially  
cancelled, since 1934 the United States has  
received payments only from Finland.

In the period following the war, the United  
States, Japan, and some Latin-American  
countries made big inroads into markets fo-  
merly held by Britain and Germany. By 19  
American foreign trade was twice that of

FROM WORLD WAR I THROUGH WORLD WAR II

pre-war level. Before the war, the United States had been a debtor nation. After the war, it became the world's leading creditor nation. Yet the depression of 1929 shook our industrial society, too, to its very roots. It seemed to show that no country could remain prosperous very long when standards of living in many other countries are very low.

**A World Restless Politically and Socially.** Many persons had hoped that after World War I the world would be made safe for democracy. The political picture did look brighter for a while. The autocratic German, Austro-Hungarian, and Turkish empires had been destroyed. Out of these empires and out of the Russian Empire had been created many independent republics, some of which modeled their governments on those of democratic France or Britain. Many countries gave women the right to vote. As labor groups won more representation in governments, more social legislation was passed. Throughout the world colonial peoples demanded either freedom or self-government.

Unfortunately, as so often happens after wars, democracy was soon more on the defensive than on the march. Many governments were unable to solve their serious economic problems. Soon desperate people were listening eagerly to the extravagant promises of would-be dictators that they would improve conditions.

The minds and hearts of many were greatly affected by World War I. Some felt that only deeper religious feeling could prevent a repetition of this horror. They were shocked at the intense hatreds characteristic of the intolerant new nationalism (page 396). Some devoted themselves to promoting a better understanding of other peoples through education. Others, disgusted or disheartened, became so cynical that they lost all sense of moral values. World War I had taught millions that the front lines in future wars would be everywhere. And they feared that the seeds of another war had been planted in the results of World War I. This fear stimulated a peace movement in the 1920's.

## The Peace Movement Between Two Wars (1919-1939)

**The League of Nations Strongly Influenced by the Big Nations.** In 1920, Finland and Sweden almost went to war over the Åland Islands in the Baltic Sea. The newborn League of Nations settled this dispute. It granted the islands self-government under the Finnish flag. The League also settled peacefully several other disputes involving small nations. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria. As we shall see, the League was unable to settle this dispute, or several which followed it, involving big nations. Thus it would seem that the League was usually able to settle disputes only if small nations were involved. A study of the League may help to explain why this was so.

The idea of a League of Nations had been in the minds of men for centuries (page 526). The horrors of World War I had made many persons besides President Wilson determined that a league must be formed. The purpose of the League was to "promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." Member nations pledged that they would not resort to war or engage in secret diplomacy. They promised to live up to the principles of international law and to respect treaties. There were many agencies of the League, but the Council, Assembly, and Secretariat, all with headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, were most important. In the Council, such major powers as Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan had permanent membership. A small number of non-permanent members selected from the smaller nations was elected to the Council every three years. In the Assembly, each member nation, large or small, had one vote. The League's secretarial and administrative work was handled by the Secretariat, which was a kind of international civil service. It registered treaties, collected and published information, and arranged for conferences. The Council, a kind of executive committee, was the real power in the League. The Assembly,

a kind of town meeting for the world, could hold discussions and advise the Council.

A nation might join the International Labor Organization (the I.L.O.), or the World Court, two other organizations connected with the League, without joining the League. For example, the United States joined the I. L. O., but neither the League nor the League's World Court. American isolationists feared that if we joined the Court we would eventually wind up in the League. Unlike the Hague Tribunal (page 528), which tried to settle disputes through compromise, the World Court gave decisions based upon the principles of international law (page 528). The Court could handle only cases submitted to it by the disputing nations. However, a majority of nations pledged in advance to accept the Court's decision in many types of disputes. The Court's reputation was so fine that even without a police force behind it, its decisions were never seriously challenged.

The I. L. O. studied working conditions of men, women, and children around the world. It was hoped that such studies would be used by member nations as a guide in improving standards at home. Among the I.L.O.'s recommendations were a ban on child labor, an eight-hour working day, and recognition of the right of workers to organize.

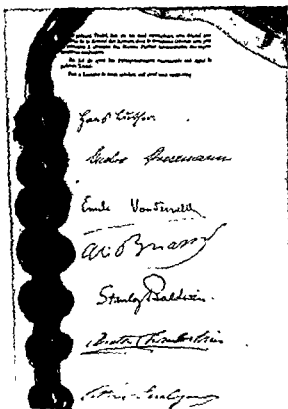
**The League Handles Social and Economic Problems and Political Disputes.** Few headlines appeared about the League's fine work in fighting famine, epidemics, vice, and the smuggling of narcotics. Without much publicity, League agencies returned war refugees and prisoners to their homes, conducted plebiscites in such disputed areas as Schleswig and the Saar Basin, and made loans available to poverty-stricken Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. They also protected minority groups and received reports on the treatment of colonial peoples in the mandates.

What *did* make the headlines was the failure of the League to settle some important international disputes. What machinery

was used to try to settle such disputes? All members of the League agreed to submit their disputes to arbitration, to settlement by the World Court, or to investigation by the Council. If the Council's decision was unanimous (except for the disputing nations), it had to be obeyed. If a disputing nation refused to accept the unanimous decision, then the League could use punishments, called *sanctions*, against it. The League might recommend that its members cut off trade or financial relations with, and eventually, if necessary, use their armed forces against the violator. If the decision of the Council was not unanimous, however, it was permissible for the disputing nations to go to war. However, they were required to wait three months. This delay was called the *cooling-off period*.

**Some Obstacles to the League's Success.** The United States never joined the League. Thus the League lacked the strong commercial and financial pressure that the mightiest nation in the world could have used against aggressors. Russia was invited to join late and was soon expelled for aggression. As we shall see, also, Japan, Italy, and Germany quit when their aggressive acts were condemned. Perhaps things might have been different if all the great powers had been members of the League from the start. Many of the little nations accused the big nations of trying to dominate the League. The losers in World War I accused the victors of using the League as a tool to keep a firm grip on the gains they had made in the war. At various times the League hesitated to use its full power for fear of antagonizing a big nation which might then quit the League. Furthermore, getting a unanimous vote in the Council was not always easy. Nor could the League compel a member nation to use its armed forces against a violator. The League itself had no international police force at its beck and call to enforce its decisions. We shall see how, step by step, the League grew steadily weaker until World War II sounded its death-knell.

**Alliances to Promote Security.** Security was sought feverishly by European nations after World War I. France feared a revived and revengeful Germany. Like France, the new nations created wholly or in part from the Austro-Hungarian Empire feared a change in the peace treaties. The losers felt that their security depended upon getting the peace treaties revised. For example, Germany wanted to build up its armed forces. In this mad search for security, the nations began forming alliances once more. In fear of an attack by Hungary and Bulgaria, their neighbors, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania formed an alliance called the Little Entente. France strongly supported this alliance and also made others with Poland and Belgium. At first not members of the League, Germany and Russia, both feeling friendless, drew up a treaty establishing cordial relations.



Signatures to the Locarno Pact, 1925. This pact gave Europe new hope. Why? Identify as many of the signatures as you can. Why did the hope soon fade?

**Peace Pacts to Promote Security.** What seemed like a big step forward in promoting security was taken at Locarno, Switzerland, in 1925. Here agreements, the Locarno treaties, were drawn up in which France, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy guaranteed the boundaries between Germany and France and between Germany and Belgium. At Locarno, too, Germany, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland agreed to settle their disputes by peaceful means only. In line with the Locarno spirit, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations in 1926.

In 1928, for the first time in history, an attempt was made to outlaw war. The Kellogg-Briand Pact, also called the Pact of Paris, stated that the nations which signed it "renounce war as an instrument of national policy." They further promised that they would settle their disputes by peaceful means only. Practically every nation in the world signed this pact. Yet it was ineffective. There was no means of enforcing it. Furthermore, the statement about renouncing war is open to many interpretations. All agreed that only offensive wars were to be considered crimes. But what nation ever admits that it fights any but defensive wars?

**Disarmament to Promote Security.** In their search for security the nations engaged in an armament race which was even bigger than the one before World War I. By creating a vicious circle in which each nation tried constantly to outdo the others, this race intensified fears which made many feel less secure. Many believed that the real road to security lay in disarmament. The United States took the first step in the direction of naval disarmament by calling the Washington Conference in 1921. Here the great naval powers and those with interests in the Pacific met. Another purpose of the conference was to safeguard the security of American interests in the Far East which were being threatened by Japanese expansion there. In 1915, while the Western powers were busy fighting the war in Europe, the

Japanese had compelled the Chinese to grant them certain economic, political, and military privileges in China. These appeared in a document called the *Twenty-One Demands*. By making China virtually a protectorate, Japan tried to close the open door.

In one of the several treaties drawn up at the Washington Conference, the following ratio was fixed for battleship tonnage: 5 (Great Britain): 5 (United States): 3 (Japan): 1.7 (France): 1.7 (Italy). To achieve this ratio, Great Britain, Japan, and especially the United States had to scrap many of their battleships. The five powers also agreed not to build any more big battleships for a period of ten years.

Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and France also agreed at this conference not to try to take over one another's Pacific possessions. They and five other nations with interests in the Far East agreed not to violate China's independence, its territory, or the open-door policy there. Japan promised to leave Shantung.

During the naval holiday on big battleships, competition set in to construct smaller craft, such as cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. To curb this competition, more naval disarmament conferences were held. None succeeded. In 1935, the Japanese, angry because they had not been granted naval equality with Britain and the United States,

announced that they would build ships of all kinds without limit. This led to an even more furious naval race. The Japanese built up heavy fortifications in their Far Eastern possessions. Even their island mandates, which the League had forbidden them to fortify, were fortified. By seizing much Chinese territory, as we shall see, the Japanese were gradually closing the open door in China. America's efforts to achieve security for its interests in the Far East were literally blasted when, in 1941, the Japanese dropped bombs on our Pearl Harbor base in Hawaii.

An attempt to bring about general disarmament was made at a Geneva disarmament conference called by the League of Nations in 1932. Here the Germans demanded that either the other nations disarm or that the Treaty of Versailles be revised to permit them to increase their army and armaments. The French said that they would consent to German rearmament only if the other powers would guarantee France's security. The other powers refused. Germany then quit the conference and the League. Then in control in Germany was the dictator, Adolf Hitler. In violation of the Treaty of Versailles, he built up Germany's military might. The armament race was on again with greater frenzy. When finally, in 1939, World War II broke out, Europe's efforts to achieve security were also literally blasted.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### **Persons to Identify and Terms to Define**

Krupps • Triple Alliance • Triple Entente • Sarajevo • Moroccan crises • Bosnia-Herzegovina • Balkan wars • preventive war • the Allies • the Central Powers • trench warfare • Battle of Jutland • "a scrap of paper" • King Albert • the battles of the Marne • Hindenburg • the Dardanelles campaign • Verdun • Battle of the Somme • the *Lusitania* • unrestricted submarine warfare • the A.E.F. • Pershing • Ludendorff • Foch • Château-Thierry • Woodrow Wilson • Paris Peace Conference 1919 • Fourteen

Points • "peace without victory" • Clemenceau • secret treaties • the Big Three • the Treaty of Versailles • the Polish Corridor • mandates • war-guilt clause • Treaty of Lausanne • Treaty of Brest-Litovsk • war debts • reparations • the Ruhr occupation • League of Nations • World Court • sanctions • Little Entente • Locarno Treaties • Kellogg-Briand Pact • Washington Conference 1921 • Twenty-One Demands • Geneva Disarmament Conference 1932 • 5:5:3 ratio

## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Make a summary of the basic causes of World War I.
2. Show specifically how each of these helped to bring on the war.
3. Discuss the (a) reasons for and (b) outcome of each of the crises preceding World War I.
4. Show how the Sarajevo Crisis led to a chain reaction.
5. Concerning World War I, discuss (a) trench warfare, (b) weapons used, (c) role of the British navy, (d) role of the German submarines.
6. What did each side do to build morale during World War I?
7. Prove by examples that in general the Germans were successful up to 1917 and unsuccessful after that.
8. Indicate what the bright spots were in the Allies' dark year, 1917.
9. For what reasons did the United States enter World War I?
10. Discuss the factors leading to the collapse of the Central Powers.
11. What was the attitude of (a) Wilson, (b) Clemenceau, and (c) Lloyd George toward the treatment of defeated Germany?
12. Prove by examples that the Fourteen Points were designed to eliminate the basic causes of war.
13. What were the obstacles in the way of the Fourteen Points?
14. What losses did each of the Central Powers suffer in the World War I peace treaties?
15. How did Russia fare in the peace settlement?
16. Indicate reasons why various nations, including the victors, were dissatisfied with the peace settlement.
17. Discuss some important (a) economic, (b) political, and (c) social problems resulting from the war.
18. Trace the problem of war debts and reparations.
19. Show why, after World War I, democracy seemed to be at first on the march and later on the defensive.
20. Show how the League of Nations was organized to promote peace.
21. Point out the difference between the World Court and the Hague Tribunal.
22. Discuss some of the achievements of the League of Nations.
23. Discuss the steps the League could take to settle international disputes.
24. Show that the League labored under many handicaps.
25. Discuss the steps taken by many nations after World War I to promote their security.
26. Prove that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was based upon noble ideals but had serious weaknesses.
27. Show how the Washington Conference of 1921 tried to promote (a) naval disarmament and (b) security in the Far East. Prove that in the long run it accomplished neither.

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Why would it be misleading to say that World War I was caused by the assassination of the archduke? Discuss fully.
2. In a sense, all the basic causes of World War I are closely related. How?
3. Perhaps no European nation was guilty of causing the war, but each of the major European powers took steps which made such a war inevitable. Prove by examples.
4. Comment on Austria's ultimatum to Serbia.
5. To many in the trenches in World War I boredom may have seemed more of an enemy than bullets. Discuss.
6. In the light of the defensive nature of World War I, the tactics used by both sides were quite logical. Explain.
7. Comment on the methods used during World War I to build morale.
8. In what respects were the Allies better equipped than the Central Powers for winning a long war?
9. What lessons may be learned by warring



- countries from Russian defeats in World War I?
10. What do you consider the most important reasons for our entrance into World War I?
  11. In many respects the biggest tragedy of the Central Powers was the entrance of the United States into the war. In what respects?
  12. A study of the causes of World War I indicates the difficulty of writing a just peace. Discuss.
  13. What would you have added to Wilson's Fourteen Points? Why?
  14. Select what you consider the three most important of the Fourteen Points. Give reasons.
  15. Show the contradictions between the Fourteen Points and the secret treaties.
  16. Do you think the Treaty of Versailles was (a) too harsh, (b) too soft? Explain.
  17. For each of the basic causes of World War I tell to what extent the peace treaties (a) eliminated it, or (b) aggravated the situation.
  18. Compare the terms of the Treaty of Versailles with those of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

What conclusions do you draw?

19. Which terms of the peace settlement do you think were bound to cause most trouble? Give reasons.
20. Comment on each of the complaints of the victors.
21. From the very beginning some said that the war debts and reparations would never be paid. Why?
22. In what respects is it unfair to say that the League was a complete failure?
23. What do you think might have helped to strengthen the League?
24. To what extent do you think alliances promote insecurity rather than security?
25. What might have been done to strengthen the Kellogg-Briand Pact? Discuss. What obstacles would stand in the way of the adoption of your suggestion?
26. Why were both the United States and Europe alarmed at the Twenty-One Demands?

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map of the world locate (a) the major war fronts of World War I or (b) the changes made by the Paris Peace Settlement.
2. Write a brief biographical sketch of an important personality to be included in a "Who Was Who in World War I."
3. Draw a cartoon of either (a) Europe as an armed camp before World War I, (b) the system of alliances before World War I, (c) a meeting drawing up secret treaties, (d) the assassination at Sarajevo, (e) trench life, or (f) a meeting of the Big Three.
4. Contribute to a committee-made calendar, illustrated if possible, of the highlights of World War I.
5. Write a book report on Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* or Sherif's *Journey's End*.
6. Co-operate with others in compiling a report

on life in any warring country during World War I. If possible, interview a person who lived in that country during the war.

7. Read in *The World's Great Speeches*, edited by Copeland, Borah's speech *The League of Nations*, and Root's speech *A Plea for the League of Nations*. Which of the two do you think had the more persuasive arguments? Why?
8. In the same source read Wilson's *Peace Without Victory* and *Declaration of War* speeches. Select five phrases from these which appeal to you. Tell why.
9. Debate: Resolved that the Treaty of Versailles was not so bad as it has been painted.
10. Collaborate in writing an imaginary conversation among (a) Wilson, (b) Clemenceau, and (c) Lloyd George on the treatment of defeated Germany.

### Summing Up

1. In your notebook write your own captions as a substitute for the paragraph captions in this chapter.

2. Write a paragraph pointing out to what extent the illustrations in this chapter summarize the chapter.

## CHAPTER 23....THE MAJOR DICTATORSHIPS BETWEEN TWO WARS

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**A Communist Dictatorship Replaces Romanoff Autocracy in Russia • Communism Introduced • The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.): a Retreat from Communism • The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) Established • Lenin Dies and Stalin Takes Over • Five-Year Plans Speed Up Russia's Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions • The Government of the U.S.S.R.: on Paper and in Practice • The U.S.S.R.'s Foreign Policy: It Changes Yet Remains Much the Same • Education, Religion, and the Status of Women in the U.S.S.R. • Mussolini Sets Up a Fascist Dictatorship in Italy • Some of Mussolini's Domestic and Foreign Policies • Hitler Replaces the Weimar Republic in Germany with a Fascist Dictatorship • Terror a Tool of the Nazi Dictatorship • Total Control of Political, Economic, and Social Life • Hitler's Foreign Policy**

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### **A Communist Dictatorship Replaces Romanoff Autocracy in Russia**

On March 14, 1917, Nicholas II, Tsar of the vast realm of Russia, sat helpless in a stalled railroad train. Hostile workers had torn up the tracks. The next day, the conservative Duma took the revolutionary step of demanding Nicholas's abdication. He abdicated. The autocratic Romanoff dynasty had lasted three centuries. What were the reasons for its downfall? For days before the railroad incident thousands of voices had been shouting in the streets of Petrograd (St. Petersburg): "We want bread!" One hundred thousand factory workers were on strike there. They joined other bread rioters in breaking into

bakeries. Soldiers sent to suppress the rioters joined them. "We want land!" thousands of peasants throughout Russia were shouting at the same time. "We want peace!" rang throughout cities and country districts alike. Soldiers shot their officers. By this time over one million soldiers had deserted the fighting front.

The Russian people had had long-standing grievances against the tsar's despotic government (page 482). By March, 1917, the war had seriously aggravated these grievances. Backward Russia, without much agricultural machinery, needed great numbers of men to run its farms. When great numbers were drafted, a food shortage developed. Food prices climbed, but wages lagged. Rus-

sia's transportation system, never very good, collapsed. This made it difficult to ship crops to the cities. Starvation spread.

Weak-willed Nicholas II seemed to be baffled by all this. He was dominated by his superstitious wife, who in turn was dominated by an immoral, illiterate, but crafty adviser, Rasputin. Evil Rasputin, whom many considered pro-German, was the real power in Russia from 1914 to 1916. In 1916 he was assassinated by a group of nobles who blamed him for the weakness, inefficiency, and corruption of the tsar's government. The tsar's government became even more hated when Rasputin's tyrannical successors practiced ruthless suppression of all critics. And shocking military defeats (page 542) had made the millions of poorly armed, poorly fed, and poorly led soldiers quite ready to listen to radical propaganda.

**A Temporary Government Fails to Establish a Moderate Democracy.** On the tsar's abdication a temporary government composed mainly of middle-class liberals was set up. Its leaders wanted Russia to become a democracy something like Great Britain or France. It provided for freedom of speech, press, and religion and for pardoning of political prisoners and exiles. But this temporary government faced many obstacles. It wanted to continue the war. Most Russians wanted peace. The temporary government had decreed that private property was not to be taken without compensation. But peasants were already seizing land and workers were already seizing factories.

To complicate matters, socialist workers had joined with soldiers to form a soviet (council) to act as Petrograd's government. Many soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants were being formed throughout Russia to take control of local governments. Representatives of these soviets meeting in Petrograd had demanded more radical changes than the temporary government was willing to grant. The pressure of these soviets compelled the middle class bit by bit to yield more and more influence in the temporary

government to members of the working class.

For a time, Alexander Kerensky, leader of the moderate socialists, became head of the government. But Kerensky, too, insisted upon continuing the war. Although a socialist, he was willing to co-operate with the middle-class liberals. Soon many reactionaries and liberals attacked him as a dangerous radical. The radical socialists, Bolsheviks (later called Communists), attacked him as a "tool of capitalistic imperialists" who was wasting thousands of Russian lives in a hopeless attempt to carry on the war.

**The Communists Succeed in Ruthlessly Seizing Power.** The following statements were made by a short, bald, bearded man, Nikolai Lenin (1870-1924), who became leader of the Communists (also called *Reds*): ". . . no oppressed class has ever come into power . . . without passing through a period of dictatorship . . .", "... the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie. . . ." Although Lenin's family was of the nobility, they were radicals. One brother had been hanged for taking part in a plot on the tsar's life. Lenin himself had been jailed and exiled. Relentless Lenin dedicated his entire life to preaching and putting into practice the ideas of Karl Marx (page 430). He became a master student of the techniques of revolution. To him compromise with the bourgeoisie was a trap for the working class. In pamphlets, books, and speeches, he propagandized for the use of violence by the working class to take over the government and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Germans helped Lenin return from exile in Switzerland by shipping him across Germany to Russia in a sealed railroad car. They hoped that through his propaganda the temporary government would be forced to make peace.

Lenin<sup>1</sup> and his fellow-Communists slowly won over many members of the many soviets throughout Russia. "Peace, land, and bread!"

<sup>1</sup> Lenin's real name was Ulianov. He had taken a false name to escape arrest as a revolutionary.

and "All power to the soviets!" became the Communist slogans. They promised, if they gained power: immediate peace, seizure of land for distribution among peasants, a fair system of food rationing in the cities, and workers in control of industry. Lenin played upon the fears of peasants and workers by warning that Kerensky and his temporary government would restore lands and factories to their owners.

Early in November the Communists staged their *coup d'état*. In this *November Revolution* they seized control of the capital, Petrograd, and arrested the leaders of the temporary government except Kerensky, who had escaped. Next, the Communists seized control of the rest of the country. Opposition was ruthlessly crushed. One group of students, for example, "was beaten, bayoneted, raised on bayonets, and shot." The Communist *coup d'état* was scarcely a people's uprising, for only a tiny minority of the population took part in it.

**The Critical Period of the Newborn Communist Government.** The newborn Communist government was so weak that its chances of survival seemed slim. Lenin himself said: "If the capitalist nations had any unity at all, we could not last a day." German armies were on the verge of taking over all Russia. In March, 1918, Lenin signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany (page 547). Although the treaty was very harsh, Lenin was so eager to get started building communism in Russia that he agreed to it.

The Allies considered Russia's withdrawal from the war treason to their cause. They were also hostile to the new government because the Communists preached a world revolution against capitalism and because of their cancellation of the foreign debts incurred by the tsar. Furthermore, millions everywhere were shocked at the brutal treatment of all those who opposed the Communist revolution. In retaliation for all this, the Allies blockaded Russia. Allied forces seized the Arctic port of Archangel and the Pacific port of Vladivostok. Later, still other Russian

territory was occupied by the Allies. The Allies also gave financial and military help to former tsarist generals and others who were resisting the Communists. These generals organized armies of people opposed to the revolution, who were called *Whites*. These armies engaged in civil war with the Red armies. By 1920, the Allies had withdrawn their troops and the Reds had succeeded in crushing the White armies. Even many Russians who hated the ruthless Reds fought the foreign armies for patriotic reasons. Many fought the Whites because they feared that landlords would reclaim their land and that the privileged classes might be restored to power.

Lenin was fanatically convinced that for the Communist regime to live its opponents, called *counterrevolutionists*, must die. A secret police, the *Cheka*, was created which engaged in a reign of terror. Socialists who opposed the Lenin brand of communism were executed, exiled, or imprisoned. So were big landlords, capitalists, priests, tsarist officers, and many liberals. Some say the victims of the Red Terror numbered a million. Among these were the tsar, his wife, and his children.

**Communism Introduced.** To Lenin, capitalism was a curse, responsible for wars and poverty. He believed in destroying the capitalist class and creating a society in which everyone was a worker. This he maintained would ultimately be a classless society in which each would work according to his ability and be rewarded according to his needs. Toward this goal he introduced communism. Factories, banks, mines, land, and railroads, for example, were taken over by the government. Profits were forbidden. Government agencies collected from the farmer whatever surplus he had left after feeding his family and animals and divided these surpluses among non-farm families. Government agencies also divided manufactured goods among farm and non-farm workers alike.

But this attempt to communize Russia in a hurry failed. Unskilled workers, inefficient

sia's transportation system, never very good, collapsed. This made it difficult to ship crops to the cities. Starvation spread.

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managers and worn-out machinery caused industrial output to decline so much that by 1921 it was only about ten per cent of that before the war. The destruction caused by the civil war and the collapse of the railroads were damaging blows to this Communist experiment. As production dropped and more and more paper money was issued, prices rose to fantastic heights. Neither factory workers nor farmers liked the idea of being paid according to their needs rather than according to what they produced. Since peasants had to turn over their surplus, they stopped producing a surplus. The government even had to use machine guns to collect crops. Then in 1921 came a terrible drought which cut down production even more. Over five million died of starvation.

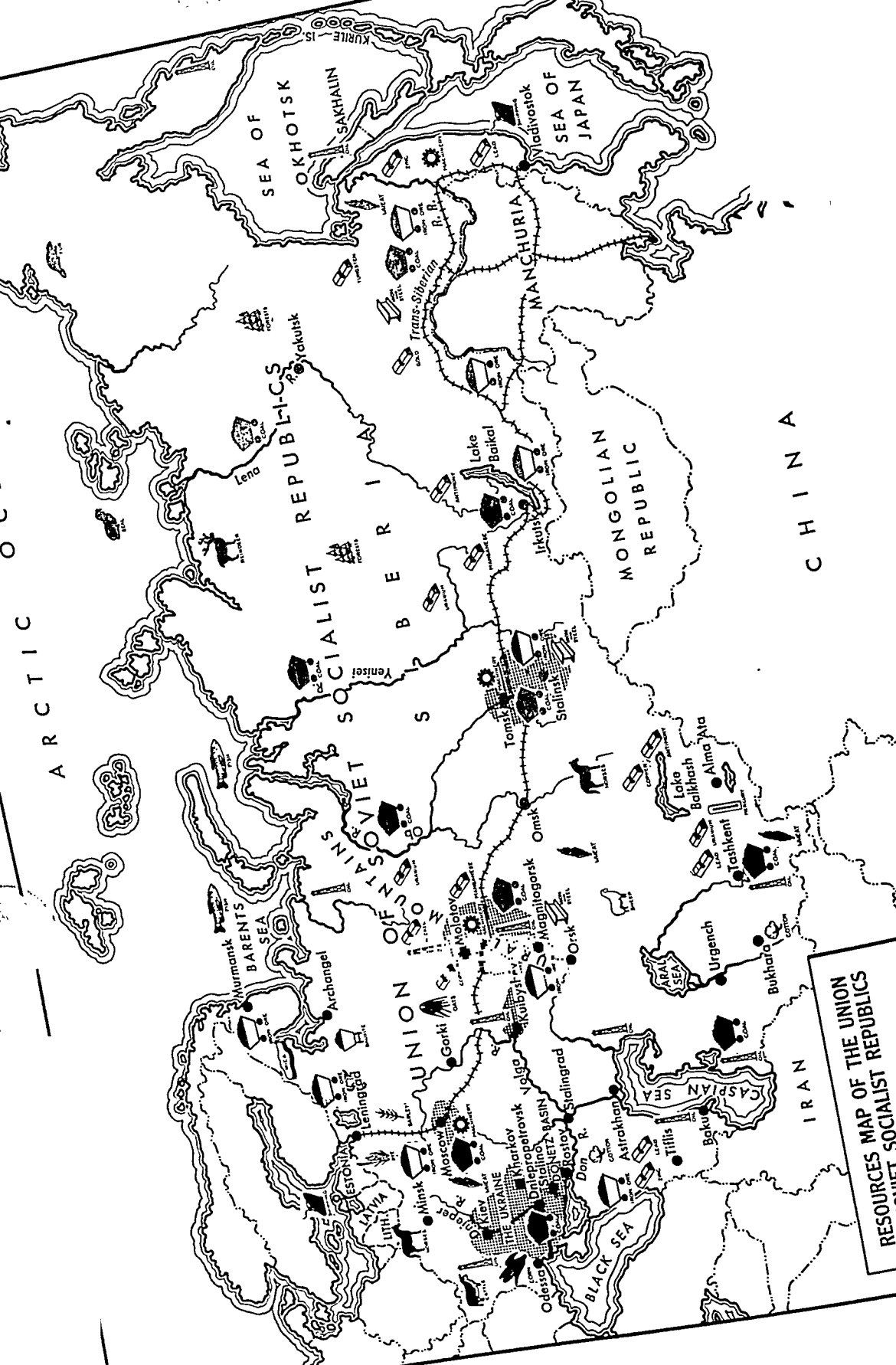
**The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.): a Retreat from Communism.** Lenin now felt that he would have to introduce a little capitalism to save communism. "We must retreat one step," he said, "to advance two." So he introduced his N.E.P., a program which encouraged some freedom of enterprise. For example, many small factories were turned back to private owners and workers were paid according to what they produced. The major industries and all natural resources continued, however, to be owned by the government. Farmers were permitted to sell their surplus, provided that they paid a tax to the government. The N.E.P. produced remarkable results in factories and on farms. But many Communists feared that it would prevent the development of a classless society, for a new class of wealthy farmers (*kulaks*) arose, as well as one of middle-class businessmen (*Nepmen*). Lenin justified N.E.P., however, as a temporary measure to increase output until communism could be completely restored.

**The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) Established.** The tsars had practiced the unpopular policy of trying to get all peoples in the Russian Empire to adopt the same language, religion, and customs. Learning a lesson from this, the Communists

encouraged local areas to preserve their own languages and their distinctive songs, dances, and art. In 1922, the Soviet Socialist Republics united with other Soviet Socialist Republics, such as the Ukraine and White Russia, to form a federal government called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). Today there are sixteen such republics in this union. Like the states in the United States, on paper at least, each of these republics has much power in administering such local institutions as schools and hospitals. However, the central government at Moscow has most of the power. It handles, for example, economic, military, and foreign affairs.

**Lenin Dies and Stalin Takes Over.** There is a glass-topped coffin in a huge red and black marble tomb in Moscow's Kremlin, headquarters of the U.S.S.R. In it lies the embalmed body of Lenin, *the father of Bolshevism*.<sup>2</sup> Pilgrimages are made to this shrine from all over Russia. In Lenin's honor Petrograd is now called Leningrad. His likeness appears on medals, stamps, and all kinds of souvenirs. For millions of Russians venerate him as if he were a saint. When he died in January, 1924, two men, Trotsky and Stalin, competed to be his successor. Dynamic Trotsky, who had been chief aid to Lenin and had organized the Red army, was an eloquent orator with a brilliant mind. But his vanity and constant criticism of fellow-Communists antagonized them. Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) was slow-speaking, shrewd, and strong-willed. Extremely cynical, he once said: "Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood." His assumed name, Stalin, means "man of steel." Trotsky had preached a world-wide revolution against capitalism. Stalin, on the other hand, was determined to concentrate on building socialism in Russia. By engaging in crafty political intrigues and using violence, Stalin won control of the Communist party and conse-

<sup>2</sup> It is said that when Lenin's body began to decay a statue replica was quietly substituted for it in the coffin.



RESOURCES MAP OF THE UNION  
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

managers, and worn-out machinery caused industrial output to decline so much that by 1921 it was only about ten per cent of that before the war. The destruction caused by the civil war and the collapse of the railroads were damaging blows to this Communist experiment. As production dropped and more and more paper money was issued, prices rose to fantastic heights. Neither factory workers nor farmers liked the idea of being paid according to their needs rather than according to what they produced. Since peasants had to turn over their surplus, they stopped producing a surplus. The government even had to use machine guns to collect crops. Then in 1921 came a terrible drought which cut down production even more. Over five million died of starvation.

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**Lenin Dies and Stalin Takes Over.** There is a glass-topped coffin in a huge red and black marble tomb in Moscow's Kremlin, headquarters of the U.S.S.R. In it lies the embalmed body of Lenin, the father of Bolshevism.<sup>2</sup> Pilgrimages are made to this shrine from all over Russia. In Lenin's honor Petrograd is now called Leningrad. His likeness appears on medals, stamps, and all kinds of souvenirs. For millions of Russians venerate him as if he were a saint. When he died in January, 1924, two men, Trotsky and Stalin, competed to be his successor. Dynamic Trotsky, who had been chief aid to Lenin and had organized the Red army, was an eloquent orator with a brilliant mind. But his vanity and constant criticism of fellow-Communists antagonized them. Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) was slow-speaking, shrewd, and strong-willed. Extremely cynical, he once said: "Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood." His assumed name, Stalin, means "man of steel." Trotsky had preached a world-wide revolution against capitalism. Stalin, on the other hand, was determined to concentrate on building socialism in Russia. By engaging in crafty political intrigues and using violence, Stalin won control of the Communist party and conse-

<sup>2</sup> It is said that when Lenin's body began to decay a statue replica was quietly substituted for it in the coffin.



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In general, the First Five-Year Plan suc-  
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Women on a Russian Collective Farm Pressing  
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troy dam on the Dnieper River for generating  
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Yet the plan was far from a complete suc-  
cess. The unskilled laborers produced a poor  
quality of goods. Some industries did not  
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ment planning agency. Bad roads and rail-  
roads held up distribution. Farm surpluses  
had to be exported in order to get money to  
import machinery and to pay the salaries  
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result, millions of Russians went hungry. Mil-  
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by the government that by 1933 only a tiny

centage of business was privately owned. The kulaks who resisted collectivization had their lands seized. Many thousands of these were forced to work on government projects in Siberia. Many workers were unhappy because they were compelled to work at a mad pace under strict discipline. Those who could not keep up the pace were ridiculed publicly. Those who produced most were praised publicly and paid more. Such payment, according to accomplishment rather than need, was contrary to Communist theory. Government officials, engineers, and managers received higher salaries. Thus many felt that a new privileged class was being created. This was certainly no way to create a classless society!

The Second Five-Year Plan was designed in part to make the people more contented. Although the building up of heavy industries was continued, more stress was placed on producing goods that people could use and enjoy. The spirit of the plan was indicated by the fact that it was no longer considered capitalistic for a woman to wear lipstick. But, in 1935, Russia began to fear possible aggression from the anti-Communist dictatorships in Japan and Germany. Then Russia shifted its production emphasis from merchandise for the people's use to munitions for defense.

Nevertheless, by 1937, Russia had double-tracked the Trans-Siberian Railroad, completed the Moscow subway, and built canals such as the Volga-Don. Great industrial plants were constructed in Siberia and the Urals, areas difficult for an enemy to attack. In 1937, Russian industry was producing eight times as much as in 1927. However, standards of living had not improved much. The housing problem had become more serious as more and more people moved to cities to work in factories. And the pressure on workers and managers to increase production mounted. In fact, the legal code made mismanagement in industry a greater crime than murder. Although most Russian workers belong to labor unions, they never go on strike. Strikes are considered treason. The chief purpose of Soviet unions seems to be

not so much to protect the interests of the workers as to increase production.

**The Government of the U.S.S.R.: on Paper and in Practice.** On paper, the government of the U.S.S.R. resembles that of many democracies. Its parliament, called the *Supreme Council*, is made up of two houses equal in power. One of these represents the people directly and the other represents the various nationalities in the republics and other self-governing areas of the U.S.S.R. The Supreme Council makes laws and elects such executive groups as the *Council of People's Commissars* (a kind of cabinet). This Council has so much executive power and influence over law-making that the actual administration of the government is in its hands.

By 1936, the Russians were claiming that industry and agriculture had become almost one hundred per cent socialized. They felt so confident of the elimination of opposition groups that they adopted a new and more democratic constitution. Now the vote was given to all citizens over eighteen, including the formerly barred priests, nobles, kulaks, and businessmen. Now, unlike formerly, farmers had the same representation as city workers. Other changes included the adoption of the secret ballot and direct, rather than indirect, election of officials. Citizens were guaranteed freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and republics, in theory at least, the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. Freedom of worship was guaranteed, but so was the right to propagandize against religion.

Persons were even permitted to go into business for themselves, provided that they did not profit from the work of others. They were entitled to own their own homes and personal property and to will their savings to their heirs. As under capitalism, workers were given an incentive by being paid in accordance with how much and how well they produced and the type of jobs they held. All citizens were guaranteed jobs, annual vacations with pay, education, and care in

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**Five-Year Plans Speed Up Russia's Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions.** To  
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Members of the Communist party are required to be atheists. The Communists call all organized religion a drug used by capitalist nations to keep their people from revolting against evil conditions. The established Orthodox Church had been one of the tsar's most loyal supporters (page 250). The Communists separated church and state and seized all church property. Many churches then became museums, schools, or factories. Although people were permitted to worship, they were often ridiculed for doing so. All religious groups were warned not to try to influence the politics, education, economic life, or even the conduct of their people. In the late 1930's, the government adopted a more tolerant policy. Perhaps this was be-

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In the Soviet Union, fifty per cent of the doctors are women. Many women also hold such important positions as generals in the army, foremen in factories, ambassadors, and judges. Millions of women also work at menial jobs in factories and even on construction projects. This is made possible because the government provides nurseries and community kitchens in factories, on collective farms, and elsewhere. Being a worker is considered more important than being a wife or mother.

It seems clear that the government tries to maintain total control of practically every phase of human activity in the U.S.S.R. Such a government is called *totalitarian*. We shall now study other totalitarian governments. All totalitarian governments have certain similarities. These include a one-party system, secret police, few freedoms, and strict censorship. In these governments, the rights and interests of the individual are completely



*The Path of the Destroyer*

How would you represent this idea in a cartoon?

sickness and old age. These guarantees applied to all regardless of sex, race, religion, nationality, or occupation. Among the duties listed in the Constitution of 1936 were the obligations to work and to render military service. However, constitutional guarantees are not very significant as long as there are secret police, a powerful Red army under Communist party control, government-controlled newspapers, and the fear of severe punishment for questioning Communist principles.

Judging the Russian government without studying the Communist party would be like judging a house entirely by its outside paint job. The Communist party is the only party permitted. Practically every important Russian official and most of the lesser officials belong to the party. Actually, Russia is a dictatorship of the Communist party. Yet only three per cent out of a population of over 215,000,000 have been permitted to become members of the party. It is difficult to get into the party and easy to be put out. Children are trained for membership in special youth organizations and the strictest investigation of a candidate is made. Members have been expelled for disobeying even minor party rules and executed for challenging party principles. Each member is a kind of watchdog who acts as the eyes and ears of the party, dedicated to preserving communism in Russia. Once party policies have been decided upon, each member must follow them. He is also expected to propagandize the people for communism and for the party's decisions. Delegates are elected to a Communist convention which is controlled by a small group called the *Presidium*. And it was Joseph Stalin, member of the Presidium, who controlled it, the party, and Russia. In 1953, Malenkov succeeded him. Bulganin then succeeded Malenkov.

**The U.S.S.R.'s Foreign Policy: It Changes, Yet Remains Much the Same.** "Be on your guard! You are surrounded by enemies," warned one speaker at a soviet council many years ago. This suspicion of

capitalist countries is the keynote of Russian foreign policy. The Red government reminds Russians constantly of the aid the Allies gave the Whites during the civil war. Yet the capitalist countries are suspicious of the Russians, too, and with good reason. For in 1919, the Russians formed a group, called the Third International, to spread world-wide communism. They succeeded in making many converts to communism in Italy, Germany, and Hungary. In general, their program was a failure, however. By 1921, they were so eager for foreign trade, technical advisers, and loans that they promised to cease their propaganda policy. By 1924, many countries were trading and exchanging ambassadors with the U.S.S.R. The United States, one of the last nations to recognize the U.S.S.R., did so in 1933.

About this time, too, the U.S.S.R. signed non-aggression treaties with many European and Asiatic countries. France, which, like Russia, feared Germany, helped to make Russia a member of the League of Nations in 1934. Russia had built up such a strong army and air force by this time that France was eager to sign a military alliance with the Russians. In the words of one cynical observer: "Russia's pariah (outcast) days are over. She can bomb with the best." The Russians were eager for the French alliance because Germany and Japan (and later Italy) had formed an anti-Communist pact.

However, the Russians failed in an attempt to get all the western democracies in the League to join with Russia in blocking German expansion (Chapter 25). The democracies were more fearful of Russian communism than of German expansion. This led to renewed Russian suspicion of the West. In 1939, Russia and Germany shocked the world by signing a non-aggression pact. By signing such a pact, the Russians enabled the Germans to become more aggressive toward the West. During World War II, Russia and the western democracies, however, were compelled to fight as allies. After the war, Russian hatred of capitalist countries became more



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subordinated to the master plan of the government. People are expected to give unquestioning obedience to a dictator and his assistants. This is in contrast with a truly democratic government, which expects loyalty but encourages many opinions and a questioning attitude among its citizens. We shall see, however, that all totalitarian governments are not exactly alike.

## A Fascist Dictatorship Is Born in Italy

"Long live Lenin!" was the cry heard in Italian cities after World War I. As in Russia, workers were seizing factories and peasants were seizing lands. But Italy did not go Communist. Inexperience and inability to get raw materials compelled the workers to give up the seized factories. At this time, bands of men who called themselves *Fascists* announced that they were going to save Italy from communism. The word *fascist* comes from the name given by the ancient Romans to a symbol of the authority and might of the Roman government. This symbol is a bundle of rods wrapped around a battle-ax. The Fascists clubbed and shot Communists and socialists. They kidnapped some and poured castor oil down their throats. The radicals struck back and a small-scale civil war raged. But the weak government did nothing. Step by step, the Fascists grew stronger and the radicals weaker. In 1921 a Fascist political party was organized. Party members wore black shirts and gave one another a raised open-palm salute. They also displayed their unity by frequent parades, by singing their special song, and by repeating slogans, such as: "Believe! Obey! Fight!"

**Who Were These Fascists?** Many were war veterans who had returned to find profiteers making fortunes, prices high, factories closing down, and jobs almost impossible to get. Many were fiery nationalists and imperialists who were enraged because the Italians had not received as much in the peace treaties as they had been promised

(page 546). Some were militarists who wanted a bigger army and more political influence. Some became Fascists because they blamed Italy's post-war troubles on the bribe-taking, inefficient parliamentary government headed by King Victor Emmanuel III. Much money to support the Fascist movement came from wealthy businessmen and landlords. They were terrified at the threat of communism. They were worried about Italy's unbalanced budget, cheap paper money, numerous strikes, and declining foreign trade. Fascism stood for the protection of property rights, strong nationalism, militarism, and imperialism, suppression of all opposition, and a one-party dictatorship.

**Who Was the Leader of the Fascists?** Strangely enough, the leader of the socialist-hating Fascists was a one-time socialist, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945).<sup>3</sup> He had once written socialist editorials advocating the violent overthrow of capitalism, preaching internationalism and democracy, and condemning imperialism, militarism, and nationalism. However, a few months after the start of World War I, his opinions began to change. He wrote editorials (paid for with French money, it is said) demanding that Italy enter the war. The socialists then dropped him from the party. After his release from the army because of wounds, Mussolini began bringing together the various discontented Fascist groups into a well-knit organization.

Mussolini, whose heroes were Julius Caesar and Napoleon, knew all the tricks of showmanship. This short, bald man with a barrel chest and jutting jaw would assume dramatic postures when addressing crowds. With arms folded or on hips, with a scowl on his face and eyes flashing, he would stir listeners with words shot from his mouth as if from a machine gun. In a chorus the aroused crowds would shout: "*Viva il duce!*" (Long live the leader!) Mussolini constantly propagandized

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, the early Fascist program included many socialistic ideas.

Mussolini's Black Shirts  
After Their Victorious  
March on Rome, 1922.  
What factors explain  
the success of this  
march?



for a government in which the people would give blind obedience to a leader (himself) who would represent the state and make all decisions. He showed utter contempt for democracy. Said he: "Fascism . . . affirms . . . the . . . inequality of man."

To win support he promised all things to all groups, even though these promises were sometimes contradictory. He pledged that he would make the Mediterranean Sea an Italian lake as it had been in the days of the ancient Roman Empire. He promised further to end corruption, bring about order, discipline, economy, and efficiency, and rid Italy of radicalism forever.

**How Did the Fascists Get Into Power?**  
In October, 1922, Mussolini gave the signal for the Fascists from many parts of Italy to march on Rome in order to seize control of the government. In this "march on Rome" many, including Mussolini, took the train. To prevent resistance to his *coup d'état*, Mussolini had previously pledged his loyalty to the monarchy and the Church, two institutions which earlier in his career he had condemned. It was a *coup d'état* in which the supposed victims were part of the plot, for the king and many military and civil officials were sympathetic to the Black Shirts. The king made

Mussolini Prime Minister without consulting parliament.

**How Did Mussolini Make Himself Master of Fascist Italy?** "Imagine an Italy in which 36,000,000 should all think the same . . . and you would have a madhouse, or rather a kingdom of utter boredom or imbecility," wrote Mussolini in 1912. Yet from 1922 to 1943 as dictator of Italy, he tried hard to make all Italians "think the same." As Prime Minister, he persuaded the frightened parliament to make him dictator until the end of 1923. Then in 1923, to hold on to his dictatorial power legally, he pushed through an election law which made it certain that in the election of 1924 and thereafter Fascists would win control of parliament. Next, he began turning Italy into a complete Fascist state. Force was used to eliminate whatever opposition remained. Some opponents were rounded up by secret police, given secret trials in which secret witnesses testified against them before judges whose only qualification was that they were Fascists. None but the Fascist party was permitted. Teaching, textbooks, newspapers, radio, and even mail were censored. School children were drilled to repeat: "Mussolini is always right." King and parliament became mere fronts for

Fascist power. No wonder Mussolini could say: "We have buried the decaying corpse of liberty!"

Mussolini was determined to control Italy's economic life, too. He therefore banned strikes, lockouts, free labor unions, and free employers' associations. He substituted for such free organizations compulsory organizations called *corporations*. For each industry or occupation there was a separate corporation. In each corporation, employer and employee representatives were compelled to discuss their differences and make contracts on working conditions and pay. They also made suggestions for planning and increasing production. Actually most representatives were Fascists and the employers, many of whom had given Mussolini financial backing, were favored.

Thus Italy was really a dictatorship of the Fascist party under the leader, Mussolini. Advising the leader was the *Fascist Grand Council* of about twenty members. Its members held the most important executive positions and in most matters acted as the real parliament of Italy. Throughout Italy there were thousands of local Fascist organizations, each with its own local leader. Party membership, as in Russia, was considered a great honor. There were youth groups for different age levels, beginning at the age of eight. These were given military training and drilled in Fascist beliefs. Even though Mussolini stressed motherhood, large families, and home life for women, there were Fascist organizations for girls, too.

**What Were Some of Mussolini's Domestic and Foreign Policies?** In the first ten years of Mussolini's dictatorship, fascism seemed successful to many. The budget was balanced. Businessmen benefited by the high tariffs and financial aid given certain industries. Some swamps were drained; scientific agriculture was encouraged; and electricity was brought to some farm areas. Jobs were created in the new armament industries and through the construction of roads, hydroelectric plants, and other public works. Fas-

cists boasted that illiteracy had been reduced, that cities were cleaner, and that the trains were now running on time.

Mussolini settled the old quarrel between the Italian government and the Church (page 480). In 1929, he signed a treaty with the Pope recognizing him as the ruler of a tiny independent state called *Vatican City*. The agreement also recognized the Roman Catholic Church as the established church of Italy. In compensation for giving up its claims to Rome, the papacy received a sum of money. The Italian government also promised to pay priests to give religious instruction in Italian schools and to recognize church control over marriage and divorce. No longer was the Pope "a prisoner of the Vatican."

But in the last ten years of Mussolini's dictatorship, Italy's situation grew steadily worse. Unemployment rose and so did taxes and prices. The standard of living fell and so did the birth rate. Italians were obliged to import much more than they exported. To increase the gold supply, a patriotic appeal was made to women to turn in their wedding rings. Although the corporate state tried to make Italy self-sufficient by careful planning of production, it failed. Mussolini then employed two age-old techniques to make the people forget their economic grievances. First, he started a campaign to make scapegoats of a minority group, the Jews. He appealed to the national pride of Italians by telling them that they were a superior race and that Italian Jews were not really Italians. Jews were barred from schools and important jobs. Many were exiled. Intolerance toward Jews which sometimes results in such persecution is called *anti-Semitism*.

Mussolini's second technique designed in part to divert the people, was an aggressive, imperialistic foreign policy. To support this program he built up a big army, navy, and air force whose costs only aggravated Italy's serious economic problems. He had always wanted to make the Adriatic and the Mediterranean Italian lakes by acquiring islands and seacoasts. He told Italians that such ex-

**BAVARIA IN REVOLT, PROCLAIMS LUDENDORFF DICTATOR;  
ITS MONARCHIST FORCES REPORTED MARCHING ON BERLIN;  
CAPITAL CRIES TREASON AND MASSES TROOPS FOR DEFENSE**

### LEFT LEADS A FLIGHTER IN CAPT. AMUNDSEN THE FLIGHT TO POLE

**THE**

**M. S. HERSPET GIVES  
\$50,000,000 TRUST  
FOR AN ORPHANAGE**

[illegible]

#### Anti-Smoking Pledge

**Miller's Famous Salad Is So Wonderful at Parties**  
**Now Each Table Filled by Means of Dispenser**

Patented, October 20, 1903. The Miller's Famous Salad Dispenser is the only one of its kind in the world. It is the only one that will keep the salad fresh and crisp for hours. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming watery. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming soggy. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming stale. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming rancid. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming sour. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming bitter. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unpleasant. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unappetizing. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming inedible. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unpalatable. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unwholesome. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unclean. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unhygienic. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unattractive. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unappealing. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming uninteresting. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unexciting. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unentertaining. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unenjoyable. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unpleasant. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unappetizing. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming inedible. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unpalatable. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unwholesome. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unclean. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unhygienic. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unattractive. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unappealing. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming uninteresting. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unexciting. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unentertaining. It is the only one that will keep the salad from becoming unenjoyable.

Meeting Scheduled by  
Franchise of the M.B.

pansion would get them necessary raw materials which Italy lacked, new markets, and places for Italy's large population to colonize. In the 1920's, Mussolini's foreign policy had been fairly peaceful. Italy had acquired Fiume in 1924 by agreement with Yugoslavia, and Albania had become a virtual Italian protectorate in 1926 without bloodshed.

But in the 1930's, Mussolini made demands on France for such Mediterranean lands as Nice, Corsica, and Tunis and on Britain for the island of Malta. Much blood was shed when, as we shall see, he invaded Ethiopia in 1935, sent Italian troops to fight in a Spanish Civil War in 1936, and annexed Albania in 1939. After Italy's defeat in World War II, Mussolini was murdered by his own people and Italy became almost a wasteland. Fascism, which had started out as a movement to destroy communism, had had the opposite effect. In 1945 there were more Communist party members in Italy than in any other country in the world.

## A Fascist Dictatorship Replaces a Republic in Germany

One fall night in 1934, two hundred thousand Germans wearing brown shirts stood in rigid formation in a field flooded by searchlights, equipped with loudspeakers, and decorated with 20,000 flags. Suddenly trumpets blared. An unsmiling man with a little mustache, wearing a crumpled felt hat and a trench coat, walked briskly to the speaker's platform. He was flanked by a guard of men wearing black shirts marked with a white

skull emblem. In a shrill, fanatical voice the speaker poured forth words of hate against all whom he called the enemies of Germany. Frequently, as though hypnotized, his listeners applauded him with cries of: "Heil Hitler!" Two hundred thousand arms with hooked cross (swastika) emblems on the sleeves were raised in an open-palm salute. Many such meetings were held during the years when Adolf Hitler was dictator of Germany (1933-1945). He had succeeded in making his many Brown Shirts (storm troopers) and his Black Shirts (his special guard, called *S.S. troops*) lose their individuality and think alike. He had done the same with a good portion of the German people. Throughout Germany, "Heil Hitler!" was the standard greeting.

**Who Was Hitler?** Adolf Hitler, who was born in 1889 in Austria, could not get along with either his father or his teachers. After being denied admission to an art school in Vienna, he became a house painter. Whenever he lost his job, which happened often, he blamed it on Jews and socialists. Fighting in the German army in World War I, he became a corporal, was gassed, and received the Iron Cross for bravery. After the war, he became a German army spy to check up on meetings of radical workers. In 1920, he helped organize a group similar in its aims to the Fascist party in Italy. It came to be known as the National Socialist party—Nazi for short. Under his shrewd leadership and stirred by his rousing speeches, the Nazi party gained many members. Like Mussolini's party, Hitler's party had its special

symbol (the swastika), its anthem, its salute, its slogans, its parades, and its rallies. Like Mussolini, Hitler had a personal army, the Brown Shirts. These men would club mercilessly anyone who heckled or tried to break up a Nazi party meeting. They were encouraged to use bloody methods to break up meetings of socialists and Communists. In 1923, the Nazis, led by Hitler and General Ludendorff, failed in an attempt to overthrow the German Republic. Imprisoned for this attempt, Hitler spent his time writing a book, called *Mein Kampf*, which was required reading for Germans after Hitler became dictator. *Mein Kampf* is actually Hitler's program for building a Fascist Germany and achieving world domination.

**What Were the Problems of the Republic Hitler Finally Replaced?** As we know, after the Kaiser fled in 1918, a republic (the *Weimar Republic*) was set up in Germany. Its very democratic constitution established ministerial responsibility and gave the vote to all men and women over twenty. The initiative and the referendum gave them much direct democracy. Freedoms were guaranteed. Compulsory public education to the age of eighteen was provided for.

But a successful republic requires the active support of all citizens. And few Germans believed in their democratic republic. Germans had long been drilled in the traditions of autocracy and militarism by such men as Frederick the Great and Bismarck. Violent attacks on the republic were made by Communists, monarchists, militarists, and, as we have seen, Fascists. Many government officials were holdovers from the Kaiser's day and they did their best to sabotage the republic. Government leaders who believed in the republic were not always firm enough in suppressing disloyal groups. Furthermore, throughout Germany the republic was denounced for accepting the hated Treaty of Versailles.

The Weimar Republic had serious economic troubles, too. Returning soldiers could not find jobs because of the sharp drop in

domestic manufacturing and foreign trade. High tariffs abroad cut down on Germany's exports. Reparations payments burdened the country. When France occupied the Ruhr (page 548), more industries had to shut down and the already bad inflation grew much worse. In that year, 1923, one American dollar would buy four trillion German marks. (Before the war the mark had been worth about twenty-four cents.) Those who suffered most from this situation were the middle class, mainly small businessmen, white-collar workers, and persons living on pensions or other fixed incomes.

From 1924 to 1929, however, it looked as though the Weimar Republic would survive after all. Inflation was checked, the budget balanced, the Ruhr occupation ended, and foreign credit from the United States and Great Britain obtained. Germany ceased to be an outcast, for the republic was admitted to the League of Nations and invited to sign such agreements as the Locarno Pacts. But in 1933, Hitler and his Nazis overthrew the Weimar Republic.

**How Did Hitler Overthrow the Weimar Republic?** The worldwide depression of 1929 helped to give the deathblow to the Weimar Republic. The republic just could not seem to solve its economic problems. Therefore, the Germans began to look for other leadership. Many became Communists, but still more became Nazis. For Hitler, like Mussolini, promised all things to all groups. The very name *National Socialist* was designed to win over nationalists and workers. Big industrialists and landowning Junkers were promised that communism and socialism would be completely wiped out, and workers taught obedience. Big industrialists, such as Thyssen and Stinnes, helped greatly to finance Hitler's big rallies and uniformed storm troopers. Little businessmen were promised that Hitler would protect them against the competition of large department stores. Professional groups, such as doctors, were promised that the competition of Jews would be eliminated. In fact, members of

middle class, the main victims of inflation, proved to be Hitler's strongest supporters. The unemployed were promised jobs and loans on capitalists.

Hitler's greatest appeal was to nationalists, militarists, and imperialists in all classes. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler discussed what has been called the *big lie technique*. He stated in effect that if a lie is big enough and told often enough, the average person (for whom Hitler had contempt) would believe it. Perhaps his greatest lie was his preaching that the Germans are members of a pure master race called *Aryan*. (The Germans, like most Europeans, are members of the white race, and there is no such thing as a master race or an Aryan race.) Hitler proclaimed that other peoples were inferior, fit only to serve the Germans. As the leader (*der Fuhrer*), he promised to build a Greater Germany of which Germans, no matter where they lived, would be a part. In this connection, he declared that he would unite German-speaking Austria with Germany, a union forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles.

Hitler made the Treaty of Versailles one of his chief targets. He promised that he would not respect the war-guilt clause, the loss of Germany's colonies and European territory, or the limitation on German armament. Hitler knew that when hate enters the heart, reason often leaves the mind, and that an unreasoning people are easily led. That is one reason why he fanned the flames of anti-Semitism. He comforted German nationalists by telling them that Germany had not really lost World War I, but had been sold out by Jews and radicals on the home front. He asserted that German Jews did not belong in Germany because they were not pure Germans. In the same breath he would denounce Jews as communists and capitalists. As dictator, Hitler was to make wider use of the scapegoat technique against Jews than any other ruler in history.

In 1925, the first president of the Weimar Republic, Ebert, a Social Democrat (moderate socialist), died. He was succeeded by the

Junker General von Hindenburg of World War I fame. When Hindenburg ran for re-election in 1932, his opponent was Hitler. Hitler lost. But he polled almost fourteen million votes. Although the Nazis did not get a majority in the Reichstag, they were the largest single party there. None of the chancellors appointed by Hindenburg could command a majority long enough to remain in power. Then the aged Hindenburg, who died soon after, felt compelled to appoint Hitler chancellor. In hopes of obtaining a majority for his Nazi party, Hitler called an election. In the campaign, the Nazis, led by one of Hitler's chief aides, Hermann Goering, beat up the opposition, broke up their meetings, and denied them the use of radio and newspapers. Then suddenly, one night just before election day, the Reichstag building burned. The Nazis blamed the Communists for it. But it is now quite certain that the Nazis set the Reichstag fire themselves. They hoped that voters would be so infuriated against the Communists that they would vote for the Communists' strongest enemy, the Nazis. The Nazis polled a huge vote but not a majority. Only by denying the Communist delegates their seats and by getting the support of a party made up of Prussian Junkers did the Nazis get their majority. Shortly afterward, the Reichstag voted dictatorial powers to Hitler and adjourned. The few Reichstag members who were reluctant to do this were quickly convinced by the gun-carrying Brown Shirts.

**How Did Dictator Hitler Run His Totalitarian State?** "Moral codes are made for the stupid and inferior" "Adolf Hitler is the greatest German of all time" "The idea of peace . . . may be quite good, after the supreme race has conquered and subdued the world." These statements, by Hitler or by other Nazis, tell a great deal about the Nazi dictatorship.

**Terror a Tool of the Nazi Dictatorship.** In Nazi Germany, aged Jews were compelled to scrub streets on their hands and knees while Brown Shirts stood over them with



Visitors Viewing the Results of the Reichstag Fire. Why did the Nazis encourage such visits?

clubs. Jewish-owned shops were boycotted or wrecked. Ultimately most Jews lost all their property. Synagogues were burned to the ground. Jews and Christians with some Jewish blood were barred from the professions and fired from their jobs. Jews lost their citizenship. Many of the world's most famous writers, musicians, and scientists, including Albert Einstein, sought refuge in other lands. By the end of World War II, six million Jews had lost their lives in Nazi-held lands. Many of these were sent to concentration camps. There they were deliberately starved, infected with disease, placed in deadly gas chambers, or burned to death in specially constructed ovens. Some were used as guinea pigs in medical experiments which were more savage than scientific.

Terror was also the tool which was used to get rid of liberals, socialists, Communists, and even Nazis who were suspected of challenging the Führer's authority. The main instrument of terror was the secret police, the Gestapo, headed by a gentle-looking man named Himmler. Neighbors were encouraged to spy on one another and children, to spy on their parents.

**Total Control of Political and Economic Life.** Germany became a dictatorship of the

Nazi party. The Nazi flag with its swastika emblem became Germany's flag. In this totalitarian state, justice was not a matter of right or wrong. Nazi judges, Hitler's appointees, were guided by one question: will the verdict help the Nazi state? Many anti-Nazis were sent to concentration camps without any trial at all.

To build his Greater Germany and ultimately to achieve world domination, Hitler knew that he would have to wage war. To prepare for war, he rigidly controlled businessmen, workers, and farmers in an economic set-up somewhat like Mussolini's corporate state. Little businessmen, who had been promised so much, were in many cases forced out of business and compelled to take jobs in munitions factories. Big businessmen were granted large sums to increase the production of war materials. Thus giant monopolies were created, and some big businessmen made fortunes. However, many had to share their profits with corrupt Nazi leaders and in some cases even turn over the industry to them.

Hitler kept his promise to workers to end unemployment. He did it by putting them into the army, munitions plants, or labor camps. Others were employed

Mussolini Reviews Nazi Youth. What were the aims of such reviews from the point of view of both the Italian and German dictators?



building of super-highways and other public works projects. Many got the jobs of Jews or married women, both barred from employment. The national income greatly increased. However, since most of it went to the government for war preparation, the standard of living of the people was lower than in the worst days of the depression. Unions and employers' associations were banned and government agencies settled industrial disputes. Many workers were forbidden to change jobs.

In preparation for war, Hitler was determined to make Germany self-sufficient. To increase food production, loans and tariff-protection were given to farmers. Most farmers were forbidden to sell their farms, but inefficient farmers were obliged to give theirs up. Farm income increased greatly. So that he would not lose the support of Junkers, Hitler did not divide up their big estates as he had once promised to do. Also to promote self-sufficiency, chemists produced such substitute goods as synthetic rubber, oil, textiles, and coffee. The government engaged in barter deals with other countries or paid for imports in money which was good only in Germany. Nothing was wasted, not even garbage. The Germans made many sacrifices.

"Guns before butter" became the slogan. However, many Germans were proud that their nation was once again a world power. Workers were grateful because the government gave them cheap vacation trips, festivals, and concerts. Furthermore, Nazi propaganda preached constantly that when the Nazi goal was reached, all Germans would have homes, automobiles, and many luxuries.

**Total Control of Social Life.** In Nazi Germany Joseph Goebbels was Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. In reality, his job was to promote propaganda, but to prevent enlightenment. Day in and day out, Goebbels's propaganda machine hammered away at the minds of the German people, glorifying National Socialism and making obscene attacks on democracy and liberal ideas. Through mass meetings, festivals, torchlight parades, publications, music, radio, theater, moving pictures, and legends of Nazi martyrs, Goebbels tried to make all Germans think as one. Books written by Jews or which expressed democratic or radical ideas were publicly burned. All who criticized Nazism were considered "camouflaged (disguised) Marxists." Nazi organizations were established around the world.

Schools tried to develop loyal and obedient



Nazis who would be ready to die, if necessary, building a greater Nazi Germany. Military training was stressed. The honest teaching of history and science was regarded as a typical fault of democracy. "We spit at freedom," became a slogan of Nazi youth. There was also a Nazi Youth organization for both boys and girls from the age of ten. In camps young people were required to work and play hard, so that later the boys would make strong soldiers and the girls, healthy mothers of future soldiers.

"We will have no other God but Germany alone," said Hitler. Many Nazis fought both the Protestant and Catholic churches, because Christian teachings conflicted with Nazi ideas. Christianity taught the brotherhood of man, mercy, and kindness, rather than racial superiority and hate. Fanatical nationalists like the Nazis would not tolerate a religion which was universal in its outlook, like Christianity. And they wanted no part of the Old Testament which originated with the Jews. In Hitler's attempts to control the churches, he met much resistance. Some ministers and priests were even sent to concentration camps.

**What Was Hitler's Foreign Policy?** "Oppressed people are never . . . unified in a common empire by means of flaming protests, but through a sharp, unsheathed sword." Thus Hitler pointed out to the Germans, whom he considered oppressed by the Treaty of Versailles, that all their flaming protests against it had been in vain. Now, to build their common empire (Greater Germany), he was ready, if necessary, to use the sword. Violating the treaty, he built up a powerful army. Then he formed a military alliance with Fascist Italy and Fascist Japan and engaged in a series of aggressions against Ger-



Nazi Leader Teaches Hitler Youth How to Hit the Ground with Rifle in Hand. Why was military training basic in Nazi education?

many's neighbors which were to lead to World War II (page 606).

## A Glance at What Is to Come

As we shall see, there were many other dictatorships between the two wars. But many countries did not succumb to the siren song of dictators. To both communism and fascism they said in effect: "A plague on both your houses!" They held on to a middle position between the revolutionaries on the extreme left and the reactionaries on the extreme right. Yet such serious problems arose affecting industry, agriculture, and labor that the government, even in the democracies, took greater control of social and economic life.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Rasputin • soviet • Kerensky • Lenin • November Revolution • Reds • Whites • Cheka • N.E.P. • ku-

laks • U.S.S.R. • Trotsky • Stalin • First Five-Year Plan • state farm • collective farm • Kremlin • Dnie-

prostray dam • Second Five-Year Plan • Supreme Council • Council of People's Commissars • Constitution of 1936 • Presidium • Malenkov • Third International • totalitarian • Fascists • Victor Emmanuel III • Mussolini • March on Rome 1922 • Black Shirts • Mussolini's corporations • Fascist

Grand Council • Vatican City • anti-Semitism • Hitler • swastika • Nazi • Brown Shirts • SS troops • Mein Kampf • Weimar Republic • Thyssen • the big lie technique • the "master race" • Goering • Reichstag fire • the Gestapo • concentration camps • "guns before butter" • Goebbels

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What were the causes for the overthrow of the Romanoff dynasty?
2. What problems faced the temporary government which took control of Russia in 1917?
3. Discuss the tactics used by Lenin and his fellow-Communists (a) against the allied forces; (b) against internal opposition?
4. Show how Lenin introduced a little capitalism in the hope of saving communism. Discuss the results of this policy.
5. Show how Stalin and Trotsky differed.
6. Discuss (a) the aims and (b) the results of the First and Second Five-Year Plans.
7. Point out the differences between the position of a worker in the U.S.S.R. and one in the United States.
8. Outline the main features of the government of the U.S.S.R.
9. Prove that the U.S.S.R. is a dictatorship of the Communist party.
10. Trace the major steps in the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.
11. Discuss the attitude of the U.S.S.R. toward (a) education, (b) religion, and (c) the status of women.
12. For what reasons were the Fascists able to take control of Italy?

13. Give reasons why many joined the fascist movement.
14. Compare Mussolini's earlier socialist views with his later fascist views.
15. Discuss the tactics of Mussolini to (a) win supporters and (b) suppress opposition.
16. Describe Mussolini's (a) economic, (b) political, and (c) foreign policies.
17. Discuss Mussolini's treaty with the Pope.
18. For what reasons did Mussolini practice anti-Semitism?
19. Show that Mussolini shifted from a peaceful foreign policy to a warlike one.
20. Discuss the tactics of Hitler to (a) win supporters and (b) suppress opposition.
21. For what reasons were the Nazis able to overthrow the Weimar Republic?
22. Give reasons why many joined the Nazi movement.
23. Discuss the Nazi treatment of the Jews
24. Describe Hitler's (a) economic, (b) political, and (c) foreign policies.
25. Show how (a) businessmen, (b) workers, (c) farmers, (d) school children, and (e) religious leaders fared under Hitler
26. Show that Hitler believed in using force in foreign affairs.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Why might even the wisest of tsars have had difficulty staying in power in Russia in 1917?
2. What do you think was the most important reason for the failure of the temporary government of Kerensky? Why?
3. How do you explain Lenin's success in suppressing opposition?
4. What lessons can be drawn from the fact that Lenin had to introduce the N.E.P.?
5. Why were some Communists critical of the

- N.E.P.? What did the N.E.P. mean?
6. In what way is the N.E.P. a failure?
7. In what respect did the First Five-Year Plan depend upon the N.E.P.?
8. Show how the N.E.P. helped the Communist party to win the support of the masses.
9. How did the N.E.P. help the Communist party to win the support of the masses?

tion guarantee freedom of speech and of press?

10. For what reasons does the U.S.S.R. permit only a small percentage of the people to become members of the Communist party?

11. How could Russian foreign policy change yet remain much the same?

12. Give your impressions of the Russian attitude toward (a) education, (b) religion, and (c) the status of women.

13. Show that in a totalitarian government each person is a cog in the wheel of the state.

14. What do you think was the most important reason for the rise of fascism? Why?

15. To what extent did (a) Communism, (b) Fascism, (c) Nazism appeal more to the emotions than to reason?

16. How might a study of the life and methods of (a) Lenin, (b) Mussolini, or (c) Hitler offer valuable lessons to democracies?

17. Comment on: "Fascism . . . affirms . . . the . . . inequality of man."

18. Compare Napoleon's *coup d'état* with Mussolini's *coup d'état*.

19. To what extent is it a danger to a government to try to make all its people "think the same"?

20. Compare the methods of controlling political, social, and economic life in (a) Communist Russia, (b) Fascist Italy, and (c) Nazi Germany.

21. Discuss fully your opinion of Mussolini's "techniques to make the people forget their economic grievances."

22. What actions and techniques of totalitarian

leaders indicate that they have contempt for the thinking of the people?

23. What do you think was the most important reason for the rise of Nazism? Why?

24. What do you think the Weimar Republic could have done to have checked the rise of Nazism?

25. What do you think other countries might have done to strengthen the Weimar Republic?

26. To what extent were Hitler's promises to various groups contradictory?

27. What reasons might Hitler have given for believing that people will believe a big lie more readily than a little one?

28. To what extent might it be easy to convince any people that they are "a master race"?

29. It was shrewd of Hitler to make the Treaty of Versailles his chief target. Explain whether you agree or disagree.

30. Compare the use of terror in (a) the Communist, (b) Fascist, and (c) Nazi systems.

31. In what ways was Hitler's domestic policy consistent with his foreign policy?

32. Imagine yourself a (a) movie producer, (b) professor, (c) churchman, or (d) scientist in Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, or Nazi Germany. Point out the probable effects upon your career.

33. Poverty and misery are fertile soil for the growth of totalitarianism. Explain.

34. "Should we ever permit one party to dominate our lives, democracy would collapse." — Wendell Willkie. Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Read 1984 by Orwell. Report on the picture of totalitarianism he paints.

2. Imagine yourself an American detained in Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, or Nazi Germany. Write a few pages in your diary describing life there.

3. Draw a cartoon depicting (a) the November 1917 revolution in Russia, (b) Mussolini's march on Rome, or (c) the Reichstag fire.

4. Write a biographical sketch of any leader in the dictatorships discussed in this chapter. See Gunther's *Inside Europe*.

5. With others make a collection of quotations from Communist, Fascist, and Nazi leaders. Write your comment on each.

6. Work out with others a list of questions you would like to have submitted to any Communist, Fascist, or Nazi leader mentioned in this chapter.

7. Make a collection of newspaper clippings which indicate that totalitarianism exists in many parts of the world today. Compare your collection with those of classmates.

8. Pretend that you are a prosecuting attorney. Draw up charges which you would bring against

any of the totalitarian leaders discussed here.

9. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Kerensky and Lenin, (b) Stalin and Trotsky, (c) Mussolini and Matteotti (look him up), or (d) Hitler and Ebert.

10. Write an essay entitled *I Was a Businessman* (or: *Farmer or Worker*) under (a) Lenin, (b) Mussolini, or (c) Hitler.

11. In committee, plan and prepare a series of sketches on life in (a) Communist Russia, (b) Fascist Italy, or (c) Nazi Germany.

12. As a research project, investigate and report on economic planning in any one of the totalitarian states.

13. Imagine yourself an ambassador from the United States in the 1930's to (a) Communist Russia, (b) Fascist Italy, or (c) Nazi Germany. Write up a report to our government on significant trends in the foreign policy of the country

### Summing Up

1. In committee prepare a fairly detailed chart on the similarities and differences among Communism, Fascism, and Nazism.
2. Write five newspaper headlines which you

to which you are a United States ambassador.

14. In committee, write a three-cornered conversation among a Communist, a Fascist, and a Nazi in which each comments on the others' attitudes toward (a) education, (b) religion, or (c) the status of women. What questions would you ask each?

15. Select passages from either Trotsky's *My Life*, Mussolini's *My Autobiography*, or Hitler's *My Battle (Mein Kampf)*. Tell to what extent these passages give an insight into either the character of the author or the reasons for his rise to power.

16. Write your interpretation of Benét's poem, "Litany for Dictatorships," in Molendyk and Edwards's *Thus Be It Ever*.

17. Prepare a talk for a panel discussion on: "Are Communism, Fascism, and Nazism Essentially the Same?"

think would sum up the important events in this chapter.

3. Make a list of lessons one could learn from a careful study of this chapter.

## CHAPTER 24 . . . . THE WORLD IN GENERAL BETWEEN TWO WARS

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**The United States Threatened by Depression and Aggression • United States Foreign Policy (1919-1939): Both Isolationist and Internationalist • The United States and Canada: International Co-operation at Its Best • The United States and Latin America: the Good-Neighbor Policy Promoted • Latin America Strives for a Better Life • Some Latin-American Republics Borrow Fascist, Socialist, and Democratic Ideas • Very Hard Times Hit Great Britain • France's Struggle for Security Fails • Democratic, Prosperous Czechoslovakia Tries Its Best • Recreated Poland Succumbs to Internal and External Totalitarianism • Postwar Austria Practically Doomed at Birth • Postwar Hungary: from Democracy to Communism to Fascism • The Balkans: Five Little Countries with Big Problems • Spain Between Two Wars: Monarchy, Republic, Fascist Dictatorship • The Middle East: Nationalism and Imperialism at Work • Gandhi of India Actively Challenges the British Empire with Passive Resistance • China: National Disunity Invites Japanese Imperialism • Japan: Imperialism Inspired by Militaristic Nationalism**

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### The Americas: From the Booming Twenties to the Trouble-Full Thirties

The United States Threatened by Depression and Aggression. In the 1920's millions of Americans were confident that they were going to get rich quickly. Many did. People bubbled with optimism over what seemed to be permanent prosperity. Such young industries as the automobile, moving picture, radio, and household electrical appliances were expanding tremendously. All kinds of American products poured into world-wide markets. People who had never

speculated before, inspired by tips and rumors, vied with one another to buy up real estate and stocks. Up, up, up went the stocks! Then, in October, 1929, occurred the terrible stock market crash. Down, down, down stocks went! Pessimism quickly replaced optimism. Factories and banks closed down. Millions were unemployed. People who never before had had to accept charity stood in breadlines and soup kitchens waiting for handouts. Foreign trade practically disappeared. Never before had such a terrible depression hit the United States. The whole world was soon engulfed in it. This drove

## PRESIDENT STARTS RECOVERY PROGRAM SIGNS BANK, RAIL AND INDUSTRY BILL WHEAT GROWERS WILL GET \$150,000,000

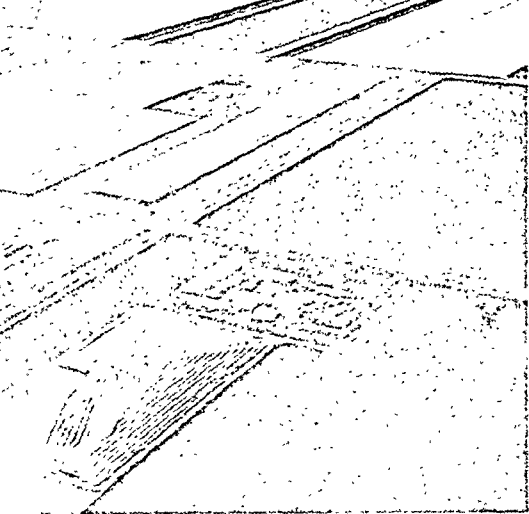
home to many how much all nations are bound together economically. For when a tire factory closed down in the United States, there was less need for rubber from Malaya.

*Causes of the Depression Hidden in False Prosperity.* A major tragedy of the 1920's was the lack of buying power of many Americans at a time when industry was producing so much. Many workers who thought they were prosperous actually were not. Many bought on the installment plan luxuries they could not afford. Wages went up, but prices went higher. The problem of many debt-burdened workers was made worse when many new machines replaced them in factories. Early in the 1920's, most farmers knew well that they were not prosperous. During World War I, there had been a great demand for food. Therefore many American farmers mortgaged their farms to buy more land and machines to increase their crops. But after the war, other countries increased the production of their own crops. Wheat prices then dropped from over two dollars to less than one dollar per bushel. Furthermore, the debt-burdened farmers had to pay high prices for manufactured goods protected by high tariffs. Many speculators, who were hoping so hard to be prosperous, were making profits only on paper. Actually they were bidding against one another to force the prices of stock and real estate far above their real value. When many realized this and began to sell, the stock market crashed.

Much of America's foreign trade in the 1920's was built upon unsound foundations. Nations were buying huge quantities of American goods with money lent them by the United States, which many could never hope to repay. When the stock market crashed, such loans dwindled. So did our for-

eign trade. Furthermore, our high tariff prevented other nations from selling goods and thereby getting money with which to pay debts and buy our goods. As other nations raised their tariffs, America's foreign trade dropped still more. Inflation in many countries, war debts, reparations, and destruction caused by the war all contributed to the abnormal international trade situation. In fact, all the causes of the depression are in some way connected with World War I.

*Fighting the Depression with Less Laissez Faire.* Unlike many countries, the United States did not abandon its democracy to solve its economic difficulties. Instead, it conducted many social and economic experiments. For example, in the Hoover administration, a government agency, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, was set up to lend money to banks and major industries hard hit by the depression. Later, under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945), the government moved so much farther away from laissez faire that some called it socialistic. Its defenders said that the Roosevelt program, known as the *New Deal*, was to help the depression's victims, to promote business recovery, and to introduce reforms which would prevent another depression. Billions were spent on public works projects, relief programs, and loans to business. Special tariff arrangements, called *reciprocal tariffs*, were made with various nations to increase foreign trade. Government loans were given to farmers, who were encouraged to plan production to keep farm prices up. The right of collective bargaining was guaranteed. Old-age pensions, unem-



Canada covers 3,845,000 square miles and has only fifteen million inhabitants. Compare this farm scene with the Danish one on page 493

ployment insurance, and other forms of social legislation were passed. And, to curb speculation, the stock market was regulated.

*United States Foreign Policy (1919-1939): Both Isolationist and Internationalist.* "We walked out on the rest of the world and said: 'Let the rest of the world go by; we can live here unto ourselves.'" So said one Congressman who believed that the United States after World War I had returned to its traditional policy of isolationism. It is true that the United States practiced isolationism when it set up high tariffs and refused to join the League of Nations and the World Court. Above all, Americans were determined not to get involved in another war. Many who believed that both the Central Powers and the Allies were guilty felt that our entrance into World War I had been a mistake. Thus, when another world war threatened in the 1930's because of Fascist aggression, the Congress passed laws called *Neutrality Acts* to keep the United States from getting involved. For example, remembering the *Lusitania*, the Congress warned Americans not to travel on the ships of belligerents. And, remembering our investments with the Allies before 1917, it forbade loans and the shipment of muni-

tions to belligerents. Furthermore, the United States gave up other neutral rights, such as freedom of the seas, by warning American merchant ships to stay out of war zones.

But it is also true that the United States practiced international co-operation in this period. The United States co-operated with many League agencies, such as those handling health and labor problems. It condemned Fascist aggression by Japan and Italy (page 605). It participated in disarmament conferences and signed peace pacts (pages 551, 552). In 1933, the U.S.S.R. was recognized. And, in 1939, the Neutrality Acts were revised to help the democracies threatened by Fascist aggression. A clause permitted Americans to sell munitions to belligerents, provided that the belligerents paid cash and carried the goods away in their own ships. This *cash-and-carry* clause, of course, helped Britain and France, which had large navies. And the United States later took many steps to help the democracies in their life-and-death struggle with the Fascist nations.

**The United States and Canada: International Co-operation at Its Best.** For nearly a century and a half, the three-thousand-mile boundary between Canada and the United States has been unfortified. This is just one of many examples which indicate how well the United States and Canada have co-operated. (As we know, there has been some friction, as when some Americans wanted to annex Canada during the War of 1812.) After World War I, the bonds between the two countries grew stronger and stronger. Great industrialization took place in Canada in this period, financed mainly by American capital. From 1914 to 1929, American investments in Canada more than doubled while British investments there were cut in half. For some time now each country has been the other's best customer. In 1930, when the United States passed the highest tariff in its history, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, trade temporarily fell off. However, reciprocal trade agreements were drawn up which increased trade greatly. In the 1930's, too,

many American firms built branch factories in Canada. This helped them to hurdle the tariff wall which the British Commonwealth had set up in accordance with imperial preference (page 457).

Since both countries feared Fascist aggression in the 1930's and have feared Communist aggression since 1945, they have co-operated in joint defense policies. Neither country requires passports or sets up immigration quotas for the citizens of the other. American movies, radio and television programs, and American newspapers and magazines are very popular in Canada.

**The United States and Latin America: the Good Neighbor Policy Promoted.** In the early 1900's, many Latin Americans accused us of using the Monroe Doctrine as a disguise through which American investors were dominating much of Latin America (page 465). Many Mexicans in particular were hostile because of their loss of territory to the United States in the Mexican War of 1848. After dictator Díaz was overthrown in 1911, there was also much friction over the Mexican oil wells and silver and other mines owned by Americans.

Apparently the Pan-American movement launched in 1889 (page 489) had not had much success. In the 1920's, efforts were made by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover to improve relations. Our differences over American investments in Mexico were compromised and our marines were recalled from such areas as the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. In 1933, President Roosevelt declared that the United States wanted to be a "good neighbor" to the countries of the western hemisphere. At various Pan-American conferences held during the 1930's, the United States tried to prove the sincerity of this *good neighbor policy*. It agreed with the twenty Latin-American republics that no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another. It also agreed that all twenty-one republics, not the United States alone, should jointly interpret the Monroe Doctrine.

By 1935, Fascist Italy, Germany, and Japan had spread much propaganda in Latin America and expanded their economic influence there. But fortunately by this time much of the ill-will of Latin America toward the United States had disappeared. In line with the good neighbor policy, President Roosevelt had ended in 1934 the Platt Amendment which had given the United States the right to intervene in Cuba. Trade with Latin America had been increased through reciprocal tariffs and loans from the United States. Such policies paid. At Lima in 1935, it was agreed that the Pan-American nations would co-operate with one another fully in case of possible Fascist aggression. And co-operate they did. After the United States entered World War II, all the Latin-American republics eventually followed suit. (Argentina entered when the war was nearly over.) Pan-American co-operation took an even greater step forward in 1947 at Rio de Janeiro. In the Rio Defense Treaty, the American republics pledged that they would all go to the



Recess in a School in Central America. This picture might interest (a) an educator, (b) a statesman, (c) a poet, and (d) an artist. Discuss.



support of any American republic attacked by an aggressor from outside or inside the western hemisphere. And at Caracas in 1954, they promised to stand together to check the spread of Communism in this hemisphere.

#### **Latin America Strives for a Better Life.**

Poverty, illiteracy, ownership of land by a few, dependence upon one major crop or mineral, revolutions, and dictatorships still plague many Latin-American republics (page 380). But, after World War I, certain trends developed which seem to be slowly changing the picture for the better. These include: gradual extension of elementary education, introduction of the secret ballot and woman suffrage, formation of labor unions, social legislation, curbs on peonage, and laws to prevent foreign investors from getting monopolies on Latin-American resources. Some countries have broken up some of the large estates owned by the very few so as to make ownership of small farms possible for many.

Since World War I, there has been a slow industrialization of Latin America, especially of Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Before the war, these countries had bought many manufactures from Germany and Britain. During the war, they had either to buy them from the United States or to manufacture their own. Beginning then, the United States' exports to Latin America, which had previously been few, increased tremendously. American cars, radios, and telephones became common sights in such cities as Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. And the United States bought huge quantities of the raw materials in which various Latin-American countries specialized (page 490). In manufacturing, the Latin Americans began specializing in light industries such as cotton textiles, shoes, and paper. Much of this was financed with capital from the United States. Americans also invested billions in the public utilities, mines, and plantations of Latin America and built factories of their own there. Billions also were lent by American banks to Latin-American governments.

Increasing industrialization made Latin

America's small middle class somewhat larger. As elsewhere, middle-class pressure combined with working-class demands brought about more democratic governments and social and economic reforms. Then came the depression of 1929. The United States and other countries sharply reduced loans to Latin America and imports of Latin America's raw materials. Bad times grew worse and many blamed the United States. The good neighbor policy was used to combat this hostility. Bad times led, too, to many revolutions. German, Italian, and Japanese Fascists took advantage of this situation to spread propaganda and to increase their Latin-American trade. Socialists and Communists also made many converts.

#### **Some Latin-American Republics Borrow Fascist, Socialist, and Democratic Ideas.**

In 1930, President Irigoyen of Argentina, who had been elected by the middle class and workers, was overthrown by an alliance of conservative landowners and military leaders. In 1943, Juan Perón, an army colonel, used tactics somewhat similar to those of European Fascists to make himself dictator. He suppressed opposition parties and newspapers and intensified nationalism. For many years there has been sharp friction between the United States and Argentina. For one thing, they have been competitors in trying to export meat, wheat, and hides to the world. Argentina has wanted the other Latin-American republics to look to it for leadership. This conflicts with Pan-Americanism, sponsored by the United States. Argentina showed strong sympathy to the Fascist powers during World War II. In 1955, Perón was ousted.

In 1930, Getulio Vargas seized control of Brazil's government. In 1937, with army backing, he set up a mild totalitarian dictatorship. Like Perón, he won over many workers by ordering higher wages and other benefits. In 1945, Vargas was temporarily ousted by a *coup d'état*. For many years there has been good will between Brazil and the United States, Brazil's best coffee customer. An American loan made during World War II

helped Brazil build its first great steel mill.

In 1936 in Chile, the moderate and radical leftists joined to form what has been called a *Popular Front*. They won the election, and stayed in power until 1941. Chileans voted for the Popular Front because they had been hard hit by the depression and because they feared a conservative dictatorship. Chile's economic problems were aggravated by a big drop in world demand for its nitrates and copper. The country has recently tried to develop its industry and agriculture, as well as its mines. Chile's many constitutional guarantees and advanced social legislation helped to make it one of the most democratic countries of South America.

Step by step, Uruguay has become more and more socialistic. Not only public utilities, banks, and some industries, but even hotels are government-owned. Uruguay has discouraged foreign loans and investments in its country. Uruguayans boast that their government conducts *orderly elections* and provides free education even on the college level and pensions for people over fifty. Socialists have very strongly influenced a party in Peru, called the *Apristas*. This group, which has been outlawed for years, appeals to the *Indian population* because it advocates division of the large estates.

Brutal Juan Gómez, backed by the army and an intricate spy system, was dictator of Venezuela from 1908 to 1935. Since then, there has been a more democratic trend there. Venezuela produces more oil than any other country except the United States and the Soviet Union. The taxes from these oil wells—almost entirely foreign-owned—help the Venezuelan government to build roads, many public works, and much-needed schools.

Venezuela's neighbor, Colombia, land of coffee and oil, has had few revolutions in modern times. (In June 1953, however, one broke out!) It has been one of the most democratic countries in South America. Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay, heavily populated mainly with poverty-stricken Indians, have

had little industrialization and few stable governments. Ecuador, next door to Peru, has felt the influence of the Aprista movement. Landlocked Paraguay, next door to Argentina, has been strongly influenced and even, at times, dominated by this neighbor. Also landlocked, Bolivia has in recent times had governments with socialist or fascist leanings. In 1952 the Bolivian government took over ownership of the all-important tin mines.

The Central American Republic of Costa Rica has many teachers but few soldiers. Voting and education are both compulsory there. In this stable and progressive democracy, small farms rather than big estates prevail. In the other five Central American republics, foreign investments and foreign influence have been extensive, and ownership of land has generally been in the hands of a few. In 1952 Guatemala, however, started breaking up its large estates. Since World War II there has been a strong Communist movement in Guatemala. One high United States official accused the country of "openly playing the Communist game." Many large estates were broken up and distributed to Indian and mestizo peons in Mexico, too, in the administration of President Cardenas (1934-1940). Interest in the problems of the peon dates back to Father Hidalgo (page 379), Juárez (page 350), the revolutionists of 1911, and the Mexican Constitution of 1917 (page 491). Under Cardenas, many schools were built. Labor unions were put in charge of many industries. Socialistic Cardenas made many enemies when his government took control of foreign-owned oil fields and passed laws prohibiting Church ownership of land, Church influence in politics, and Church schools. His more moderate successors, however, have made compromises with both foreign investors and the Church.

## Some European Nations Between Two Wars

**Very Hard Times Hit Great Britain.** A few years after World War I, the British gov-



Depression Years in Britain Between the Two Wars—a Scene Characteristic of Many Countries in This Period.

ernment was urging unemployed Britishers to leave England and get jobs in Canada, Australia, or other British dominions. Small relief payments, called the *dole*—scarcely enough to keep them from starving—were issued to the nearly two million unemployed. In 1926, the coal-mine owners, who were losing money, wanted to cut miners' wages and lengthen their hours. The miners struck. Fearing wage cuts themselves, workers in many other industries also struck. The government convinced many that this general strike was unpatriotic and that each striker could be sued for damages. The general strike ended in a few days. The coal miners held out for seven months. Finally, in spite of their slogan, "Not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day," they had to accept wage cuts and the longer hours. The next year, the Conservative party enacted a law banning general strikes.

In 1932, a black-shirted Fascist party

sprang up in Britain, led by Sir Oswald Mosley. This anti-Semitic party tried to win over the hungry unemployed and those businessmen who feared the rise of socialism and communism. But Britain, with all its hardships, did not abandon its democracy.

*Causes of These Very Hard Times.* Even before World War I, Britain's centuries-old economic brightness had begun to fade (page 476). But after World War I, many Britishers were at first optimistic, for Germany seemed beaten as an economic, colonial, and naval competitor. Pessimism soon set in, however. The war had cost Britain forty billion dollars. Worse than that, Britain's exports were dropping sharply, and exports are the very lifeblood of British economic life. The British import most of their raw materials and most of their food. Therefore, they must export goods to get the money to pay for these. Britain had lost many of its best foreign customers to the United States, Japan, and Germany,

all of which were able to produce more efficiently with more up-to-date machinery. High tariffs abroad also reduced Britain's exports. And former European customers made poor by the war could not afford many British goods. Many former borrowers of British capital now obtained their loans in the new financial center of the world, New York.

*The Labor Party Tries to Combat Hard Times.* Hard times led to a great increase in the number of votes cast for the Labor party (page 476). In 1924 and again in 1929, the Labor party, with the support of the constantly declining Liberal party, controlled Parliament. Although socialistic, the Labor party under its Prime Minister, J. Ramsay MacDonald, passed no radical laws in this period. In international affairs the Labor party recognized the Soviet Union, recommended the admission of Germany into the League of Nations, and supported a movement for world-wide disarmament.

Hard times continued. To fight the depression, MacDonald recommended cuts in salaries of government employees, in pensions, and in the dole. Most cabinet members disagreed with this policy. They recommended higher taxes instead, and forced MacDonald's resignation as Prime Minister. He was dropped from the Labor party as a traitor to the workers, and became the Prime Minister of a new cabinet made up of members of all three major parties.

*The Conservatives Adopt Some Radical Policies.* Between the two wars, except for the two brief terms of Labor control, the Conservative party, under Prime Ministers Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, dominated British politics. In hopes of preventing complete bankruptcy, the Conservatives took Britain off the gold standard and raised tariffs. By going off the gold standard, Britain cheapened its currency, thereby making the currency of countries on the gold standard more valuable by comparison with British currency. This meant that foreigners could buy more for their money in Britain. Thus, it was hoped, British exports would in-

crease. For a while this worked, but soon other countries, including the United States, went off the gold standard, too. By raising tariffs, the Conservatives hoped to cut down on imports of competing manufactured goods. In 1932, a tariff wall was built around the British Empire by means of imperial preference (page 457). This was intended to insure British markets within the empire. Times must have been bad indeed, when the British, who had for centuries prided themselves on their gold standard and free trade, abandoned both.

Hard times brought about other striking changes — in typical British fashion, by evolution, not revolution. Many large estates were divided into small farms. One 1935 law, not fully enforced, provided for public ownership of coal mines by 1942 (page 635). Public housing projects were constructed.

*Other Events Which Made the Headlines.* In this period British women won the right to vote. King Edward VIII was compelled to give up his throne when he announced that he intended marrying the twice-divorced "woman I love." The dominions won practically complete independence (page 457). Ireland finally became independent, and Egypt, virtually so. Nationalist movements in India and the Middle East tended to weaken British controls, as we shall soon see. And in 1939, in fear of Fascist aggression, Britain for the first time in its history adopted peacetime conscription.

*France's Struggle for Security Fails.* From the day World War I ended, Frenchmen lived in fear that the Germans would seek revenge in another war. That is why the history of France from 1919 to 1939 was, above all, a search for security. At first, it looked to many Frenchmen as if this search would not be too difficult. Defeated Germany seemed too crushed to be a threat. Using the iron from the recovered provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and coal from the Saar, France built big industries. Although postwar conditions were bad in France, they were never as bad as in Germany or Great Britain.

France's good balance between agriculture and industry helps to explain why (page 416). Frenchmen were agreed on maintaining the strongest standing army in Europe and on building alliances (page 551).

But the search for security was difficult. France had suffered 5,000,000 war casualties, more in proportion to its 45,000,000 population than any other country. And the cost of restoring France's war-devastated factories, farms, and homes and of supporting the standing army ran into billions. Debts owed to its own people, to Britain, and to the United States were an overwhelming burden. Communist Russia refused to pay back to France the money France had lent to tsarist Russia. Belgium could not pay its French debt, and Germany, in spite of France's invasion of the Ruhr (page 548), paid only a small part of its reparations. Added to France's troubles were the desire of Alsace-Lorraine for local self-government and nationalistic uprisings in French Morocco and in the newly acquired mandates of Syria and Lebanon.

There was great disagreement among France's many parties and constantly changing cabinets as to the best way of achieving security. Some parties tended to unite in an intensely nationalistic bloc, which wanted no changes in the Treaty of Versailles and opposed recognition of Russia. Poincaré, the bloc's leader, opposed paying France's heavy debt by taxing the bankers and big industrialists who were the country's main support. This bloc lost out in 1924 to a more liberal bloc, led by Herriot and made up of parties supported by government workers, small businessmen, and farmers. This liberal bloc believed that security could best be promoted by a less hostile attitude toward Germany. It withdrew the French troops from the Ruhr, compromised on reparations, and signed the Locarno pacts, which Germany also signed. And it recognized Soviet Russia. As bad economic conditions caused the value of the franc to fall, this bloc raised taxes to meet the heavy debt burden. Resentment against



Leon Blum, French Socialist Leader of the Popular Front in the 1930's. Find out why he was bitterly denounced by some and enthusiastically praised by others.

taxes led to the return of Poincaré's national bloc.

Poincaré halted the decline of the value of the franc by stabilizing it at one-fifth of its pre-war value. Thus those who had savings in government bonds lost eighty per cent of their investment. This cheapening of the franc, however, helped the government to wipe out much of its domestic debt. The cheap franc also brought many tourists to France and increased France's exports. Prosperity seemed assured. Then came the depression of 1929. Down went the value of the franc again and down went wages. But the cost of living remained fairly high. Fascist, monarchist, and Communist organizations grew stronger. Bloody riots broke out. Armed Fascists tried unsuccessfully to take over the parliament in 1934. In addition, many newspapers were corrupt, some even in the pay of the Fascist governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

France's security now seemed more threatened than ever. Fascist aggression was spreading in the Rhineland and elsewhere. In 1936, a new bloc of many parties, mainly liberals and radicals, known as the *Popular Front*, won control of the government. A major aim of this leftist bloc, led by a social-

ist, Léon Blum, was "to defend the Republic." To do so, the Popular Front suppressed Fascist organizations and extended a huge line of fortifications, the *Maginot Line*, on the German border. In general, the Popular Front favored private rather than government ownership. Yet they placed the munitions industry and the railroads partly under government ownership and established strong government control over the Bank of France. Many workers were won over to the Popular Front by laws which recognized expansion of social security, wage increases, and a forty-hour week.

By 1938 the Popular Front had broken up, for many reasons. Some of the radical groups within it had used it to promote the aims of their party rather than the program of the Popular Front. Many protested the high taxes to pay for the high costs of the Popular Front program. For, as has often been said, the average Frenchman "wore his heart on the Left, but his pocketbook on the Right." Strikes continued and so did the depression. Many wealthy Frenchmen, fearing the development of a socialist state, sent their gold out of the country. This action weakened the franc and caused France to go off the gold standard. Furthermore, the Popular Front had not been successful in checking Fascist aggression abroad (page 605).

A government which followed the Popular Front in 1938, headed by Prime Minister Daladier, adopted an extreme program. Taxes were increased on the middle and poorer classes. Strikes were broken by soldiers. To reduce costs and to be able to pay for increased armament, many of the Popular Front measures were abolished. Eventually a sixty-hour work week replaced the forty-hour work week. And Daladier's government was partly responsible for Hitler's annexation of Czechoslovakia (page 607). In 1940, France itself fell to Nazi invaders. The search for security had failed.

**Democratic, Prosperous Czechoslovakia Tries Its Best.** If report cards had been given out to nations between 1919 and 1938,

Czechoslovakia should have received A for effort and achievement. This little landlocked country, created out of the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire, had Bohemia<sup>1</sup> as its core. Slovakia was one of the four other provinces. In spite of many obstacles, Czechoslovakia became the most democratic and the most prosperous country of central Europe after World War I.

"Love of one's own nation should not entail non-love of other nations." So said the man who did most to create the Czechoslovak nation. He was Thomas G. Masaryk, son of a Czech cook and a Slovak coachman and husband of a rich American girl. Eduard Beneš, who, like Masaryk, was a freedom-loving professor, also dedicated his life to creating and strengthening Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia's government resembled that of France and Britain. Besides the 10,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks in the republic, there was a total of about 5,000,000 people of minority groups, including Germans, Hungarians, Jews, Poles, and Ruthenians. Czechoslovakia treated its minorities decently, although it was difficult to satisfy the many groups. Minorities were permitted to use their own language in the schools and were granted representation in the central government and, in some cases, were granted their own local legislatures.

Czechoslovakia, like France, succeeded in developing a fairly self-sufficient economy. Large estates were divided up, with compensation to their owners, and sold to landless peasants. In producing glassware, toys, shoes, textiles, and china, Czechoslovakian industrialists excelled. Their Skoda munitions plant was among the world's largest.

Fearful of defeated Hungary, from which all three had received territory, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania formed the *Little Entente*. But later, to promote friend-

<sup>1</sup> Czech (Bohemian) national traditions date far back. In the ninth century, Czechs resisted Charlemagne. In the fourteenth century, the University of Prague was established and John Huss (page 239) became a national figure. And in the seventeenth-century Thirty Years' War, Bohemia struggled for independence from the Habsburgs (page 243).



Making toys is an important industry in Czechoslovakia, a country where hand-puppet theaters have existed for centuries. Why might this picture appropriately be entitled, "The Old and New in Toy-Making"?

ship and trade, Foreign Minister Beneš proposed Hungary for membership in the League of Nations and helped obtain League loans for Hungary and Austria, too. Beneš also signed military treaties with Poland, France, and the Soviet Union. But in 1939, the world was shocked to learn that fast-progressing Czechoslovakia had been taken over by Nazi Germany (page 607). And Beneš, who had succeeded to the presidency on Masaryk's death, was in exile.

**Recreated Poland Succumbs to Internal and External Totalitarianism.** In 1926, Polish General Pilsudski led his troops on Warsaw and seized control of the Polish Republic, which he had helped to set up in 1919. This republic had started out with a democratic constitution and with the world-famed pianist, Paderewski, as its first Prime Minister. It was fortunate in possessing fertile lands and, in Upper Silesia, coal and iron mines and industries. France gave it military and financial support. It was unfortunate in lacking natural boundaries, which might have served as a defense against Germany and Russia, from which territory had been taken to recreate Poland.

Ever since 1795, the Poles had lived under foreign flags and suffered severe persecution

as a minority group. Independent Poland became intensely nationalistic and seized some territory from both Russia and Lithuania. It severely persecuted its Ukrainian, Russian, German, and especially its Jewish minorities. Pilsudski had been able to seize control because many Poles were dissatisfied with their inefficient, often corrupt, government. The great majority were poverty-stricken, landless peasants who were impatient at the government's slowness in breaking up the large estates. As dictator, Pilsudski had a totalitarian constitution drawn up. Under him the government curbed corruption, built the Baltic port of Gdynia, and engaged in government ownership of many industries. Opposition was ruthlessly crushed. In 1934, Pilsudski weakened the Polish alliance with France by making an anti-Russian pact with Hitler. In 1935 he died, but the Polish dictatorship lived on. Later, the Poles signed a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. Yet both totalitarian Germany and totalitarian Russia pounced on totalitarian Poland in 1939.

**Postwar Austria Practically Doomed at Birth.** In 1934, the Austrian government blasted with cannon the model apartment houses which the socialist city government of Vienna had constructed for workers, killing hundreds. This destroyed Austria's socialist party and caused many revengeful socialists to join the Austrian Nazi party. Shortly afterward, Chancellor Dollfuss, leader of the conservative Christian Socialist party, established a Fascist dictatorship modeled after Mussolini's. After Dollfuss was assassinated by Austrian Nazis, the dictatorship continued. In 1938, Hitler's Nazis, assisted by Austrian Nazis, annexed Austria.

The Austria created in the peace treaties had been, in a sense, "a capital without a country." Two million of the six million population lived in magnificent, cultured Vienna. The rest of the landlocked country was little more than farm suburbs, too poor to buy Vienna's products and too small to provide food for the country. In the old days

of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, this area had been able to obtain industrial products from Bohemia and wheat from Hungary, and to trade through the empire's Adriatic ports. Now trade even between Austria and the other independent nations created out of the empire was greatly reduced because all had high tariffs. All this led to unemployment, inflation, extreme hunger, and near bankruptcy. Loans from the League of Nations helped somewhat. But many felt that the only solution lay in a union between Austria, a German-speaking nation, and Germany. The peace treaties, however, had forbidden such a union, and France, fearing a stronger Germany, was opposed to it. Mussolini, too, at first preferred to keep a weak Austria, rather than a strong Germany, as a neighbor.

Austria's major political parties, each maintaining a private army, disagreed violently as to the solution to Austria's problems. Austrian businessmen and peasants were hostile toward the socialists because they had spent so much tax money on projects for city workers, including schools, hospitals, and the above-mentioned apartment houses. The deeply religious Catholic peasants who made up most of Dollfuss's Christian Socialist party were hostile also because the socialists were anti-clerical (page 478). A major reason for Dollfuss's hostility to Hitler was the Nazi persecution of Catholics. Mussolini had demanded that Dollfuss destroy the socialist party if he wanted Mussolini's support against the menace of Hitler. Many socialist leaders were arrested. It was when the socialists refused to dissolve and give up the guns of their private army that the Dollfuss government blasted their apartment houses. But since Mussolini had later made a pact with Hitler, he did nothing to try to prevent Hitler's annexation of Austria in 1938.

**Postwar Hungary: From Democracy to Communism to Fascism.** Poverty, starvation, and the loss of much territory to Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia helped a Communist party to overthrow the democratic republic established by defeated Hun-

gary after World War I. A Red terror against the aristocratic landlords, who owned most of the land in this little landlocked nation, followed. But opposition of the conservative peasants, invasion of Budapest by a Rumanian army, and continuation of the Allied wartime blockade caused the Communist dictatorship to topple. In 1919, Admiral Horthy began his twenty-four-year Fascist dictatorship. A White terror against liberals, Jews, members of unions, and Communists followed. By 1938, Horthy and Hitler were on very good terms. And by 1940, Hungary, with Hitler's help, had regained much of the territory taken from it in the peace treaties. After World War II, Hungary, like Czechoslovakia and Poland, was to fall under the domination of Communist Russia.

**The Balkans: Five Little Countries with Big Problems.** *Assassination, intrigue, recolonization, dictatorship*—these are words many associate with the history of the Balkan nations after World War I. The overwhelming problems faced by these five nations—Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania—may explain why. Most of the Balkan peoples were pitifully poor, illiterate peasants who worked with the most primitive tools. Although the majority of these owned land, their plots were tiny. Since there were few industries in the Balkans, and many of these were foreign-owned, the working class was small and so was the middle class. Between the two wars, strong peasant parties were formed in the Balkan nations. Frequently, when these challenged the political power of the conservative landlords and the small business class, violence resulted. As a rule, the peasant parties demanded division of large estates, establishment of co-operatives, a reduction of high tariffs, and lower interest rates on loans. At one time, interest rates on loans to farmers in Rumania reached the height of fifty per cent.

Many of these problems might have been solved if these nations had formed a Balkan union. But mountainous barriers separating them, intense nationalism, and foreign inter-



ference were just as serious obstacles to unity in this period as they had been in the nineteenth century (page 391). After World War I, these five nations each established a constitutional monarchy. But all soon became dictatorships. By 1943, Nazi Germany had taken over all of them. Immediately after World War II, all except Greece came under the domination of Communist Russia. Although Yugoslavia remained Communist, it soon broke with Russia.

Rumania came out of World War I doubled in size and the richest of the Balkan nations. But this meant resentment on the part of its newly acquired minorities and on the part of Hungary and Russia, from which countries Rumania had gained territory. As protection against Hungary, Rumania became a member of the Little Entente, backed by France. The Peasant Party, which had won many of its demands by 1932, wanted strong ties with France and Britain. It was opposed by a Fascist group, the Iron Guard, which practiced brutal anti-Semitism and favored strong ties with Hitler's Germany. In 1938, King Carol II established his own brand of Fascist dictatorship and executed a thousand Iron Guardists. But in 1940, the Iron Guard was in control under General Antonescu, and Carol was in exile.

One day, in the parliament of Yugoslavia, a Serb member shot to death a Croatian leader. King Alexander, whose family was Serbian, then made himself dictator until 1934, when he was assassinated by a Croat. These incidents indicate the friction that developed between the two major groups of the many Slavic groups which made up newly created Yugoslavia after World War I. The Roman Catholic Croats, somewhat wealthier and more industrialized, felt that the Orthodox Christian Serbs, mainly peasants, were trying to dominate the government. After 1934, a milder dictatorship brought about greater unity between the Serbs and Croats.

Defeated Bulgaria came out of World War I poorer than ever. It lost not only much territory, but also its outlet to the Aegean Sea.

In 1919, the business party in control, representing only one-fifth of the population, was ousted by the peasant party. Big estates were cut up and turned over to the peasants and high income taxes were levied. Resentful business groups joined with the army to execute a *coup d'état* in 1923. Hundreds of political assassinations by both groups and many Communist uprisings followed. After many political changes, a Fascist dictatorship was set up in 1934, which was strongly pro-Hitler.

Pro-Hitler, too, was the military dictatorship set up in 1936 in Greece by General Metaxas, supported by King George II. There had also been two dictatorships during the period of the Greek Republic (1924-1935) and more than twenty different cabinets. When Hitler's ally, Mussolini, invaded Greece's little neighbor, Albania, in 1939, Greece turned from Hitler toward Britain and France.

**Spain Between Two Wars: Monarchy, Republic, Fascist Dictatorship.** After World War I, King Alphonso XIII knew that a revolution was brewing in Spain. Peasants grumbled because one per cent of the people owned half the land — and usually the best land. Republicans complained that the monarchy had failed to correct feudal conditions (page 492). Socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, and communists engaged in riots and strikes for higher wages and changes in the government. During Spain's neutrality in World War I, some industries had expanded in this industrially backward country. But the wartime boom was followed by a peacetime depression. Alphonso thought that winning military glory in a campaign against rebellious Riff tribesmen in Spanish Morocco would check the rebellious spirit in Spain. But the campaign cost poverty-stricken Spain almost a billion dollars. And Alphonso's inefficient army, in which one man out of six was an officer, was badly defeated. The rebellious spirit in Spain increased.

To maintain his shaky grip on the country, Alphonso appointed Primo de Rivera dictator. This dictatorship collapsed in 1930 after

seven years of heartily hated rule. The next year, elections showed mounting republican strength. Alphonso fled. The republic which was set up as a result of this bloodless revolution ended feudal landholding, divided some private and Church estates among the landless, and separated Church and state. Churchmen and army officers were barred from officeholding. Free public schools replaced Church schools. Religious orders, such as the Jesuits, were ordered dissolved. Women were given the vote. This somewhat socialistic republic was given the right to take over any business. And the government, led by professors, writers, and lawyers, pledged itself not to declare war except in fulfillment of its obligations as a member of the League of Nations.

Such sharp changes antagonized big landowners, rich businessmen, army officers, and most churchmen — all influential under the monarchy. In the elections of 1933, these conservatives won out. Many of the new laws were done away with and violent uprisings in such cities as Barcelona and Madrid were violently suppressed. As a result, republicans, socialists and communists formed a Popular Front which won the election of 1936. The candidates they elected were moderate leftists and liberals opposed to violence. But some of their radical supporters engaged in bloody conflicts with the conservatives.

These conflicts were as nothing compared to the horrible civil war which engulfed Spain from 1936 to 1939. The war began when General Francisco Franco, supported by the conservatives, revolted against the Spanish Republic. Franco's forces, called *Nationalists* (or *Insurgents*), consisted of most of the regular army, Moorish troops from Morocco, and troops sent by Mussolini and Hitler. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany also sent Franco munitions, pilots, and planes.

The republicans, called *Loyalists*, had a makeshift army of plain people, untrained and badly equipped. It was aided by some members of the regular army. Some aid for the republic trickled in from the Soviet Union

and from individual volunteers from other countries. The desperate republic, which soon admitted some socialists and communists to the cabinet, called on the democracies for help. But Britain and France feared that Spain might go Communist and that the civil war might become a world war. They and many other countries, including Germany and Italy, agreed not to help either side. While the democracies lived up to this *non-intervention agreement*, the Fascist powers did not. Instead, they used the Spanish Civil War as a testing ground for World War II. Not only did they test their new military tactics and materials, but they tested to see how far the democracies would go to avoid war.

Horrible atrocities were committed, and each side accused the other of committing them. Cities were bombed and civilians slaughtered. Finally, Franco won and set up a Fascist dictatorship. Just as Mussolini was called *il duce* and Hitler *der fuhrer*, so Franco was called *el caudillo* (the chief). Only the Fascist party (the *Falange*) was permitted. Totalitarian control of industry, art, culture, and labor and suppression of political liberties followed. Lands and privileges were restored to the nobility and the Church. The destruction caused by the civil war worsened Spain's poverty. And the heritage of political unity.

## The Middle East: Nationalism and Imperialism at Work

The Middle East is a strategic waterway, the Suez Canal area, so important under the Ottoman Empire that there was a constant struggle for control. The Middle East is a strategic waterway, the Suez Canal area, so important under the Ottoman Empire that there was a constant struggle for control.

most of which spoke Arabic and in the Moslem faith, would form a union of Arab states. But Britain and France in order to control this area more preferred to keep them divided. So certain rulers who felt that a federation meant loss of power for them. Even-ly, in 1945, an Arab League was formed with Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Libya later joined. There is scarcely an area in the world more feudalistic, or with more poverty, illiteracy, and disease than the Middle East. Eighty per cent of the people of Iran are farmers who are almost always nearly starving. A very few own most of the land. (But in recent years there have been many efforts to promote land reform.) Eye diseases plague nearly every Egyptian. Much of the Middle East is desert or dry land where peasants use the most primitive methods of farming. There are almost no factories and few minerals, except for oil. Some believe oil is more plentiful in the Middle East than anywhere else in the world. Oil abounds in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. Most of it is foreign-owned. Conditions in Turkey and in that part of Palestine that is now Israel are much better than in other areas of the Middle East.

**Mustapha Kemal Rescues and Modernizes Turkey.** One day, Mustapha Kemal, president and dictator of the Turkish Republic from 1923 to 1938, slapped Egypt's minister to Turkey for wearing a fez. The fez, a cone-shaped, flat-topped, tasseled hat, had been the national headdress of the Turkish Empire. Kemal, whose major goal was to modernize Turkey, was furious because he considered the fez a relic of the old, backward Turkey.

After World War I, it looked as though Britain, France, Italy, and Greece would take over practically all the defeated Turkish Empire. And the selfish, corrupt sultan sat in Constantinople, taking orders from the British. Disgusted with him, a nationalist group headed by General Mustapha Kemal drove the invading Greeks from Asia Minor. By shrewd deals Kemal was able to divide the war-weary Allies. Furthermore, they knew that this tough patriot would fight on. He got them to cancel the dictated Treaty of Sèvres and substitute the negotiated Treaty of Lausanne, fixing Turkey's present boundaries (page 547).

Like Peter the Great of Russia, Kemal was a man in a hurry. He was determined to change Turkey overnight into a strongly na-



Kemal Ataturk (center) with cap in hand. His Adopted Daughter, One of the Women Militants in History. This gives insight into the great changes about by Kemal Ataturk. Explains



A Panorama of Istanbul, Turkey, Where the Bosphorus Winds into the Black Sea. Istanbul is in Europe, with Asia only fifteen minutes away by ferry. Thousands who live in Asia work in Europe, and vice versa. Explain why the story of this city through the ages makes fascinating history.

tionalistic, industrialized, and modernized republic modeled on western nations. In 1923, the sultan was deposed and a national assembly made Kemal first president of the republic. Although he did not abolish the parliament, he quickly made himself dictator. Although he permitted freedom of worship, he separated the Turkish state from the international Moslem church. The sultan had been the religious head (caliph) of Moslems everywhere. Kemal, by abolishing the caliphate, hoped to promote nationalism. A Turkish version of the Koran replaced the Arabic. The Turkish name *Istanbul* was given to Constantinople and a new capital was established at Ankara.

In modernizing and westernizing Turkey, Kemal smashed age-old traditions. He made Sunday instead of the Moslem Friday the day of rest. Men were forbidden to have more than one wife. Women were discouraged from wearing veils. They were released from harems and given educational and professional opportunities. Kemal adopted the

Latin alphabet, the Gregorian calendar, and a European type of legal system. Great victories were won over illiteracy, disease, and many old superstitions.

Impatient Kemal speeded up industrial and agricultural progress along western lines. In the depression period of the 1930s especially, he adopted measures to promote self-sufficiency. The government gave money to young industries, raised tariffs, and introduced planning something like that of the U.S.S.R., from which Kemal received technical advice. He obtained foreign loans but would not permit foreigners to control Turkish industries. Turkey became the only Moslem country of the Middle East without wide gaps between a few rich and many poor. Kemal could be ruthless. He once hunted a group of plotters against him in the streets for all to see. Toward neighboring states peace was his policy. To the Turks he was Ataturk (Father of the Turks). His successor, Ismet Inönü, in general continued Kemal's policies, except that he was less friendly to



Many Egyptians live in homes like these. Roofs, fenced with palm branches for safety and privacy, are used for cooking and storage. They have been extended to shade the fronts of the houses. Because of the heat and glare outside, the windows are meant to give air rather than light and are placed high in the walls.

ward Russia. In 1950, a new party won the elections and the dictatorship founded by Kemal came to an end.

**Egypt Wins Independence, But Not Quite.** After World War I, an Egyptian nationalist party, the Wafd, assassinated British officials, rioted, and stirred up rebellions. The Wafd was demanding an end to the British Protectorate over Egypt, established during World War I. As a result, Britain declared Egypt nominally independent in 1922. But the Wafd continued its agitation. These nationalists objected to Britain's maintenance of naval bases and troops to protect the Suez Canal. They denounced British control of Egyptian foreign policy, British domination of the Sudan, and the exemption of foreigners from Egyptian taxation. The British felt that they had really given Egypt independence when in 1936 they granted more concessions. But the nationalists disagreed and continued to agitate.

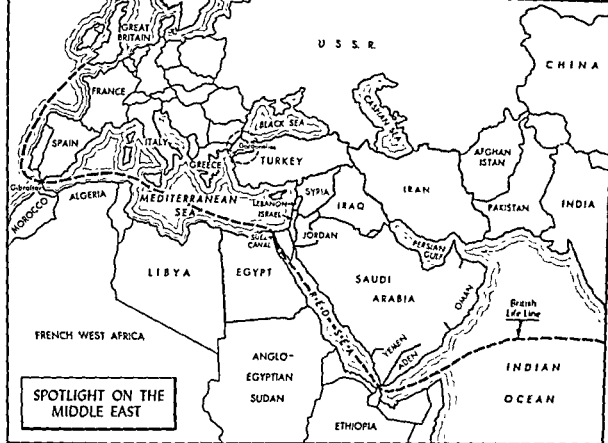
In 1952, an Egyptian general, Naguib, overthrew King Farouk I, who owned twenty per cent of the land in a country where seventy-five per cent of the people owned no land. In 1953, Naguib declared Egypt a re-

public and himself president. He also made an agreement with the British concerning the Sudan (Chapter 28). But ten thousand British troops continued to guard the Suez Canal. Nationalistic Naguib demanded that they leave. Conscious of Egypt's extremely low standard of living, he promised to break up big estates, reclaim arid lands, and industrialize the country.

**Other Middle Eastern Lands Challenge Imperialism.** After World War I, British influence was strong in other Middle Eastern lands, also. Even after Iraq ceased to be a British mandate in 1932, the British maintained air bases there and control of the Mosul oil wells. In 1919, Britain made all of Iran its protectorate. In 1925, a military officer, Riza Khan, ousted Iran's ruler and shortly after ended the British protectorate. In imitation of Turkey's Kemal, Riza Khan stressed nationalism and promoted some industrialization. As we shall see, in 1951, after much agitation by Iranian nationalists and Communists, the Iranian government took over the British oil interests. The mandate which the British established over Palestine saw much fighting between Arabs and Jews. In 1948, part of Palestine became the independent nation of Israel (Chapter 28).

In 1925, the French bombed Syria's capital, Damascus, when nationalists had revolted against intolerant French rule. The French had practiced divide and rule in Syria by cutting up the mandate into different provinces, one of which was Lebanon. During World War II, Syria and Lebanon received their independence.

Between the two wars, Americans secured Middle Eastern oil concessions, especially in Saudi Arabia. The Germans had bid even higher for these concessions, but apparently the ruler, Ibn Saud, felt that Americans would be less imperialistic. Ibn Saud had conquered most of the smaller Arabian states and built nationalism around the Moslem faith. Using royalties from the oil concessions, he initiated programs for better transportation, better health, and better education.



## India, China, and Japan: Nationalism and Imperialism at Work

**India: Nationalists Use Unique Methods Against British Imperialism.** After World War I, many British jails in India were filled with Indian nationalists. Other Indian nationalists massed around jails begging to be arrested. Some would stretch out before oncoming streetcars or railroad trains to hold up traffic. These were among the many unique methods used by Indian nationalists to protest Britain's failure to grant India self-government after World War I. Many of the Indian nationalist leaders had been educated in British schools in India or in England, where they had learned about democracy and nationalism. The powerful wave of nationalism which swept over all Asia after the war struck a responsive chord in their hearts. They felt that the British did not fully appreciate India's great contribution in men,

money, and materials to the Allied victory. They demanded dominion status as India's reward.

**Some Claims and Counterclaims** To some British imperialists this demand seemed unwise and even unfair. Here is how a British imperialist might have answered this demand. "We have built railroads, telephone and telegraph systems, hospitals, schools, and irrigation systems in India. We've improved your legal system and rid the country of such evil practices as suttee (page 53). Bit by bit we've given you more and more representation in the government to prepare you for ultimate self-government. Do you Indian nationalists really think that the obstacles to India's national unity would disappear if we British were to disappear?"

Then he might have continued "Of your 400,000,000 population, the two-thirds who are Hindu are frequently disagreeing seriously with the one-quarter who are Moslem. Your Hindu religion is itself split into nearly



India's Sir C. V. Raman, Winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1930. Prove that East meets West in this photograph.

two thousand castes. You won't even permit your sixty million untouchables, who are outcasts, to enter your Hindu temples. Without us British here, who would look out for the millions of Indians who are neither Hindus nor Moslems? <sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the princes of the nearly six hundred native states don't seem to be enthusiastic about uniting with the rest of India. And we have treaties promising them protection. We've tried. But it's difficult to fight famine in a country where cattle are not slaughtered because many consider them sacred. It is difficult to fight disease in a country where many will not kill a rat for fear the spirit of a dead loved one might be living in it. Don't blame us for the extremely wide gap between your few who are very rich and your many who are very poor. For centuries Indian cities have teemed with beggars and in thousands of farm villages peasants have starved. Your immensely wealthy princes have always lived in palaces of dazzling splendor."

And here is what an Indian nationalist might have said: "Statistics show that twenty per cent of you British in one way or another make a living out of India. You British have developed only those resources and made those improvements which contribute to British prosperity. Your sale of cheap factory-

made British goods has ruined our fine handicrafts. Thus you have forced back to our overcrowded farm villages many craftsmen. You know that there is not enough land for them to make a living on. Your factory owners get rich by paying our textile workers less than twenty cents a day. You spend ten per



A Photograph of the Few Personal Possessions Which Gandhi Left the World. Notice the three monkeys which he called his teachers because they were a warning to speak no evil, to hear no evil, and to see no evil. The legacies above are a clue to Gandhi's philosophy of life. Explain.

<sup>2</sup> In India there are also Buddhists, Parsees (followers of Zoroaster), Christians, Jews, and animists (believers in spirits and demons).



✦ Mahatma Gandhi,

Pandit Jawaharlal  
Nehru ✦

Two Outstanding  
Indian Nationalist  
Leaders of the Twen-  
tieth Century. Com-  
pare these two lead-  
ers as to aims and  
methods.



cent of our taxes on schools and ninety per cent on building a big army and paying high salaries to your thousands of British officials here. No wonder you've done so little to wipe out illiteracy. You've practiced divide and rule by pitting one group against another so that you can retain your power. Why don't you go home and let us develop our rich natural resources ourselves, so that we can relieve the wretched poverty of our people? Without guns, but with the true Hindu religious spirit, our new nationalist leader, Gandhi, will get you out of India."

*Gandhi Actively Challenges the British Empire with Passive Resistance* Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948) was a skinny little man, bald and almost toothless. He usually wore only a loin cloth around his hips. Sometimes he draped a cloth over his shoulders, too. He had been married at thirteen, a custom common in his country. This deeply religious Hindu of an upper caste claimed that he was also a Christian, a Moslem, a Jew, and a believer in many other faiths. Gandhi deliberately lived in extreme poverty, existing on little more than goat's milk.

Yet he could have lived a life of luxury. Born wealthy, he had studied law in England, where he wore western-style clothing. In South Africa, where he practiced law, he made as much as thirty thousand dollars a year. Here he defended low-paid Indian

miners against racial discrimination and decided to dedicate his life and fortune to the cause of India's independence. By 1920, back in India, he had become the leader of the Indian nationalist party (the *Congress party*), which had been organized in 1885. The party recommended among other things the abolition of child marriage, co-operation between Hindus and Moslems, and an end to untouchability. Gandhi persuaded the Congress party to adopt a program of passive resistance to the British. He recommended that Indians practice civil disobedience and non-violent non-co-operation. Indians were urged not to pay taxes to the British government, not to buy British goods, not to serve in the British civil service or in their army, and not to send their children to British schools. Even if beaten or arrested, Indians were not to resist. In line with Hindu philosophy, they were "to cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing."

When some of his followers used violence, Gandhi showed his sorrow by fasting. Feeling helpless against Gandhi's methods, the British often imprisoned him and his followers. On one occasion, in 1919, a British general ordered his troops to fire on a defenseless assemblage of Indians, killing nearly four hundred of them. Such methods merely stimulated Indian nationalists, to whom Gandhi had become *Mahatma* (Great Soul or Saint).



fasts and the jail sentences of this little man brought the struggle for independence into headlines around the world.

Nehru wanted nationalism but not westernization. He urged Indians to leave British factories and even those owned by Indians to go back to such handicrafts as hand-spinning and weaving. However, his association with Jawaharlal Nehru, differed from him in teaching that India must become industrialized, modernized, and somewhat socialized. In time, as we shall see, Nehru was to become the leading figure in India.

*Independence Finally Approaches.* From 1919 on, Indian nationalist pressure compelled the British to grant Indians more and more voice in their government. But the nationalists, who wanted dominion status, were dissatisfied. The viceroy and the governors of provinces retained most power even in the new constitution which was granted in 1935. Of this constitution, Nehru said: "We will resist it, we will break it, we will tear it, and we will burn it."

Many Moslems had supported the Congress party in the struggle for independence. Many Moslems were also members of a Moslem League, headed by Ali Jinnah, which wished to set up an independent Moslem state in northern India. We shall see that Indian nationalism grew even more intense during and after World War II and eventually, in 1947, triumphed.

**China: National Disunity Invites Japanese Imperialism.** In the Chinese Republic founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, disunity prevailed from the start. The military dictator, Yuan Shi-kai, who had taken over the Chinese Republic, died in 1916. Civil wars followed between rival warlords<sup>3</sup> in the north around Peking and between some of these warlords and the Nationalist government in the south at Canton. Many feudal landown-

<sup>3</sup> A warlord has been defined as "a politician with a private army." Warlords ruled autocratically in their provinces, taxed the people heavily, and often fought the central government.



"China's four horsemen."

Peace in The...

What other horsemen would you add to explain China's plight?

Businessmen feared that a strong republic would tax them heavily and interfere with their activities. Many foreign nations feared that a strong republic would curb their economic privileges and concessions in China. And many millions of Chinese were too poverty-stricken and illiterate to know or care what the issues were about.

*Division Develops in the Nationalist Party.* Dr. Sun, leader of the Nationalist party, appealed to the western powers for military and military advisers to help him fight the warlords. The Soviet Union, which felt this was a golden opportunity to spread communist influence in China, responded with aid. Some Chinese who were impressed by the Soviet Union condemned imperialism. In that same year at the Washington Conference, nine powers, including China, formed a Chinese Red party promised that they would not interfere with China's government or territory. China formed a Chinese Red party promised to return Shantung.

Dr. Sun died in 1925. He was followed by one of his strong supporters, Chiang Kai-shek. By 1928, Chiang Kai-shek had won over most of the warlords and established a more unified government.

capital at Nanking. But division was developing within the Nationalist party itself. One group was composed of leftist students, workers, and peasants. The other, more moderate group was supported strongly by landowners, merchants, and bankers. The leftists, many of whom were Communists, were especially eager to win over the peasants, who represented the vast majority of the people. They recommended the division of large estates among peasants, the lowering of farm interest rates, high taxes on the rich, and the establishment of farm co-operatives. The moderates, led by Chiang Kai-shek, accused the leftists of being more interested in spreading Communism than in uniting China. Chiang drove the leftists out of the Nationalist party and executed hundreds. But Red party membership increased. In 1927, the Communists organized the Chinese Red Army and established a Soviet Republic in one Chinese province, where they started putting their program into effect.

*Some Changes in China Under the Nationalists* By 1930, many changes had taken place in China, especially in the important cities. The pigtail hairdress had been banned and so had the binding of women's feet. A simple written language had been created out of the spoken language of the people. Thus enabled millions to learn to read and write in a short time. Chinese cities now had telephones, movies, radio stations, airports, and small-scale factories. City people even started wearing western-style clothes. But most Chinese, especially outside the cities, went on living much as they always had.

Chiang's government established many schools, reformed the legal system, built railroads, promoted flood control projects, and, with loans from foreign powers, encouraged industry. Foreign nations promised Chiang's government to let China fix its own tariff rates, to give up some of their concessions, and to end extraterritoriality. Chiang's government outlawed all but the Nationalist party. However, it pledged that when order and unity were achieved, a true democracy

would be established in Nationalist China.

*The Manchurian Crisis Brings Temporary Unity to China* In 1931, at Mukden, a bomb blew up a section of the South Manchurian railway, which was run by the Japanese. Japan blamed the Mukden incident on the Chinese and used it as an excuse to invade Manchuria. The Nationalist-Communist warfare, which was still going on, enabled the Japanese to get a strong foothold in Manchuria. However, in 1936, these two Chinese factions agreed to drop their feud temporarily and, each with its own army, to resist further Japanese expansion in China. In 1937, the Japanese struck again. Both the Nationalists and the Communists struck back. But it wasn't long before each was accusing the other of trying to spread its own program instead of trying to defeat the common enemy.

*Japan: Imperialism Inspired by Militaristic Nationalism.* In 1932, the Japanese Prime Minister was assassinated by a fanatical nationalist for advocating peace. This was just one of many such assassinations inspired by militarists and fanatical nationalists and carried out by secret societies, such as the Black Dragon. During the 1930's, these militarists set up a Fascist government in Japan. Secret police jailed or executed many liberals and intellectuals, as well as radicals. Schools, the press, and radio became agents of Fascist propaganda. Propaganda was also spread throughout the Far East urging Asians to follow Japan's lead and oust westerners from the Orient. The Japanese promised that, if this program were successful, the entire Far East would share with Japan in great prosperity. Actually this program, the so-called *New Order*, was intended to place the Far East under Japan's political and economic domination.

Here are some reasons why the militarists were able to wield so much power in Japan. The feudal spirit of the samurai, which glorified the warrior, and fanatical nationalism, which centered in Shintoism and emperor-worship, had remained strong (page 322). As we have seen, there was little real democracy



in the Constitution of 1868, making it possible for military officials to dominate civilian officials. The militarists had won territory for Japan in the Chino-Japanese War of 1895, the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, and World War I. Thereby they had won for themselves much prestige. In violation of their League of Nations pledge, they had fortified the island mandates assigned to them after World War I.

Many Japanese capitalists feared that the militarists would go too far and provoke a world war. They favored a peaceful policy as best for business. In the 1920's, when they were in control, these moderates had shown their willingness to co-operate with other nations by signing such treaties as those of the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. For these actions they were savagely condemned by the militarists.

Then, in 1929, the depression struck. Many Japanese capitalists began to support the militarists. Why? From World War I until the depression, Japan had enjoyed a tremendous expansion of its export trade. Huge industrial trusts, owned mainly by the Zaibatsu (page 487), had copied the most efficient industrial techniques of the West. By working men and women excessively long hours at appallingly low wages, these trusts had been able to undersell western producers in world markets. Japan needed world markets desperately. With its tiny area, few natural resources, and tremendous population lacking buying power, the country had to export or die. For exports paid for the very necessary imported

food and raw materials. But as a result of the depression, other countries raised their tariffs and cut down on imports from Japan. Japanese shipping and Japanese industries were hard hit. Farmers were especially hard hit, for factories around the world had cut down on buying raw silk. And raising silk-worms was a major source of Japanese farm income.

Because of these conditions, many capitalists and others began to agree with the militarists that the solution to Japan's economic problem lay in imperialistic conquests. Many were disturbed because Chiang Kai-shek was now building a strong China, which might mean the end of Japanese influence in Manchuria. Japanese capitalists had invested vast sums in Manchurian factories and railroads and in the coal, iron, silver, and copper mines which Japan needed so much. Furthermore, since the United States, Australia, and New Zealand had barred Japanese immigration, Manchuria seemed especially desirable as an outlet for Japan's surplus population. Manchuria's fertile fields were held out as bait to Japan's heavily taxed, poverty-stricken farmers, most of whom were sharecroppers or tenants. (Yet, once Manchuria was annexed, few farmers went there.) Moreover, some government officials were concerned because some Japanese seemed to be losing faith in emperor-worship and demanding more representation in the government. A war might divert them. For all these reasons, perhaps more than because of the explosion on the South Manchurian railway, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

the New Deal • reciprocal tariffs • cash and carry clause • good neighbor policy • Rio Defense Treaty • Perón • Vargas • Chile's Popular Front • Apristas • Cárdenas • Dale • Sir Oswald Mosley • J. Ramsay MacDonald • Edward VIII • Poincaré • Maginot Line • France's Popular Front • Léon Blum • Daladier • Masaryk • Beneš • Piłsudski •

Paderewski • Dollfus • Admiral Horthy • the Iron Guard • King Carol II • General Antonescu • General Metaxas • King Alfonso XIII • Primo de Rivera • Spain's Popular Front • Spanish Civil War • Franco • non-intervention agreement • the Falange • the Arab League • Mustapha Kemal • Istanbul • the Wafd • Naguib • Riza Khan • Ibn

Saud • Mahatma Gandhi • Congress party •  
Nehru • Ali Jinnah • Moslem League • Chiang Kai-

shek • Mukden incident • Japan's New Order •  
Japan's Black Dragon society

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Discuss (a) the causes and (b) the results of the depression of 1929.
2. What steps were taken in the United States to fight the depression?
3. In what respects was the foreign policy of the United States between the two wars (a) isolationist; (b) internationalist?
4. Show that the United States and Canada have co-operated financially, politically, and in other ways.
5. Discuss the efforts to build a strong Pan-American movement between the two wars.
6. Discuss the economic relations between the United States and Latin America between the two wars.
7. For each of the Latin-American countries discussed, show to what extent it has been influenced by (a) fascist, (b) socialist, or (c) democratic ideas.
8. Discuss (a) some of the economic hardships faced by Britain between the two wars, (b) reasons for these hardships, and (c) efforts to solve Britain's economic problems.
9. Show (a) the similarities and (b) the differences between the programs of the Laborites and the Conservatives in this period.
10. Discuss some of the obstacles in the way of France's search for security.
11. Discuss each of France's efforts to achieve security.
12. What were (a) the aims, (b) the policies, and (c) the effects of France's Popular Front?
13. What steps did Czechoslovakia take to strengthen itself?
14. Discuss (a) Poland's problems after World War I and (b) Poland's efforts to solve them.
15. List the political and economic problems which threatened the Austrian republic from its birth.
16. Show how Hungary shifted from democracy to communism to fascism.
17. What problems did the Balkan countries have in common? Mention some specific problems of individual Balkan nations.
18. What problems faced Alphonso XIII of Spain?
19. Discuss some (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of the Spanish Civil War.
20. Discuss some of the obstacles to progress in the Middle East.
21. What changes did Mustapha Kemal introduce in Turkey?
22. Give evidences of the strong nationalistic movement after World War I in (a) Egypt, (b) Iraq, (c) Syria, and (d) Saudi Arabia.
23. Discuss (a) ways in which the British helped India and (b) reasons why Indian nationalists wanted independence from Britain.
24. How did Gandhi's (a) personality and (b) policies aid the cause of Indian independence?
25. What were the obstacles to unity in the newborn republic of China?
26. Discuss ways in which the Nationalists tried to westernize China.
27. Prove that Japan practiced totalitarian policies between the two wars.
28. Explain how the depression helped the militarists to gain greater control in Japan.
29. For what reasons did Japanese leaders become increasingly imperialistic in Manchuria in the 1930's?

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Knowing the causes of the depression of 1929, what steps do you think might have been taken to help prevent it?
2. The New Deal made staunch friends and bitter enemies. Explain why in each case.
3. What arguments might (a) an isolationist and (b) an internationalist have given in criticism of our foreign policy between the two wars?
4. Prove that there has been mutual profit in the friendly international relationship that has

existed between Canada and the United States.

5. How did the United States strengthen its ties with Latin America by loosening some of its controls in that area between the two wars?

6. Which trends in Latin America between the two wars do you consider (a) good; (b) bad? Give reasons.

7. Britain, like Germany, was hard hit after World War I. Yet Britain did not go totalitarian. To what extent does British history help to explain why not?

8. Many persons studying the causes of the hard times in Britain after World War I predicted that Britain was doomed as a great economic power. For what reasons?

9. If the Labor party was socialistic, why did it not introduce radical changes in Britain when it was in control in 1924 and in 1929?

10. Why did the Conservatives in this period adopt some radical changes?

11. Arrange the "Other Events Which Made the Headlines" in what you consider the order of their importance. Give reasons for your first two choices.

12. An important reason why France failed to achieve security in this period was the fact that other nations felt insecure. Discuss

13. What do you think was the most important reason for France's failure to achieve security? Why?

14. Compare the policies of France's Popular Front with those of Daladier's government.

15. What do you admire most in the history of Czechoslovakia between the two wars? Why?

16. If you had had the power, what steps would you have taken to strengthen Poland between the two wars?

17. In what respects were the problems of post-war Austria (a) similar to and (b) different from those of postwar Hungary?

18. The victorious Allies after World War I should have created a United States of the Balkans. Give arguments for or against this.

19. What is your estimate of Alfonso XIII as a king? Explain.

20. The Spanish Civil War frightened millions around the world because they saw in it a vision of the future. Discuss.

21. In what ways is the Middle East a challenge to its people?

22. Prove that Mustapha Kemal smashed some traditions and laid the foundations for others.

23. Explain the caption: "Egypt Wins Independence, But Not Quite."

24. Which do you think was the best claim made by the British in India and the best counterclaim made by an Indian nationalist? Why, in each case?

25. It was perhaps easier to practice divide and rule in India than in other areas. Give reasons why.

26. In what ways was Gandhi a most unusual man?

27. "I believe in the doctrine of non-violence as a weapon of the strongest."—Gandhi. To what extent do you agree with Gandhi?

28. If you had been the viceroy of India, how would you have coped with Gandhi's methods?

29. What steps would you have suggested to build (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) military unity in China?

30. It is not surprising that Japan chose the 1930's to strike at China. Why?

31. Show specifically how Japan between the two wars kept moving further and further away from democracy.

32. Show in what ways the policies of other countries between the two wars affected Japanese history.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map of the world indicate (a) each country mentioned in this chapter and (b) what your committee considers the highlight of each country's history between the two wars.

2. Write a brief biographical sketch of any individual mentioned in this chapter. Use as pos-

sible sources *Gunther's Inside Europe*, *Inside Latin America*, or *Inside Asia*.

3. As a research project, write a report on either (a) the effects of the depression on any one nation, or (b) Pan-Americanism between the two wars, or (c) the efforts on Latin American

country to become industrialized between the two wars, or (d) political or social conditions in any Latin-American country between the two wars, or (e) challenges to democracy in southern and eastern Europe between the two wars, or (f) nationalism on the march in the middle East or Far East. Cite your sources.

4. Debate: "Resolved that Canada and the United States should unite into one country."

5. Make a report on Popular Fronts between the two wars, in which you compare Chile's, France's, and Spain's.

6. In committee plan a pageant on Latin America. Indicate what songs, dances, costumes, and settings might help to make the pageant authentic as well as interesting.

7. Contribute to a group-made chart listing the European or Asiatic countries mentioned in this chapter, a major problem of each, steps taken to solve the problem, and your comments on these steps.

8. Write an imaginary three-cornered conversation among an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a German after World War I, in which each maintains that the problems of his country are the most serious.

9. Write in diary style "My Tour of Europe in the 1930's." Obtain information by interviewing someone who lived in or traveled in Europe at that time or by reading up on it.

10. Draw two cartoons on Turkey, one before Mustapha Kemal and one after. Get ideas from Ekrem's Turkey, *Old and New*.

### Summing Up

1. Answer the questions under each of the illustrations in this chapter in your notebook.

2. Write your own caption for each one of the countries discussed in this chapter.

11. Imagine yourself a newspaper editor between the two wars. Write an editorial entitled: *Hats Off to Czechoslovakia!*

12. In committee make a chronological series of headlines on the march of totalitarianism in Europe between the two wars, including no more than one headline for each country affected.

13. Contribute to a committee list of questions which committee members would have asked in an interview with: (a) Franklin D. Roosevelt, (b) Juan Perón, (c) Cardenas, (d) J. Ramsay MacDonald, (e) Edward VIII, (f) Poincaré, (g) Masaryk, (h) Pilsudski, (i) Dollfuss, (j) Franco, or (k) Chiang Kai-shek.

14. Contribute to a bulletin-board exhibit on the Middle East, including newspaper clippings, charts, maps, and other illustrative materials.

15. Imagine yourself reading a newspaper editorial in the 1930's denouncing Gandhi as an idealistic dreamer. Write a letter to the editor giving your views.

16. Debate: "Resolved that Mustapha Kemal's aims justified his means."

17. Prepare a speech such as Gandhi might have delivered urging an end to untouchability.

18. Contribute to an oral report, to be made by the chairman of a committee on economic and social conditions between the two wars in either (a) India or (b) China or (c) Japan.

19. Write either a poem or a composition dealing with the period between the two wars entitled: "Changing China" or "Japanese Militarists in the Saddle."

3. Sum up how your study of this chapter has influenced your thinking on what happened in the world between the two wars.

4. Outline ten highlights of this chapter.

CHAPTER

# 25 .... WORLD WAR II: PRODUCT OF PAST EVILS

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**Basic Causes of World War II • From Crisis to Crisis to the Polish Crisis • World War II Begins with a Blitzkrieg • Hitler's Persecution of the Poles • The U.S.S.R. Builds Its Fences • Hitler Takes Over Most of Europe • Japan Brings the United States into World War II • The United States Becomes the "Arsenal of Democracy" • The United States Refuses to Sell Out China • Early 1942: the Peak of Axis Success • Three Armies Defeat the Nazis in North Africa • The United Nations Find "Europe's Soft Underbelly" (Italy) Hard • The Nazi Steamroller Stopped at Stalingrad • D-Day Invasion: the Greatest Military Feat in All History • The United Nations Drive On Toward the Siegfried Line • The United Nations Knock Out the Nazis on All Fronts • Our Island-Hopping Drives the Japanese Back to Their Own Islands • Japan, Faced by Annihilation, Surrenders • World War II: Global, Total, and Big in Costs, Casualties, and Cruelties • Science in World War II: a Hint of the Future**

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## Basic Causes of World War II

Many of the basic evils which gave birth to World War I also gave birth to World War II. Nationalism and imperialism, which bred such strong hatreds before World War I, became fanatical before World War II. To illustrate, Hitler once said: "National socialism (Nazism) were worthless . . . if it would not seal the rule of the superior race (the Germans, in the eyes of the Nazis) over the entire world for at least one to two thousand years." This was Hitler's idea of a *New Order* for the world. Nazi Germany also demanded *lebensraum* (living space). Fascist Japan wanted a *New Order* in Asia. Fascist Italy referred to the Mediterranean as *mare nostrum* (our sea). Each maintained that such

countries as Britain and France were gluttonous *have* nations, which had gobbled up the richest lands and resources of the world. The Fascist nations called themselves *have-not* nations. All three stressed militarism. In Germany and Italy, the militarists became the junior partners of the ruling Fascists. In Japan, the militarists were the senior partners. The alliance known as the *Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis*, which started out as an anti-Communist pact, soon became a military alliance for aggression.

International anarchy helped to cause World War II, as it had World War I. True, there was a League of Nations, but it proved too weak to enforce its decisions, or, at times, even to make decisions (pages 605 and 606). And the nations which violated peace pacts





Why is Moscow included in the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis in this cartoon of 1939? Were any of these daggers used in the 1940's? Explain.

and disarmament agreements designed to promote security went unpunished.

Many of the basic evils which gave birth to World War II were born out of World War I. Some critics have called the Treaty of Versailles too hard on the Germans and thereby a cause of World War II. The Germans were already bitter at losing the war. And Hitler used the war-guilt clause, the reparations, the lost colonies, and the Polish Corridor as propaganda to rouse the Germans for a war of revenge. Some have said that a more important cause of World War II was the softness of the Allies in enforcing the terms of the treaty.

As we have seen, many new republics were created by the peace treaties. Of these, only Czechoslovakia remained a democracy. The others, which became dictatorships, were strongly influenced by the Fascist powers.

The depression, a major cause of World War II, was, as we have seen, largely caused by World War I. So much hardship resulted from the depression that millions were ready to listen to the promises of would-be dictators. And these dictators preached an un-

dying hatred of the democracies. The depression led to such a mad race for world markets that it caused friction not only between the Fascist powers and the democracies, but among the democracies themselves. The democracies spent so much money on recovery from the depression and on relieving distress caused by the depression, that they hesitated to spend money on armament or on punishing aggressors. This encouraged the steadily arming Fascist powers to become bolder and bolder.

Another reason for the boldness of the Fascists was the disunity among the non-Fascist nations. As we know, France, in the interests of security, wanted to enforce the terms of the Treaty of Versailles strictly. Britain, in order to preserve the balance of power and to increase trade, wanted to be more moderate toward Germany. Many Americans, fed up with Europe's quarrels, wanted to return to isolation. And Communist Russia was suspicious of both the capitalistic democracies and the Fascists.

Many hoped that Communist Russia and the Fascist nations would destroy each other in a war. In fact, the Fascist nations kept repeating that the democracies would be foolish to fight them, since they were a bulwark against Communism. And many Europeans, having experienced World War I, did not want another. This explains why, in spite of many aggressions which we shall now study, the democracies kept yielding to the Fascist nations. This yielding to some demands in the hope of preventing further aggression and avoiding a world war is called *appeasement*. And yet, ironically, appeasement was one of the most important causes of World War II.

## From Crisis to Crisis to the Polish Crisis

"Hitler is a gentleman. He helped me on with my coat." This surprising remark was made by Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Great Britain, in 1938, after Hitler

and his Fascist partners had committed many savage aggressions. Chamberlain, like millions of others in the democracies, was still athetically clinging to the false hope that Hitler and his partners had some good qualities and could be appeased.

**The Manchurian Crisis: an Example for Aggressors.** In the late 1930's, the Japanese Prime Minister said: "We have no territorial designs and no wish to make an enemy of the Chinese people." Yet, as we now, in 1931, Japan had invaded Manchuria. This was a violation of the Nine-power treaty, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and Japan's pledge as a member of the League of Nations. In protest, the Chinese people cut down their imports from Japan to one-sixth of what they had been. However, Chiang Kai-shek felt that China was too disunited to put up effective military resistance. China appealed for help to the League of Nations and to the United States, a signatory to the broken treaties. The Lytton Commission, sent by the League to investigate, condemned Japan as an aggressor. But Japan went ahead and set up a Japanese-run government in Manchuria, called *Manchukuo*, with the heir to the overthrown Manchu dynasty as its puppet head. Secretary of State Stimson of the United States declared that our country would not recognize this new government established by force in violation of treaties. Almost unanimously, the members of the League accepted the principle of the Stimson non-recognition policy.

In anger, Japan quit the League in 1933 and in effect warned that the once-open door in the Far East was to be closed to foreign nations. The League's failure to use either economic sanctions or force against Japan was a major tragedy of the twentieth century. It meant a loss of prestige for the League. It led to further Japanese aggressions in China. And other Fascist aggressors were to imitate the example that Japan had set. In a sense, World War II began in Manchuria in 1931.

The Japanese soon expanded into other

northern Chinese provinces around Manchuria. Chinese resistance then increased. In 1936, Japanese militarists were alarmed to see Chinese Communists and Chinese Nationalists getting together to put up a strong fight against Japanese aggression. Japanese militarists were even more alarmed when the 1936 election at home seemed to favor the moderates. To destroy Chinese unity and to unite the Japanese people around the militarists' program, they started a full-scale undeclared war against China in 1937. The poorly armed Chinese fought bravely. But by 1939, many cities on or near the coast, such as Peking, Shanghai, Canton, and the capital, Nanking, had fallen. Horrible cruelties were inflicted on Chinese women and children, as well as on soldiers. The Chinese people, soldiers and civilians alike, by the millions withdrew inland and set up their new capital at Chungking on the Upper Yangtse River. To it and other inland areas they transported government documents and all kinds of equipment, even the machinery of entire factories. Until World War II ended in 1945, Chinese soldiers waged guerrilla warfare which destroyed Japanese-controlled factories, bridges, and railroads and took a heavy toll of Japanese lives. Since the ports and the industrialized portions of China were in Japanese hands, the Chinese had a serious supply problem. By land, they obtained supplies for a while through Indo-China, through the specially constructed Burma Road, and from Russia. Later, supplies came only by air over the Himalaya Mountains from supply bases in India.

**The Ethiopian Crisis: Mussolini Appeased.** In 1928, Mussolini signed a treaty of perpetual friendship with Ethiopia (Abyssinia). Six years later, Mussolini menacingly announced that he held Ethiopia responsible for the border incidents between that country and Eritrea and Somaliland, African colonies of Italy. Following the Japanese Manchurian example, Mussolini used the incidents as an excuse for an undeclared war in which he invaded Ethiopia in 1935. He was thereby

violating the Kellogg-Briand Pact and Italy's obligations as a member of the League of Nations. Furthermore, his invasion was a threat to the Suez Canal and Britain's lifeline to India. British sentiment seemed to favor stopping Mussolini. But the French, ever fearful of the German threat in Europe, wanted to remain on good terms with Italy. To punish Italy, the League of Nations applied certain economic sanctions. Most members of the League stopped loans to Italy and imports from Italy. They also agreed not to sell Italy such items as munitions.<sup>1</sup> But Mussolini defied the League and threatened its members. And League members continued to sell Italy the oil, coal, and iron which Mussolini needed most. The League's fear of a world war encouraged Mussolini's warlike spirit.

Against the brave Ethiopians with their primitive weapons Mussolini's forces used

<sup>1</sup> At this time the United States was practicing isolation through its new Neutrality Laws (page 578).



What evidence can you give that the League of Nations traveled the road of Timidity and Expediency? To what extent is the League of Nations being too critical of itself?

planes, tanks, flamethrowers, and poison gas. It was more of a massacre than a war. In less than a year, Emperor Hailie Selassie was in exile and Mussolini had made the king of Italy emperor of Ethiopia. The League canceled the sanctions and Britain and France recognized Ethiopia as an Italian possession. The net result of the whole affair was Italy's withdrawal from the League, an alliance between Mussolini and Hitler (who had sent Italy supplies), and another blow to the League's prestige.

In the Spanish Civil War, too, Mussolini and his Fascist partner, Hitler, again tested the willingness of the democracies to resist aggression (page 589). And again the Fascists were appeased. Then, in 1939, Mussolini invaded and formally annexed Italy's Balkan protectorate, Albania.

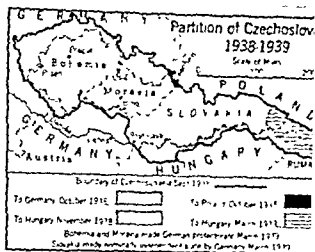
**Hitler Shows Contempt for Germany's Treaties and Neighbors.** "God knows that I wanted peace!" This statement was made by Hitler at the height of World War II, which he did so much to cause. Here is a brief calendar of the defiance and aggressions of the man who "wanted peace":

- 1933: took Germany out of the League of Nations, protesting the failure of other nations to disarm.
- 1934: attempted a Nazi *coup d'état* in Austria, but was warned off by Mussolini (not yet his partner), France, and Czechoslovakia.
- 1935: rearmed Germany and established conscription (Treaty of Versailles violated).
- 1936: occupied and fortified the Rhineland (Treaty of Versailles violated); began sending aid to Franco in the Spanish Civil War.
- 1937: renounced the war-guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles.
- 1938: succeeded in a Nazi *coup d'état* in Austria and seized the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia.
- 1939: dismembered the rest of Czechoslovakia, seized Memel from Lithuania, and invaded Poland.

**The Austrian Crisis: Hitler Appeased.**  
In 1936, Hitler signed a treaty with Austria

pledging to respect its independence. In spite of the treaty, he continued to encourage a Nazi movement in Austria by sending guns, funds, and propagandists there. When the Austrian government tried to protect itself against Nazi terrorists, Hitler made violent speeches over the radio accusing the Austrian government of terrorizing the Nazis. He next ordered Prime Minister Schuschnigg of Austria, on threat of war, to appoint Nazis to high positions in the Austrian government and not to interfere in any way with Nazi propagandists. Schuschnigg then planned a plebiscite to find out whether Austrians wanted to unite with Germany. But Hitler, fearing a "No" answer, invaded and annexed Austria before the plebiscite could be held. Neither the League nor any nation came to Austria's defense. All the ruthless techniques which were being practiced in Nazi Germany were now transplanted to Austria (page 569). Hitler conducted a typically Nazi plebiscite in which few dared to say "No." But thousands, mostly Jews, committed suicide.

**The Munich Crisis: Appeasement at Its Worst.** "The idea that you can purchase safety by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal delusion," said British statesman Winston Churchill in 1938. He was referring to the sad fate of Czechoslovakia. Once Austria was annexed, Czechoslovakia was hemmed in by German territory on three sides. Western Czechoslovakia (the Sudetenland), a well-fortified, highly industrialized area, had about three million German-speaking inhabitants. Although the Sudetenland had never been part of Germany, Hitler demanded its annexation. This was part of his program for a Greater Germany (page 563). To gain his end, he used the familiar Nazi strategy of terror. A Sudeten Nazi party was formed under the leadership of Konrad Henlein, a native of the Sudetenland. Riots were incited and the Czech government was threatened. False propaganda was spread to make the Sudeten Germans appear to be the helpless victims of horrible Czech atrocities and discrimination. German troops were



mobilized on the border. The Czech government made many concessions to the Sudeten Germans. But the more they made, the more fanatical did Henlein's propaganda become.

The courageous Czechs got their army ready. They looked to their allies, Russia and France, and to Great Britain for support. Russia pointed out that its treaty did not bind it to help Czechoslovakia unless France did. France hesitated to act without Britain's backing. And both France and Britain were reluctant to co-operate with Communist Russia. Britain's Chamberlain rushed by plane to Germany to request Hitler not to go to war. But Hitler's price for peace, the Sudetenland, was finally agreed to by Chamberlain and Prime Minister Daladier of France. They met in September 1938 with Hitler and Mussolini and signed the Munich Pact. This granted Hitler not only the Sudetenland, but other areas of Czechoslovakia inhabited by German-speaking peoples. Neither the Czechs nor the Russians were invited to the Munich Conference. When Germany occupied the ceded area, Hungary and Poland, with Hitler's approval, also annexed Czechoslovakian territory.

Of the Munich Pact, Chamberlain proudly proclaimed that it meant "peace for our time." Of the Sudetenland, Hitler said "This is the last territorial demand I have to make in Europe. . . We do not want any Czechs." But six months later, in another bloodless victory, and in violation of the Munich Pact, he had either annexed or placed under German protection the rest of Czechoslovakia.

Then the sobs of millions of Czechs were drowned out by the rumble of Nazi tanks in Czech streets.

By this time, the democracies were beginning to agree with Winston Churchill that "there is not much collective security in a flock of sheep on the way to the butcher." When they saw Hitler starting his strategy of terror in Poland, they were convinced that appeasement must stop.

## The Polish Crisis: World War II Begins with a Blitzkrieg

In 1934, Hitler had made a non-aggression pact with Poland. Four years later, he said: "Germany respects Polish rights." Yet in 1939, he started making demands which would have meant the end of an independent Poland. The Treaty of Versailles had created a Polish Corridor and had given Poland access to the Baltic Sea through the Free City of Danzig. Hitler demanded Danzig, with its many German inhabitants, and a corridor through the Polish Corridor to connect East Prussia with the rest of Germany. Now it was the Poles who were accused of practicing the sort of atrocities of which the Nazis themselves were guilty. Recognizing the familiar refrain, France and Britain, both rapidly re-arming, promised Poland military support if necessary. Rumania, Greece, and Turkey were given similar assurances. France and Britain were on the verge of negotiating a mutual assistance pact with Russia, too. However, they would not yield to Russia's demand for control of the Baltic states. And Poland, much of which had been ruled by Russia for over a century and a half, feared Russian help.

In August, 1939, the democracies were amazed and alarmed to learn that Communist-hating Hitler had signed a non-aggression pact with the Fascist-hating U.S.S.R. Thus free from a possible attack from the east, Hitler issued sixteen demands to the Polish ambassador on the night of August 31st. Before the ambassador could get in

touch with his government for consultation, the Nazis had cut the communications wires. A few hours later, on the morning of September 1st, from the west, north, and south, German armies were slashing through Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. After twenty tense years, filled with friction, fear, and suspicion, Europe was at war again. To many, these years were the years of a long armistice, and World War II was merely World War I continued.

In Poland the Germans used methods which they were to use again and again in conquering one nation after another. They enlisted the aid of traitors within the country — called *fifth columnists*<sup>2</sup> during World War

<sup>2</sup> This term originated during the Spanish Civil War, when four columns of Fascist troops were marching on Madrid. A Fascist general said he had a fifth column working with him in Madrid.



11. To guide German pilots, some Polish fifth columnists piled up hay in their fields in the shape of an arrow pointing toward munitions centers. Nazis, imitating the voices of Polish announcers, broadcast that Warsaw had surrendered long before it had. This softened up other Polish cities, which felt that it was hopeless to resist the invaders.

The *blitzkrieg* (co-ordinated lightning warfare) was introduced. Planes, tanks, artillery, and motorized infantry were all co-ordinated as a team to bring about the enemy's surrender or total destruction. Paratroopers dropped from the skies behind enemy lines to cut communications and supply lines and capture vital centers. By surprise attacks, speedily executed, the invaders cut off, enveloped, and crushed segments of the enemy's forces. The Nazis were demonstrating to the world that mobile, offensive warfare was replacing the positional, defensive, trench warfare of World War I.

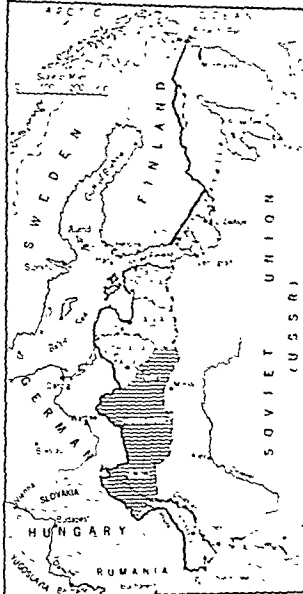
After twenty-eight days of brave resistance, the Poles, with their old-fashioned army, equipment, and methods, surrendered. Their allies had been unable to get aid to them.

## Hitler's Persecution of the Poles

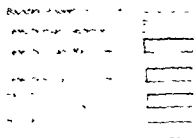
Hitler had treated the annexed Austrians and Czechoslovakians cruelly, but his treatment of the conquered Poles was savage. Millions of healthy Poles were packed off to Germany to serve as slave laborers. So intense was their suffering that many did not survive. Germans were transplanted to take over the homes of displaced Poles. Jews and Poles who could not prove useful to the Nazis were confined to a small area where most of them died from extreme hunger, disease, or torture. To prevent the Polish people from rallying around leaders, outstanding men in every field were executed.

## The U.S.S.R. Builds Its Fences

Even before Poland surrendered, the Russians, with Hitler's consent, had occupied



Russian Gains 1939-1940



eastern Poland. Germany took the western part of Poland. Then the Russians took Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The USSR permitted to establish military and air bases in their countries. Later they were annexed by the USSR. The

land refused Russia naval and air bases, and the Russians, in spite of a non-aggression pact, invaded Finland. The Finns stoutly resisted, but were overcome in 1940. They were forced to yield a naval base and considerable territory, which was then fortified to protect the nearby city of Leningrad. The U.S.S.R. was expelled from the almost forgotten League of Nations for this aggression.

In 1941, the U.S.S.R. compelled Rumania to give up much of its eastern territory, including Bessarabia. Thus Russia was building its fences from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This indicated that, in spite of the German-Russian non-aggression pact, Russia expected Hitler to attack its western border.

## Hitler Takes Over Most of Europe

After the fall of Poland, Hitler announced that, since he had no grudge against the western democracies, he was quite ready to make peace with them. At the same time, through fifth columnists and bribed newspapers in nearby countries, the Nazis spread frightening rumors that they had horrible secret weapons as yet unused. To split the allies, they circulated such statements as: "The British will fight to the last Frenchman." But Hitler's promises, threats, and propaganda did not deceive the French and British governments.

The French and British felt that their staying power would win for them as it had in World War I. Therefore, they set up a naval blockade in the hope of starving out Germany. Within a few months they had also practically cleared the seas of German merchant ships. However, the Germans continued to get supplies from the Scandinavian countries, the Lowland countries, the Balkans, and Russia. To starve out Great Britain, the Germans, as in World War I, started using unrestricted submarine warfare with much success. Many German bombers also sank many British ships. The French had expected this to be another defensive war. That is why they had built their *Maginot Line* along the



Discuss the significance of this cartoon from World War II. Make a list of the "Musserts" of other countries which came under Hitler's domination, and describe the fate of some.

French-German border. For six months throughout the winter of 1939-1940, French soldiers waited in this Maginot Line while German soldiers sat it out in a similar line of fortifications, called the *Siegfried Line*. So little fighting took place that many began calling this a *sitzkrieg* and a *phony war*.

Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, Holland, and Belgium Blitzed. In April 1940, the *sitzkrieg* ended and another *blitzkrieg* began. Professing to protect Denmark and Norway from an impending attack by Britain and France, Hitler invaded these little countries. The same day, Denmark, with its rich dairy products, was in his hands. German soldiers, disguised as tourists and businessmen, had paved the way for the invasion of Norway. So had fifth columnists, headed by a Norwegian major, Quisling, whose name has since come to mean *traitor*. Many German soldiers had been waiting in the harbor in the holds of merchant ships for the invasion signal. The Norwegians, with some help from the British, fought valiantly for

Rotterdam After It Was "Blitzed" by Hitler's Bombers in World War II. List the reasons why the world was shocked by Hitler's attack on Rotterdam. Name other cities in other countries which shared Rotterdam's fate.



three months, until their important port, Narvik, fell. It was by way of Narvik that the Germans imported much of Sweden's fine iron ore. These conquests meant that France was assured of continuing imports from Scandinavia. From Norway German submarines and planes could conveniently sally forth to attack the British. Furthermore, occupied Norway and Denmark were a bulwark against invasion of Germany from the north.

One day in May, Hitler told the Dutch and Belgians that they need not fear German invasion. The next day, he applied his blitzkrieg tactics to both, and to Luxembourg, too. He maintained that this was only for their own protection. Luxembourg succumbed quickly. Fleeing Dutch refugees were ruthlessly machine-gunned from the air. The city of Rotterdam surrendered, but it continued to be subjected to brutal bombardment, nevertheless. In less than five days, Holland was in Nazi hands. With help from French and British troops, Belgium held out for eighteen days. But then King Leopold III surrendered, asserting that resistance was hopeless. While Belgium was under Nazi domination, many Belgians joined a resistance movement, called an *underground*. They

were critical of their king for surrendering, pointing out that King Haakon VII of Norway and Queen Wilhelmina of Holland had set up governments-in-exile in Britain.

**The Miracle at Dunkirk.** With France weakening, the Nazis were able to flank the Maginot Line—which had not been extended to the channel along the French-Belgian border. The Nazis then drove across northern France to seize such channel ports as Calais and Boulogne. Nearly 350,000 British and French troops were driven to Dunkirk, a channel port. Their backs were to the sea. Annihilation faced them. But protected by the still-small Royal Air Force (R.A.F.), most of these were miraculously evacuated to England. The rescue was accomplished not only by British warships, but by private yachts, fishing boats, and even rowboats, pressed into emergency service.

**The Nazis Occupy Part of France and Dominate Unoccupied France.** From Dunkirk, the Nazi war machine rolled southward toward Paris. The French army defending Paris had been trained to fight a World War I, not a World War II. And some French government officials were fifth columnists. Not realizing all this, the democratic world was shocked and also saddened on June 14.





is saved by the heroic fight put up by the outnumbered R.A.F. in their speedy Spitfire planes. They shot thousands of Nazi planes out of the skies over Britain and even carried the offensive to targets in Germany. Unable to afford such Luftwaffe losses, Hitler was obliged to reduce his mass raids. Of the R.A.F., mainly young boys, Churchill said: "Never . . . was so much owed by so many to so few." The word "quit" was not in the vocabulary of the hard-pressed British people. Of them it might well be said: "This was their finest hour."

**Hitler Rescues Mussolini in North Africa and Greece.** While Hitler was blitzing Britain, Mussolini was launching campaigns in North Africa and Greece to achieve his *mare nostrum*. The Axis was eager to oust the British from Egypt and win control of the Suez Canal. This would not only cut Britain's lifeline to India and the Pacific, but also give the Axis access to the oil of the Middle East. In September 1940, Italian troops, striking from Libya, invaded Egypt. In October 1940, Italian troops, striking from

Albania, invaded Greece. Soon British General Wavell drove the Italians out of Egypt and back to Libya. A few months later, the British seized Italian Somaliland and Eritrea and restored Emperor Haile Selassie to the throne of Ethiopia. This ended the menace of an Italian invasion of Egypt from the south. Soon, too, the poorly equipped Greeks drove the highly mechanized Italian forces out of Greece and back into Albania. In both North Africa and Greece, Hitler came to Mussolini's rescue in 1941.

By this time, Hitler's *living space* included Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. Hitler's promises, threats, and propaganda and the activity of their own fifth columnists had caused their downfall. In the spring of 1941, Nazi troops broke the resistance of the gallant Yugoslavs and Greeks. However, guerrilla warfare continued in Yugoslavia. The British had given the Greeks some support, but to no avail. Now the Balkans were Hitler's, too. Shortly afterward, by a parachute invasion of tanks as well as troops, the Nazis captured the island of Crete near Greece from the British. This brought the Nazis closer to their goal, the Suez Canal. It also enabled them to strike at British Mediterranean shipping. And in North Africa, Nazi General Rommel drove the British back eastward to the Egyptian border. However, the Nazi attempt to get at Middle Eastern oil was checked when pro-Nazi governments in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran were overthrown by the Allies.

**Hitler, Like Napoleon, Goes Too Far in Russia.** On June 22, 1941, Hitler made his second great military mistake. From the Baltic to the Black Sea, along a two-thousand-mile front, he invaded Russia. This was in violation of their non-aggression pact and without a declaration of war. Soldiers from Italy, Rumania, Hungary, and Finland joined the Nazi blitzknegers. So did volunteers from Pétain's France and Franco's Spain.

Why did Hitler endanger Germany by creating a two-front war? The brave resistance of the British and the steady flow of



"The Spirit of London"

From your knowledge of the experiences of England in World War II, explain this cartoon.

supplies from the United States and the British Empire had indicated that it was going to be a long war. A long war would require tremendous resources. Hitler thought that he could defeat Russia in about four months and thereby feed the Nazi war machine with grain from the Ukraine, coal from the Donetz Basin, and oil from the Caucasus. Moreover, knowing that the Russians were hostile to Nazi occupation of the Balkans, Hitler feared a Russian attack. He knew that he could count upon the support of some of the Baltic and Balkan countries because of Russian aggression there. He hoped that a war against Communist Russia would win approval in anti-Communist Britain and the United States. Britain, he thought, might even accept a negotiated peace with the Nazis. He was disappointed when Churchill said: "Any man or state who fights against Nazi domination will have our aid." American shipment of military supplies to Russia was another blow to Hitler's hopes.

The Nazi armies drove to the very doors of Leningrad in the north and of Moscow in central Russia. In the south, they captured such important cities as Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa, and Rostov on the threshold of the Caucasus. On October 1st, Hitler boasted: "Russia is finished and will never rise again." But the Russians, by using tactics similar to those employed against Napoleon (page 341), proved that Hitler spoke too soon. As they retreated, the Russians destroyed everything that could be useful to the invaders — crops, factories, and even their gigantic Dnieprostroy Dam. Machinery was transported to new factories which were constructed in the Urals and far-off Siberia. Nazi blitzkrieg tactics were handicapped by Russian guerrilla fighting and by the skill with which Russian generals such as Voroshilov and Timoshenko used their own mechanized armies. With such tremendous territory, Russia could well afford to "trade space for time." Their time came when the coldest winter in over a century set in early. The Communists, capitalizing on the fact that the Nazis were

unaccustomed to such conditions and were far from their base of supply, began their counteroffensive. Suffering millions of casualties, the Russians, by December 1941, had regained nearly a quarter of their lost territory.

## Japan Brings the United States into World War II

The third major military mistake of the Axis powers was made by Japan. On December 7, 1941, three waves of Japanese bombers, launched from aircraft carriers, struck at our naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Japanese midget submarines let loose their torpedoes. Nearly five thousand American casualties resulted and our Pacific fleet was critically damaged. On the day following this black day in our history, the United States declared war on Japan. A few days later, Japan's Axis partners, Germany and Italy, declared war on the United States. Yet the United States had been so determined to keep out of war that in 1935 it had passed neutrality acts surrendering its rights as a neutral (page 578). Many Americans at first felt that the Fascists were not a threat to the United States. But as they saw the Fascist aggressors taking over little countries, a strong desire had developed here to aid the democracies. Now many began to feel that our own security would be threatened if all Europe were to come under Nazi domination. Thus, in 1939, Congress, urged on by President Roosevelt, had passed a new Neutrality Act with a *cash and carry* clause. This helped the British and French to get needed material (page 578).

**Some Preparations Prior to Pearl Harbor.** When France fell, military preparation in the United States increased, and so did aid to Britain. Now millions of Americans began to fear that if Britain should fall, we might be next. The United States started building a powerful two-ocean navy and a huge air force. Congress passed the Selective Service Act, providing for the first peace-

time draft in American history. Greater military and economic co-operation between the United States and Canada, and with the Latin-American countries which had declared war on our side, followed. (Argentina and Chile refused to take part in these defense measures.) In exchange for fifty over-age destroyers, Great Britain granted the United States long-term leases on eight naval and air bases on British territory in the western hemisphere. These extended from Newfoundland in the north to British Guiana in the south.

The United States Becomes the "Arsenal of Democracy." Early in 1941, President Roosevelt, who had just been re-elected for a third term, urged Congress to do more for the democracies. In response, after heated debate, Congress passed a law designed to help any nation which the President felt was protecting the United States by fighting Fascist aggressors. This law, the *Lend-Lease Act*, permitted the President to sell, lend, lease, or otherwise transfer all types of military supplies to such nations. By the end of the war, the value of lend-lease supplies totaled over forty billion dollars, the largest share going to Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> Thus the United States became what President Roosevelt called the *arsenal of democracy*. But Nazi submarines at first took deadly toll of the ships carrying lend-lease goods to Britain. To protect the sea route to Britain, the United States maintained naval convoys and air patrols and stationed military forces in Iceland and Greenland. The American navy was ordered to shoot on sight Nazi submarines which attacked American vessels. Thus, even before the Pearl Harbor attack, there was an undeclared naval war between Germany and the United States.

The United States Refuses to Sell out China. The main reason for Japan's attack on

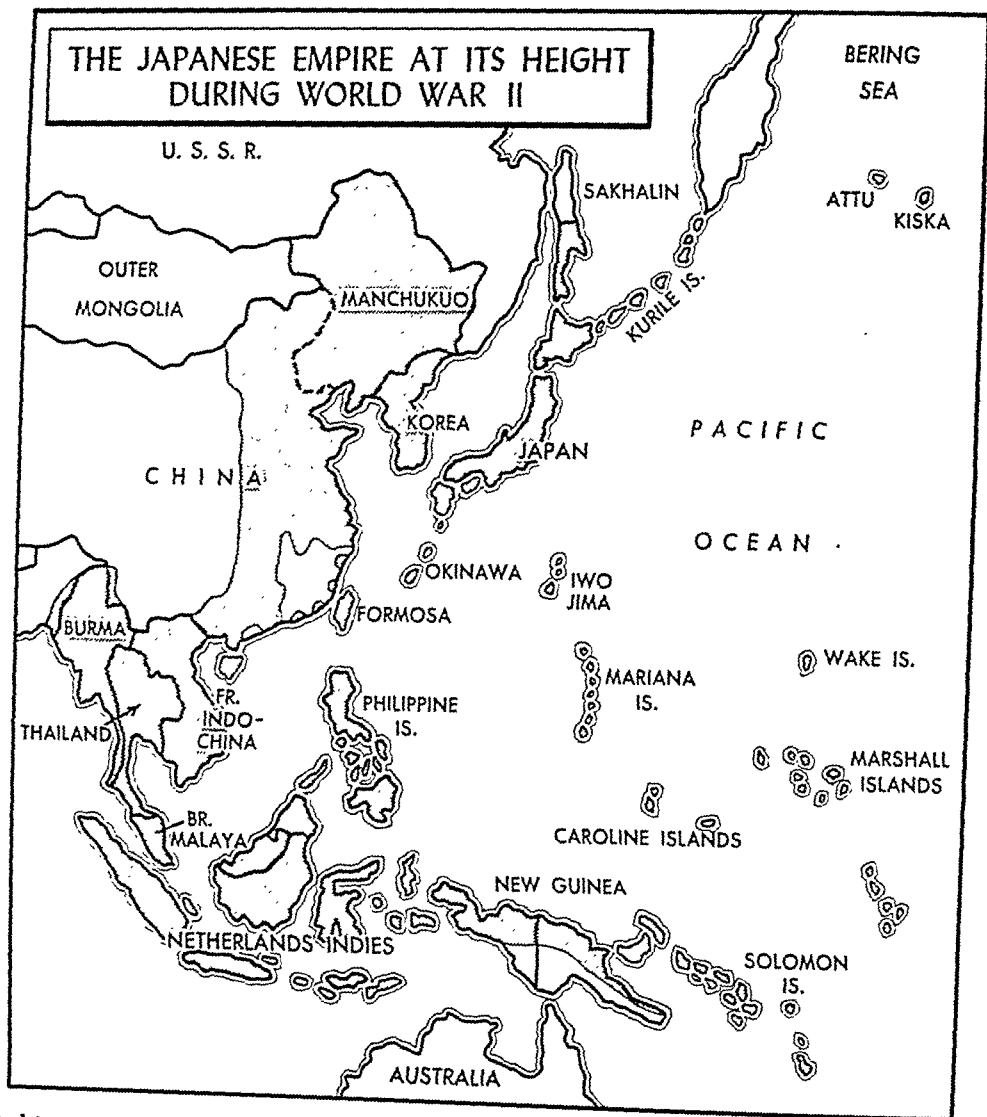


Statue of Franklin D. Roosevelt in London. For what reasons are the British so grateful to this former President of the United States?

Pearl Harbor was Japan's longstanding desire to close the *open door* in China and to build its New Order in the Far East. With France fallen, Britain being bombed, Russia invaded, and the United States unprepared, the Japanese thought that the time was ripe for achieving these goals.

The Japanese had occupied French Indo-China in 1940 with the approval of the Nazi-dominated Vichy government of France. Now they could block the transportation of munitions to China through Indo-China. It looked, too, as though the rich Netherlands East Indies, or perhaps our Philippines and other American Pacific possessions, were next on Japan's timetable. Early in 1941, the Japanese government had tried to obtain American approval of Japanese domination of China. In return, they promised to share domination of the Pacific with us. We refused. We repeated our belief in the open door policy and in the right of every nation to be free from foreign interference. At

<sup>3</sup> After the United States entered World War II, our allies contributed the equivalent of lend-lease supplies in the form of raw materials to us and clothing, food, munitions, and medical attention to our troops stationed abroad.



about this time, the United States, the British, and the Dutch government-in-exile prohibited their people from shipping iron or oil to Japan. And we stepped up our shipments to China by way of the Burma Road. Then in October 1941, militaristic and imperialistic General Tojo became Prime Minister of Japan. Friction between the United States and Japan increased. While a Japanese peace mission in Washington was supposed to be trying to mend relations, the sneak attack of Fascist Japan on Pearl Harbor took place.

### Early 1942: the Peak of Axis Success

After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese speeded up their own blitzkrieg. Near Singapore, they

blew up two of Britain's newest battleships. Near Java, they crippled an Allied fleet. Now Japan was mistress of the Pacific. By summer of 1942, practically all of southeast Asia was part of the Japanese Empire. The Japanese seized such American possessions as the Philippines and the naval bases at Wake, Guam, and Midway. They grabbed British Hong Kong, Malaya (including the famous naval base at Singapore), and Burma. They easily annexed independent Siam (Thailand) and conquered the Netherlands East Indies. Japanese occupation of the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, and New Britain indicated that Japan was poised for an attack on Australia. Even North America was threatened when the Japanese seized two of the Aleutian

Islands, steppingstones to Alaska. By conquering Burma, the Japanese were able to cut the Burma Road supply route to China and to threaten India. Many Asians cooperated with the Japanese in their speedy conquests because they were victims of Japanese propaganda and bitter opponents of western imperialism.

But when the Japanese tried to seize the Philippines, many Filipinos fought bravely by the side of the Americans throughout the islands. Their last stronghold was the fortress of Corregidor on Bataan peninsula. Before it fell in May 1942, General MacArthur was instructed by President Roosevelt to escape to Australia to plan the counteroffensive. But MacArthur pledged: "I shall return."

Early 1942 was a black period for the Allies (known as the *United Nations*) on other fronts as well. Everywhere they were suffering severe shipping losses. After the harsh Russian winter in which they had suffered some serious setbacks, the Nazis recovered and slashed their way southeastward into the Caucasus and to Stalingrad on the Volga River. In North Africa, by summertime, General Rommel had driven to El Alamein, Egypt, less than seventy miles from the British naval base at Alexandria. Axis forces seemed to be moving in on the Middle East from three directions: Nazi troops from the north (the Caucasus) and the west (Egypt) and Japanese forces from the Far East. Success in this Axis strategy might have meant a speedy Axis victory and eventually world domination. It would have given the Axis control of the Mediterranean, of the Suez Canal, of Middle Eastern oil, and of the great natural wealth of much of Asia. It would have made it impossible for the United States to get lend-lease materials to Russia by way of Iran.

## The United Nations Gradually Shift from the Defensive to the Offensive

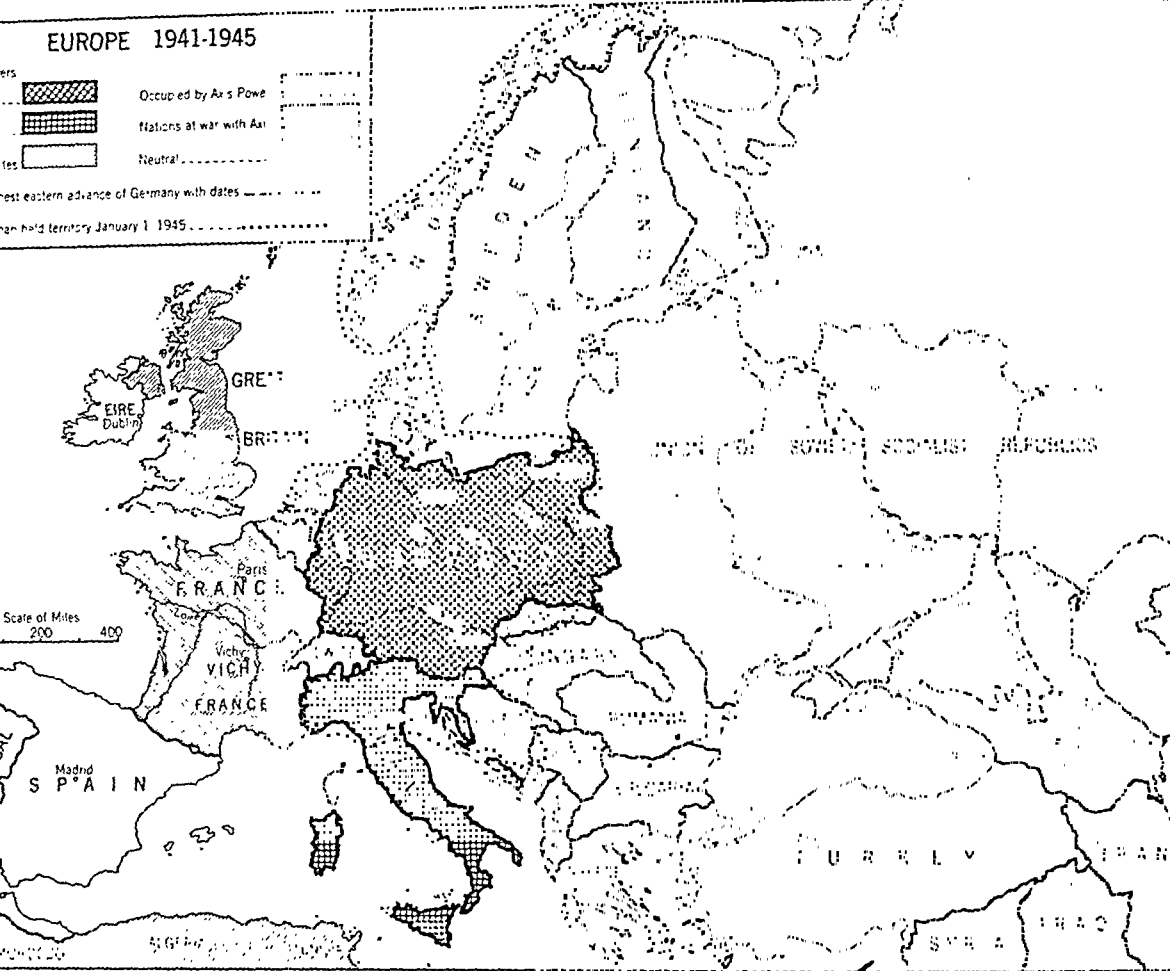
In late 1942, the tide began to turn slowly in favor of the United Nations. A bold Allied

counteroffensive began on 22 October swept Rommel's tanks nearly fifteen hundred miles back to Tunisia. The hard-fought attacking army, which had been put through Spartan like training, was made up of forces from many parts of the British Empire. Its leader, tough, aggressive British General Montgomery, began the counterattack declaring: "The Lord mighty in battle will give us the victory." Montgomery's army was now well-equipped, mainly with war materials fresh from American factories.

The ability of American industry to convert quickly from peacetime production to the production of vast quantities of war materials amazed the United Nations and alarmed the Axis. This production was to be a major reason for United Nations' victories on all fronts. Approximately seventy thousand planes a year were now coming off the assembly lines. So many merchant ships and warships were being built that it was obvious that the Battle of the Atlantic would soon be won. British bombers by night and American bombers by day were raining thousands of bombs upon Germany's industrial cities.

**Three Armies Defeat the Nazis in North Africa.** In November, 850 ships (transports and warships) brought British and American troops to Morocco and Algeria under the command of American General Eisenhower. These troops began pressing Rommel's Nazi-Italian forces from the west. Montgomery's army closed in from the east and the Free French from the south. In May 1943, after desperate fighting, the United Nations finally won the North African campaign.

**The United Nations Find "Europe's Soft Underbelly" (Italy) Hard.** The United Nations used recaptured North Africa as a jumping-off place for the offensive against Italy in July 1943. They plastered Sicily with bombs and then proceeded by paratroopers, invaded the island. Next the mainland of Italy was subjected to the plastering process. That was when some members of the Fascist Grand Council decided that they had



had enough of Mussolini and of Fascism. Mussolini was imprisoned and the new government, headed by Marshal Badoglio, dissolved the Fascist party. Soon Nazi paratroopers snatched Mussolini from prison. They had him organize a government in north Italy completely dominated by the Nazis.

Although Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel III had agreed to an unconditional surrender, the Germans, who controlled most of Italy, savagely resisted the invaders. In establishing beachheads at Salerno, south of Naples, and later at Anzio, south of Rome, United Nations troops suffered great losses. They were almost driven back into the sea. The entire Italian campaign was a heart-breaking endurance test for General Mark Clark's American army and for General Montgomery's British army. Snow, mud, moun-

tains, rivers, and heavily fortified Nazi lines made progress slow. It had been predicted that Italy would be a good spot for invading Hitler's European fortress, because it was said to be "Europe's soft underbelly." But there was nothing soft about the Italian campaign. After much bloodshed, on June 4, 1944, to the cheers of the Italians, American tanks rolled into Rome. But north Italy was still to be won.

**The Nazi Steamroller Stopped at Stalingrad.** In August 1942, with a powerful Nazi army shattering Stalingrad to rubble and with another Nazi army in the Caucasus, it looked as if Russia could never take the offensive. Nazi planes swarmed the skies over Stalingrad, dropping thousands of bombs by day and night. Nazi troops and tanks swarmed the city itself. But Russian workers, women, and children joined soldiers to de-

tend what was left of their city. In backyards, cellars, and factory ruins, hand-to-hand battles were waged. Months passed. Stalingrad held out under Marshal Zhukov. Hitler then explained to the Germans: "We are taking so long because we do not want mass murder."

When cold weather set in, the Russians began their counteroffensive, using fresh troops from across the Volga. By February 1943, they had encircled the Nazi army and compelled it to surrender. Of the 330,000 invaders, only about 100,000 survived the typhus epidemics, freezing weather, starvation, and furious fighting, to be captured by the Russians. Lend-lease supplies from American factories, increased production from their own factories, British bombing of German factories, and Hitler's need to keep troops in North Africa all contributed to the Russian victory. Stalingrad was one of the most decisive battles of World War II, and perhaps of all time. It helped to prove that, in spite of their many successful blitzkriegs, the Nazis were not invincible. It meant a long, two-front war for the Nazis at a time when the supplies of the United Nations were increasing while theirs were decreasing.

Victory at Stalingrad inspired the Russians to drive on relentlessly through the winter. And after that only once, for a brief period in the summer of 1943, were the Nazis able to take the offensive again against the Russians. Otherwise, the Russians kept throwing the Nazis back all along the line, killing millions of them and dying by the millions themselves. By the end of 1944, the Finns, the Rumanians, and the Bulgarians had surrendered and much of Poland was occupied. Meanwhile, the British had invaded Greece. With the help of Marshal Tito's Yugoslav guerrillas, Russian troops also captured the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, from the Nazis.

**D-Day Invasion: the Greatest Military Feat in All History.** Before dawn on June 6, 1944 (*D-Day*), the event for which the world had been waiting centuries. The United Nations landed troops on the beaches of Normandy, between Caen and the Havre, France. For many years the invasion had been carefully planned under the direction of Allied Commander Eisenhower and his United Nations army. Eisenhower and his American bomber and fighter squadrons round-the-clock bombed the German coastal defenses. The Allies had to destroy the

General Dwight D. Eisenhower gives the D-Day order, "Full victory, nothing else," to paratroopers somewhere in England just before they board their planes to participate in the first assault in the invasion of the continent of Europe.





been won and thousands of American troops and vast stores of American equipment had been transported to the British Isles. Day after day, landing operations had been rehearsed. For a few months before D-Day, the invasion coast had been heavily bombarded. A few hours before the invasion, paratroopers had been dropped behind the German fortifications to pave the way for the invaders. Eleven thousand planes and four thousand ships took part in this colossal undertaking. Two tremendous artificial harbors were transported to make it easier for ships to land equipment.

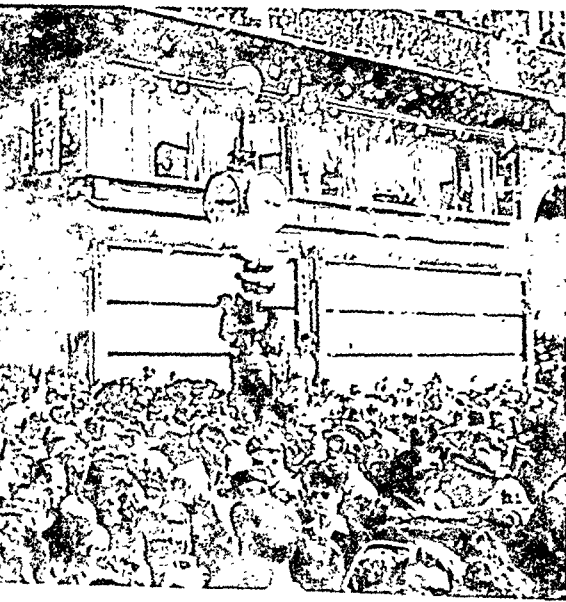
A choppy sea and all kinds of underwater obstacles, including mines and barbed wire, slowed up the first wave of Americans, Canadians, and British to hit the beaches. From concrete fortifications, Nazi artillery and machine guns raked the beach. But the careful preparation and the bravery of the Allies paid. Two hundred fifty thousand troops were landed on D-Day. Within a few weeks there were over a million Allied troops and vast quantities of equipment in France, with more coming every day. Aiding the invaders

were the Maquis, who sabotaged Nazi-held bridges, trains, and communications.

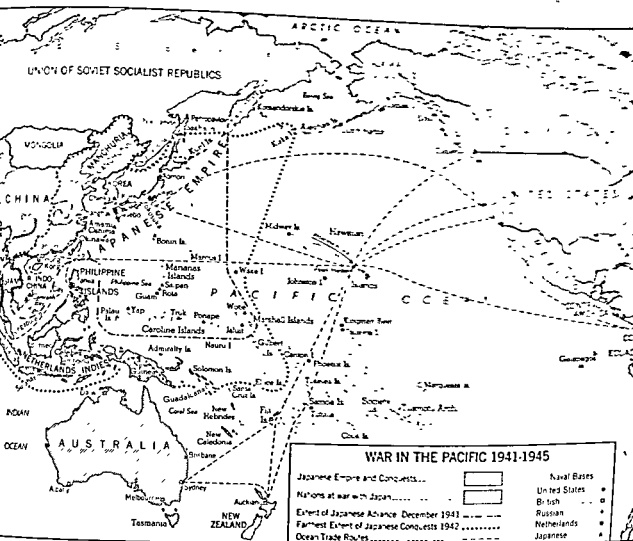
After fierce fighting in Normandy, American forces broke through into central France and fought on toward Paris. On August 25th, a Free French division, an American division, and the Maquis compelled the Nazis to surrender Paris. Seldom has Paris seen such a hilarious celebration as the one which followed the surrender.

**The United Nations Drive on Toward the Siegfried Line.** Meanwhile, the British and Canadians were seizing many channel ports and recovering Nazi-held cities in Belgium and Holland. And an army of Americans, British, and French was invading southern France from the Mediterranean between Nice and Toulon. By September 12th, American troops were in Germany, attacking the Siegfried Line. But here the Nazis put up a strong defense. They even organized a counteroffensive which took them through the Ardennes region of Belgium. Because in this last gasp the Nazis drove a fifty-mile wedge into Allied territory, their counteroffensive is known as the *Battle of the Bulge*. The Nazis had put together an army of their best remaining troops with what was left of their best equipment. They even dropped paratroopers dressed in Allied uniforms behind Allied lines. Nazi success might have enabled them to push on to recapture such channel ports as Antwerp. It was through Antwerp that the Allies were getting most of their supplies for the final attack on Germany. But by January 15, 1945, the bulge had ceased to be and the Nazis were scampering back to the Siegfried Line. Both sides suffered staggering losses.

**The United Nations Knock out the Nazis on All Fronts.** By January 15th, too, millions of Russian troops were waging another winter offensive. All along a long line from the Baltic to Rumania, they pushed westward. In late March, they crossed the Oder River and moved on Berlin. Now, from the west, east, and south, Germany was pounded with bombs by the United Nations. In Italy,



Parisians at the Place de l'Opéra in Paris greet the news of victory in World War II with delirious joy.



a United Nations army made up of Americans, English, French, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, Poles, Brazilians, Indians, Palestinian Jews, and non-Fascist Italians forced a German surrender on May 2nd. Some members of the Italian underground, which had aided the Allies, captured Mussolini and some of his followers. They shot them, dragged their corpses to a public square, and hanged them upside down for all to see.

In February, the British, French, and American troops cracked the Siegfried Line and continued their drive to the Rhine River. After they had crossed the Rhine in April, Nazi resistance seemed to melt away. American armies reached the Elbe River, where they met Russian troops at Torgau near Dresden. Soon, German generals in several

areas were surrendering. In Berlin, in late April, German soldiers put up a strong last-ditch fight, but to no avail. Within a few days the city surrendered to the Russians. Hitler could not be located. He was said to have shot himself and his body to have been cremated. And on May 8th, V-E Day (Victory-in-Europe Day), Germany's unconditional surrender was proclaimed to the world.

**Our Island-Hopping Drives the Japanese Back to Their Own Islands.** After V-E Day, the United Nations looked hopefully toward a V-J Day (Victory-over-Japan Day). The tide in the Pacific had begun to turn with the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway. For an attack on Australia, the Japanese had dispatched a fleet to the Coral Sea. It was intercepted by an American fleet. Over a ship was fired from the ships of other fleets, which

were out of sight of one another. But for several days in May, 1942, carrier-based planes on each side did much damage to the other. It was a victory for the Americans, because this threatened Japanese invasion of Australia was halted. A month later, another Japanese invasion fleet en route to the Hawaiian Islands was almost annihilated off Midway Island. Again the damage was done by planes rather than battleships. These two victories helped to maintain America's supply lines to the South Pacific.

"How can we get close enough to strike at Japan?" This was the problem that faced Allied strategists. For Japan was protected by numerous well-fortified islands scattered throughout the western Pacific. Commander-in-Chief of the Southwest Pacific Area, General Douglas MacArthur, and Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz decided not to attempt the long-drawn-out and costly task of seizing all the Japanese-held islands. Instead, their goal was selected islands in each group which might be used as springboards for invasion of other key points closer to Japan. This strategy was called *island-hopping*. By it, eventually, great numbers of Japanese troops were cut off from aid and supplies from the homeland. Such isolated units were rendered useless to the Japanese. Another phase of Allied strategy was to recapture Burma by way of India and to strengthen Chinese resistance by reopening China's supply lines from Burma.

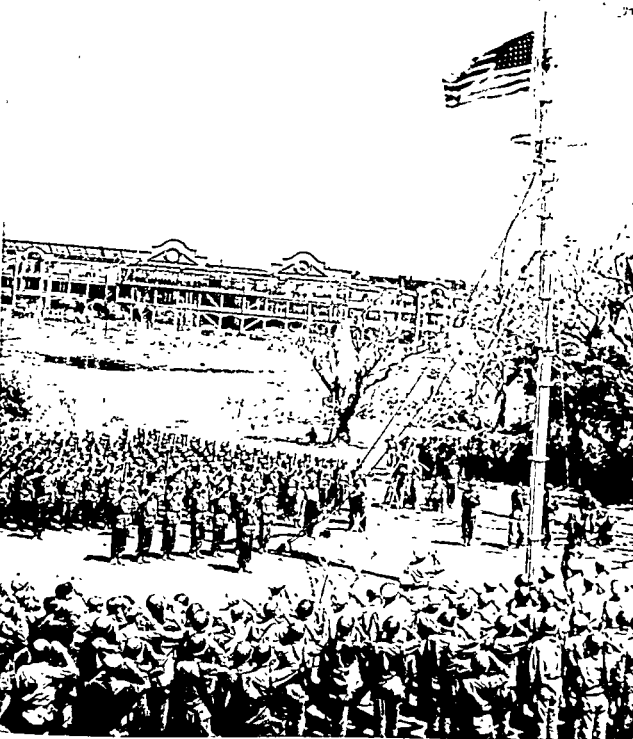
*Island-Hopping Back to the Philippines.* In order to get started on the road northward to Tokyo, General MacArthur had to drive the Japanese out of certain strategic areas in the Solomon Islands and New Guinea. These were the southern limits of Japan's Pacific empire, lying dangerously close to Australia. In August 1942, courageous American marines swarmed ashore and established a beachhead on Guadalcanal in the Solomons. They were almost cut off from supplies when the Japanese sunk several American warships stationed to protect them. Fortunately, our reinforced fleet was later able to inflict damage on the Japanese. Soon after the Guadalcanal

invasion, American and Australian troops from Port Moresby in southeastern New Guinea began pushing Japanese forces northward. They won many strategic areas on the island. After six months of fierce fighting in these malaria-ridden swamp and jungle islands, Allied forces had the upper hand in both the Solomons and New Guinea.<sup>4</sup>

Pushing northwestward, MacArthur's forces invaded New Britain and nearby islands. Meanwhile, Admiral Nimitz, who now commanded the most powerful fleet in the world, was moving westward through the central Pacific to invade more steppingstones to Tokyo. In November 1943, Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands; in February 1944, Quajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshalls; in June 1944, Saipan and Tinian in the Marianas—these steppingstones were all bloody victories for our amphibious forces. (An amphibious force is trained for both land and sea fighting.) In July 1944, our own island of Guam was recaptured. The heavily fortified Japanese island of Truk was blasted and by-passed.

Now MacArthur from the south and Nimitz from the east were close enough for the promised assault on the Philippines. MacArthur's forces, supported by over seven hundred ships, invaded the island of Leyte in the Philippines in October 1944. "Arise and strike!" was MacArthur's appeal to the Filipinos. All three of the Japanese fleets that were sent to check the Philippine invasion were badly beaten. This was the greatest naval engagement in all history. It left Japan almost without naval protection. Realizing that the Philippines were the most vital defense area for Japan itself, Japanese troops fought desperately. But their efforts were futile against the skillfully planned and bravely executed American campaign. Manila, the Philippine capital, fell in February 1945.

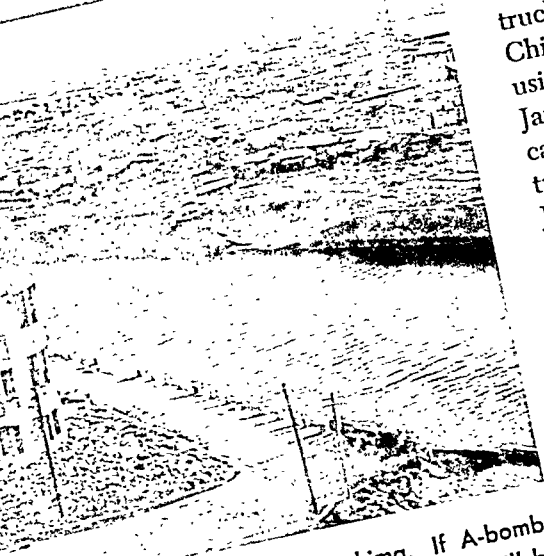
<sup>4</sup> By the summer of 1943, the Japanese had been driven out of the Aleutian Islands. From the Aleutians, Americans were able to bomb the Japanese Kurile Islands. The danger to our west coast was ended.



American Troops Salute the American Flag After It Has Been Raised Once Again on Corregidor Island in the Philippines. Why was this a memorable occasion?

*The Capture of Iwo Jima and Okinawa brings Our Bombers Closer to Japan. From Japan, Tinian, and Guam the trip to Japan is about fifteen hundred miles. From these islands American bombers were striking at*

such industrial cities as Tokyo and Osaka. When Americans captured the island of Iwo Jima, bombers had to travel only half that distance to Japan. It took ten weeks of ceaseless bombing and 60,000 hardfighting ma-



A-Bomb Blast Center in Hiroshima. If A-bombs are ever used again in war, the damage will be much worse. Why?

rines, 20,000 of whom became casualties, to subdue this island, only five miles long. The closer the island-hoppers got to the Japanese homeland, the fiercer became Japanese resistance. The Japanese stationed on Okinawa, about three hundred fifty miles from the mainland, fought the invaders with fanatical fury in the attack of April 1945. Suicide pilots (page 392) hurled their bomb-laden planes to the decks of our ships. Japanese who fought from volcanic caves, refusing to surrender, were destroyed by flamethrowers, explosives thrown into the caves, or by suffocation when their caves were sealed. Many committed suicide, including two Japanese generals. The American commander, General Buckner, who was killed in the desperate fighting, was among our 50,000 casualties. One hundred thousand Japanese were killed before Okinawa surrendered in June 1945.

**Japan, Faced by Annihilation, Surrendered.** Now that the war was over in Europe, men and equipment from the West were shifted to the East. Now, too, the Ledo Road, replacing the Japanese-captured Burma Road, was in operation. It had been completed under the direction of American General Stilwell, in spite of unbelievable hardships. Through the Ledo Road countless

trucks of... China. And the long-suffering Chinese, using them to good advantage against Japanese oppressors. By May 1945, American, British, Chinese, and volunteer Indian troops had rid both India and Burma of Japanese invaders. With battleships and aircraft carriers off the mainland of Japan, with bombers based on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, with Chinese airfields back in Allied hands, Japan's position was desperate. Never before had so much military might been concentrated on one target. From bombers and heavy guns of battleships a rain of death was hurled on Japanese cities. One day's attack on Tokyo alone caused almost 200,000 casualties. Then on August 6th, an atomic bomb was dropped on the industrial city of Hiroshima. More than half of Hiroshima was wiped out. There were over 130,000 (over 200,000, by Japanese estimates) dead, wounded, or missing. Two days later, the Russians declared war on Japan and began beating the Japanese back in Manchuria. And on August 9th, a second atomic bomb was dropped, this time on Nagasaki. The horrors at Hiroshima were equaled at Nagasaki.

The atomic bomb was used only after Japanese had been warned that we might use a new, deadly, secret weapon if the Japanese government refused the demand for conditional surrender. It refused. President Truman<sup>5</sup> felt that the use of this weapon would save the lives of hundreds of thousands of United Nations troops by inducing a Japanese surrender.

The day after Nagasaki was bombed, Japanese agreed to our unconditional surrender demand, provided only that we permitted to keep their emperor. In understanding that the emperor was the orders of a Supreme Allied Commander, the surrender was signed on the Missouri on September 2, 1945. The New Order in Asia had gone.

<sup>5</sup> Vice-President Truman had become President when President Roosevelt had died only a few days shortly after his fourth term began.

## World War II: Global, Total, and Big in Costs, Casualties, and Cruelties

Many have called World War II a war to save civilization from Axis enslavement. Nearly every nation in the world took part in this war. Almost all over the globe, land, sea, or air battles were waged. Thus this was truly a global war. In this contest few could sit on the sidelines. Bombs fell on millions of civilians. The gas chamber, the machine gun, and starvation snuffed out the lives of millions of others. Axis powers made slave laborers of millions more. Civilians took part in underground movements in Axis-occupied countries. Civilians also served their countries as air raid wardens, war bond salesmen, Red Cross workers, scrap collectors, and as workers in war industries. Women became members of the armed services in many countries. Thus this was truly a total war.

The war cost governments one trillion one hundred billion dollars. The cost in destroyed property, including homes, libraries, schools, and churches, can never be estimated. The highest cost of all was the estimated twenty-two million dead and thirty-four million wounded. After the war, cynicism, corruption, hatreds, and despair spread. So did Communism.

## Science in World War II: A Hint of the Future

During World War II, engineers built military bridges in a few hours, laid oil pipe lines under the English Channel, turned jungles into airports, and overcame overwhelming obstacles to construct extensive military roads. Chemists developed DDT to destroy disease-spreading insects, and the sulfa and penicillin drugs to fight infections. Doctors made great progress in surgery and in treat-



World War II produced a new kind of night life in London. When German bombs fell, Londoners camped out in the subways. The response of the Londoners to such hardships is a tribute to the human spirit. Discuss.

ing the mentally and the physically disabled.

An invention, *radar*, enabled the R A F. to win the Battle of Britain. By means of radar the British could send out radio waves which located approaching objects. Thus they could spot Nazi planes, even in the dark. Radar also helped to win the Battle of the Atlantic, for submarines could be similarly located. By 1946, the range of radar had increased to such an extent that it could reach the moon. In 1944, the Nazis tried to terrify Britain by firing across the channel jet-propelled robot bombs, called V-1's, which caused horrible destruction. A more deadly flying bomb was the V-2 rocket, used later, which could travel at three thousand miles per hour. Because of its speed, it could not be seen or heard until it struck. If the Nazis had had these weapons earlier, they might have won the

war. Other military developments of World War II were the magnetic mine, floating naval bases, tremendous armored tanks, and the *Schnorkel* device, which enabled submarines to stay under water for weeks.

Military strategy had to be recast in terms of the airplane. Constant improvements were made in the speed of fighter planes and in the ability of bombers to travel fast with heavy bomb loads. Air-borne transports, in-

cluding gliders, and aircraft carriers, dive bombers, and jet-propelled planes were all used. And planes dropped the devastating atomic bomb.

Such instruments of destruction and far more powerful ones in the making indicated the shape of things to come if World War III should break out. This explains General Eisenhower's statement in 1952: "The only thing worse than victory in the next war is defeat."

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis • appeasement • Neville Chamberlain • Lytton Commission • Stimson non-recognition policy • Haile Selassie • Schuschnigg • Sudetenland • Munich pact • fifth columnists • blitzkrieg • German-Russian non-aggression pact • sitzkrieg • Quisling • the miracle at Dunkirk • R.A.F. • Vichy government • the Maquis • General De Gaulle • Winston Churchill • General Rommel • General Voroshilov • Pearl Harbor attack • Lend-lease act • the arsenal of democracy • Gen-

eral Tojo • the Burma Road • General MacArthur • General Montgomery • General Eisenhower • Marshal Badoglio • General Mark Clark • Battle of Stalingrad • D-Day • Battle of the Bulge • V-E Day • V-J Day • Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway • Admiral Nimitz • island-hopping • Guadalcanal • Tarawa • Leyte • Iwo Jima • Okinawa • General Stilwell • Hiroshima • global war • total war • V-2 rocket • Schnorkel device • radar • DDT

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Point out the similarities and differences between the basic causes of World War I and those of World War II.
2. Which of the causes of World War II were: (a) political; (b) economic?
3. Show that (a) Japan became ever more aggressive in China, and (b) that some efforts were made to stop this aggression. What was weak about these efforts?
4. How was Mussolini able to take over Ethiopia?
5. Show that Hitler became ever more aggressive in Europe.
6. Discuss the tactics Hitler used to take over (a) Austria and (b) Czechoslovakia.
7. What factors enabled Hitler to conquer Poland?
8. What steps did the U.S.S.R. take to strengthen itself from the Baltic to the Black Sea? Why were these steps criticized?
9. At first, it seemed as though the Nazis could

- not lose the war. Cite instances to prove this.
10. By what methods was Hitler able to take over so much of western Europe so quickly?
11. Trace the steps by which Hitler conquered and controlled France.
12. What factors prevented Hitler from conquering Britain?
13. Where, why, and how did Hitler come to Mussolini's rescue?
14. For what reasons did Hitler break his non-aggression pact with Russia?
15. What tactics did the Russians use to resist the Nazi invasion?
16. Trace the steps by which the United States became involved in World War II.
17. For what reasons was there bitter feeling between the United States and Japan before World War II?
18. What events made 1942 the peak year of Axis success?
19. Enumerate the particular events that made

- late 1942 the turning point of World War II.
20. Show how the United Nations co-ordinated their efforts from the south, east, and west to knock out the Nazis.
  21. What factors made victory in Italy so difficult?
  22. What was important about the Battle of Stalingrad?
  23. List the highlights of the war (a) from D-Day to V-E Day and (b) from V-E Day to V-J Day.
  24. What was remarkable about D-Day?
  25. Discuss the strategy of the war in the Pacific.

26. Why was it important for MacArthur's forces to gain control of (a) the Solomons and New Guinea; (b) the Philippines?
27. Discuss the unusual features of the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa.
28. What factors made the Japanese cause hopeless in 1945?
29. Discuss the effects of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
30. In what ways was World War II (a) more global and (b) more total than World War I?
31. Discuss the important role played by science in World War II.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. To what extent was World War I a major cause of World War II?
2. Which do you consider the most basic of the basic causes of World War II? Give reasons.
3. What might the non-Fascist nations have done to prevent World War II?
4. Is appeasement ever justifiable? Explain.
5. If you had been a delegate to the League of Nations, what suggestions would you have made for dealing with any one of the crises preceding World War II?
6. Explain why the democracies yielded to the aggressors in the other crises, but not in the Polish crisis.
7. The Manchurian crisis was the greatest calamity of the first half of the twentieth century. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
8. What is your opinion of (a) Mussolini's reasons for invading Ethiopia, (b) his tactics there, and (c) the action taken by the League against him?
9. In the light of Hitler's many aggressions, why did he make such statements as, "God knows that I wanted peace"?
10. In what ways did the Austrian crisis indicate that Hitler had a carefully planned blueprint for conquering individual countries?
11. For what reasons did the Munich crisis especially shock the world?
12. If you had been Chamberlain, what would you have done when Hitler threatened Czechoslovakia?
13. It has been said that we hate those whom

- we have wronged. To what extent does this apply to the story of Hitler's relations with Poland?
14. Prove that the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact was based upon mutual distrust.
  15. What lessons can be learned from Hitler's tactics in preparing his victims for invasion?
  16. How do you explain Hitler's speedy successes in the first few years of the war?
  17. Explain why even non-Britishers were inspired by: (a) the miracle at Dunkirk; (b) the Battle of Britain.
  18. Explain why even non-Frenchmen had contempt for the Vichy government.
  19. If Mussolini had been successful in North Africa and Greece, the democracies might have been doomed. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
  20. Why were (a) the Battle of Britain, (b) the invasion of Russia, and (c) the attack on Pearl Harbor the three major mistakes made by the Axis?
  21. What made little Japan believe that it could possibly conquer such a powerful country as ours? Discuss fully.
  22. Comment on each of the preparedness steps taken by the United States prior to Pearl Harbor.
  23. To what extent do you think the Japanese had a blueprint for conquest in the Pacific?
  24. Why, in World War II as in World War I, did the Germans and their allies have to win a speedy victory or dim their chances of winning at all?
  25. Define *frustrating*. For what reasons was the



- Italian campaign so frustrating to our side?
26. At Stalingrad, the Nazis might have seen the handwriting on the wall. On D-Day, they might have seen the beginning of the end. Discuss fully.
27. Compare the feelings of a Nazi soldier at (a) the blitzkrieg in Poland and (b) the Battle of the Bulge.
28. Why did many fear that the war in the Pacific would last many, many years?
29. One had to know a good deal of geography to practice island-hopping wisely. Discuss.
30. Show why forces fighting in the Pacific had

- to be extremely adaptable in many ways.
31. Why was the recapture of the Philippines especially good for American morale?
32. Compare the feelings of a Japanese serviceman (a) at Pearl Harbor and (b) at Okinawa.
33. What do you think was the most important factor in the defeat of Japan? Why?
34. Discuss General Eisenhower's statement: "The only thing worse than victory in the next war is defeat."
35. In what ways did World War II prove more than ever that the front lines are everywhere? Discuss fully.

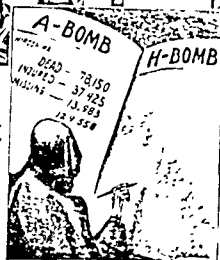
### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

- After (a) interviewing someone who fought in World War II, or (b) studying the cartoons in Bill Mauldin's *Up Front* or reading Ernie Pyle's *Brave Men*, write up what World War II was like to the average soldier.
- Select from Low and Howe's *Years of Wrath: a Cartoon History* the five cartoons which you think best illustrate the causes of World War II. Tell why.
- On an outline map of the world, locate (a) the major United Nations in World War II, (b) the Axis powers, and (c) ten places where important battles were waged in World War II.
- Using a college textbook such as Benn's *Europe Since 1914*, Bruun's *The World in the Twentieth Century*, or Langsam's *The World Since 1914*, investigate and contribute to a committee report on either (a) the basic causes of World War II, or (b) the failure of the appeasement policy, or (c) propaganda techniques in World War II, or (d) any one major campaign of World War II.
- Collaborate in writing an imaginary dialogue between either (a) De Gaulle and Pétain, or (b) Chamberlain and Churchill, or (c) Mussolini and Badoglio, or (d) Hitler and Stalin in 1939 at the time of their non-aggression pact and again in 1941 when the Nazis invaded the U.S.S.R., or (e) Hitler and Mussolini when they formed the Rome-Berlin Axis and again when Italy was invaded.
- Contribute to a before-and-after poster exhibit illustrating the reaction of countries to Axis invaders and to United Nations liberators.
- Using Maurois's *Tragedy in France*, make an oral report on conditions in France preceding Hitler's conquest; or, using Smith's *Last Train from Berlin*, report on life in Germany during the early years of the war.
- Using Gunther's *Inside Europe* and *Inside Asia*, compile a "Who Was Who" on any three of the following: Goering, Dollfuss, Count Ciano, Beneš, Haile Selassie, Pierre Laval.
- In committee, make a calendar of the military highlights of either (a) World War II in the west or (b) World War II in the Pacific.
- Write an essay entitled either (a) "I Was a Maqui" or (b) "I Was a Guerrilla Fighter in Yugoslavia (or in China)."
- Write a letter such as Beneš might have written to Chamberlain or Daladier protesting the Munich conference.
- Make a collection of quotations connected with World War II. Indicate (a) the occasion for the quotation, (b) what it tells about the personality of the man who expressed it, and (c) what information it reveals about the war itself. (Choose quotations not mentioned in the textbook.) Cite your sources.
- Imagine yourself a Norwegian history-textbook writer. Write the paragraph on Quisling which you would include in your book.
- Make a cartoon on any dramatic event of World War II.
- Write an imaginary page in the diary of (a) an R.A.F. fighter against the Luftwaffe, (b) a Nazi soldier in the Battle of Stalingrad, (c) an Ameri-



"Another Fire"

"And now the  
super-duper?"



## • UNIT NINE OUR TIMES

Some Symbols of Our Times

(Top) Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Churchill meet at Teheran to plan victory in World War II. (Above) A-Bomb and H-Bomb (Left) Some Trouble Spots of Our Times.

My Autobiography.  
 Nineteen Eighty Four. A savage indictment against a totalitarian state.  
 Pageant of South American History.  
 Brave Men and Here Is Your War. Earthy accounts of men in action in World War II written by a brave war correspondent.  
 All Quiet on the Western Front. A deservedly famous novel describing the horrors of World War I.

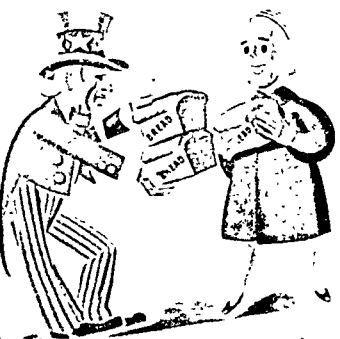
Shirer, Berlin Diary  
 Correspondent 1934-1941.  
 Steiger, A History of the Far East.  
 \*Wain, House of Exile. An excellent picture of the Chinese family.  
 \*Wain, Reaching for the Stars. An American woman observer writes on life in Hitler's Germany.

# What American Aid Gives Us

## FOOD

## JOBS

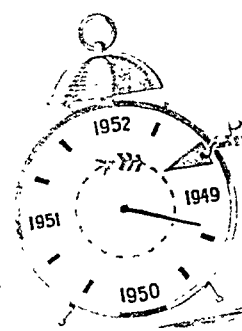
## TIME



American Aid gives us food  
 two loaves out of every three we are paid for by American Aid. After when the Four Year Plan comes to an end, Britain must pay for all that she eats.

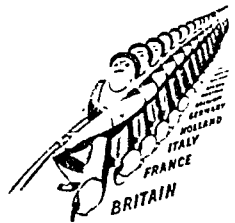


American Aid gives us jobs  
 by helping us buy raw materials on which our employment depends. They are only one twelfth of the total we import, but the materials paid for by American Aid are vital to British production and impossible to obtain elsewhere.



American Aid gives us time  
 American Aid gives us time for recovery, time to develop our industries and pay our own way, to increase our efficiency and build up our world markets. American Aid gives us time only till 1952, when the Four Year Plan comes to an end. One year of the four has already gone.

American Aid gives us a challenge  
 The European Recovery Programme is calling on 19 Governments in Europe to work together, to plan their production and resources. By her position, history and worldwide trade, Britain is called upon to take a lead, to assist other countries in Europe as America is helping Britain. It costs every American \$7.15 a day last year to help Britain and Western Europe. But Britain gives as well as receives; it costs everyone in Britain £2.10s. 0d. in the year to help Western Europe—and ourselves.



American Aid gives us all a part  
 Every job—in industry, commerce, agriculture and home—plays its part in the "Marshall Plan". By 1952, if Britain is to pay her way and lead Europe to recovery, production in Britain must be raised at least 10 per cent over 1947. We can only do this by greater efficiency, by making the most of machines, materials, and manpower. Above all, by co-operation—by everyone playing a part.



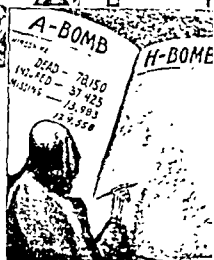
In 1949 this poster was displayed in British factories and office buildings. Later, as economic conditions improved, the British stressed "trade, not aid." Why might some consider this post symbol of our times?

FROM WORLD WAR I THROUGH WORLD WAR II



"Another Fire"

"And now the  
super-duper?"



## • UNIT NINE OUR TIMES

Some Symbols of Our Times

(Top) Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Churchill meet at Teheran to plan victory in World War II. (Above) A-Bomb and H-Bomb (Left) Some Troubling Spots of Our Times.



# CHAPTER 26 . . . THE UNITED NATIONS PLAN THE PEACE IN TIME OF WAR

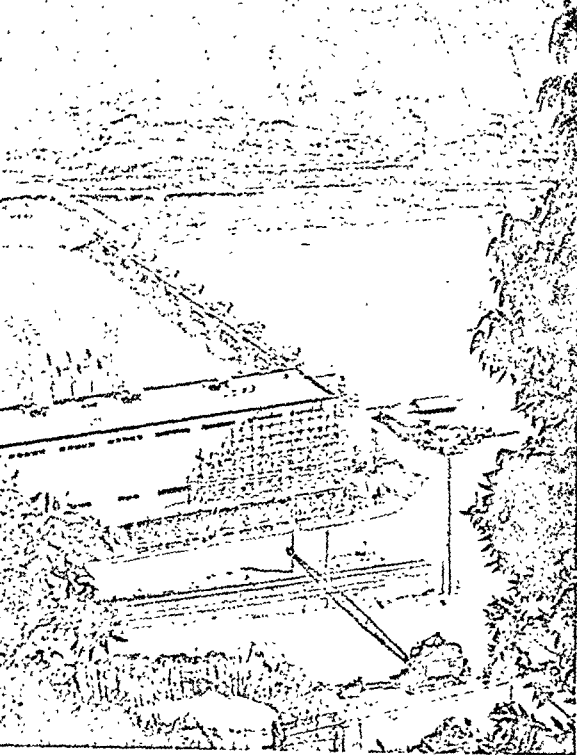
*Aims for a Happier World: Four Freedoms; Atlantic Charter • Aiding Recovery: U.N.R.R.A., the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund • Wartime Conferences: Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam • Agreement Reached on Some Peace Treaties • The United Nations Establish an Organization Called the United Nations • The Security Council: Big Power Responsibility for Keeping the Peace • The Assembly: Increasingly Powerful • World Court: Where Nations Can Take Their Disputes • ECOSOC's Target: Basic Causes of War • Trusteeship Council: an Attempt to Combat Imperialism • The Secretariat: the U.N.'s Day-to-Day Work • Some Problems Handled by the U.N.*

## Aims for a Happier World: Four Freedoms; Atlantic Charter

While World War II was raging and the United States was still at peace, President Roosevelt delivered his famous "Four Freedoms" speech. He declared: "We look forward to a world founded upon . . . freedom of speech and expression, . . . freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, . . . freedom from want, . . . freedom from fear . . ." By *freedom from want*, the President meant a decent standard of living for everybody everywhere. By *freedom from fear*, he meant freedom from aggressive warfare.

On August 14, 1941, President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Churchill on a cruiser off the coast of Newfoundland. There, four months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, they drew up a statement of aims for a happier peacetime world. This statement

was later called the *Atlantic Charter*. In effect, it condemned the grabbing of territory. It stressed "the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live, . . . the right of all states . . . to the trade and raw materials of the world, . . . improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security." It also advocated freedom of the seas, "abandonment of the use of force," and, in the spirit of the Four Freedoms, "freedom from fear and want." It implied the need for a world organization to preserve peace. In many ways, the Atlantic Charter reminds one of President Wilson's Fourteen Points (page 544). The Atlantic Charter became the accepted statement of the peace aims of the United Nations during the war. But it was obvious, almost from the start, that just as it had been difficult to achieve the Fourteen Points, so it would be no easy task to achieve the aims set forth in the Atlantic Charter.



A Hydroelectric Plant Being Built in Brazil with the Help of a Loan from the World Bank. Why should other nations be interested in the industrialization of Brazil?

### Aiding Recovery: U.N.R.R.A., the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund

Millions of persons now alive would be dead were it not for the work of an organization set up by the United Nations during World War II. This organization, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.), lasted from 1943 to 1946. It provided food, clothing, medical care, farm tools, cattle, and other aid for displaced persons whose countries and homes had been occupied by invaders.

In 1944, both the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund were established. With funds contributed by member nations to the bank, or by the bank's insuring loans made by private bankers, devastated and underdeveloped countries were

enabled to build themselves up industrially and agriculturally. The purpose of the International Monetary Fund is to keep currencies stable throughout the world, so that international trade will not suffer by having the values of currencies change overnight. These agencies later became associated with the United Nations.

### Wartime Conferences: Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam

As late as 1943, there was still suspicion between Communist Russia and its capitalist allies. As a result of the Moscow Conference of 1943, however, distrust decreased somewhat. The United States, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. there pledged to continue their co-operation after the war in a world organization to insure peace and promote the welfare of their people. They promised to make Austria free and independent and Italy non-Fascist and democratic. They agreed, also, that Nazis believed responsible for "atrocities, massacres, and cold-blooded mass executions" would, after the armistice, be tried for their crimes.

At Cairo, also in 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek decided that Japan, after its "unconditional surrender," would be stripped of its imperialistic gains, all of which had been "taken by violence and greed." Stalin was not present at Cairo, since Russia was not yet at war with Japan. After the Cairo Conference, Roosevelt and Churchill went on to meet Stalin at Teheran, Iran. Stalin had been demanding that the Allies open a *second front* in the west to ease the burden of the Russians resisting the Nazis in the east. He was suspicious of the United States and Britain, believing that they might be waiting for the Nazis and the Communists to destroy each other. Roosevelt and Churchill were suspicious that Russia might leave the democracies in the lurch by signing a separate peace with Germany. At the Teheran Conference, all agreed that Germany would be invaded "from the east, west, and

south" to bring about the final defeat of the Nazis. They dedicated themselves to "the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression, and intolerance."

In 1945, the leaders of the Big Three (the United States, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R.) met at Yalta in the Crimea and again at Potsdam in Germany to map out their postwar program. At these meetings they agreed on certain principles for the treatment of conquered Germany, pending a permanent peace treaty to be drawn up later. These principles may be summed up as follows:

1. Division of Germany into four occupation zones, with Berlin similarly divided (the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., and France each to occupy one zone).
2. Disarmament, demilitarization, and denazification of Germany.
3. Democratization of Germany's educational and political systems.

4. Decartelization for the purpose of decentralizing Germany's big industries.
5. Dismantling of Germany's big factories with equipment and machines turned over to the Allies, mainly Russia, as reparations for destruction caused by Nazi invaders.
6. De-emphasis on heavy industries and emphasis on light industries and agriculture to prevent Germany from preparing for another war.
7. Due punishment for war criminals.

At Yalta, the Big Three agreed that they would help the liberated nations, "the former Axis satellite states of Europe, to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems." Special guarantees were given the Poles that their government would be "reorganized on a broader democratic basis" with free and fair elections. Poland was to be given German territory in the north and west to compensate for Polish territory in the east given to Russia.





Russia promised at Yalta, under certain conditions, to enter the war against Japan within three months after Germany's surrender. The Russians were promised restoration of their losses to Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1905). These included the southern part of the island of Sakhalin, a lease on Port Arthur, and special rights in the port of Dairen and in Manchurian railroads. And at Potsdam, a Council of Foreign Ministers (representing the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France, and China) was established "to do the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements."

## Agreement Reached on Some Peace Treaties

In 1947, after many disagreements, the Council of Foreign Ministers completed peace treaties for defeated Italy and the Nazi-satellite nations: Finland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. All were required to pay reparations, to demilitarize, and, except for Bulgaria, to yield territory. Italy lost the Dodecanese Islands to Greece and a considerable area around Trieste to Yugoslavia. Trieste itself was made a Free Territory under the control of the United Nations and garrisoned by American, British, and Yugoslav troops. Since both Italy and Yugoslavia claimed Trieste, neither was satisfied with this arrangement.<sup>1</sup> Finland and Rumania surrendered territory to Russia. Hungary gave up what it had seized from Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Bulgaria (which had not invaded Russia) regained lost territory from Rumania.

In 1946, ten high Nazis were hanged. Goering had cheated the hangman's noose by committing suicide. Other Nazis had been given jail sentences. They had been convicted after trials by the four-power International Military Tribunal meeting at Nuremberg,

<sup>1</sup> In 1954, this problem was settled when Italy received part of the Trieste territory, including the free port of Trieste. Yugoslavia received a section south of the port. Occupation troops were withdrawn.

Germany. They had been indicted for crimes against peace (such as aggressive war), war crimes (such as murder of prisoners of war), and crimes against humanity (such as persecution on political, racial, or religious grounds). Thousands of lesser Nazis were tried, usually in German courts. Although many were convicted, in general their punishment was lenient. War trials similar to the Nuremberg trials were held in Tokyo for Japanese war criminals.

## The United Nations Establish an Organization Called the "United Nations"

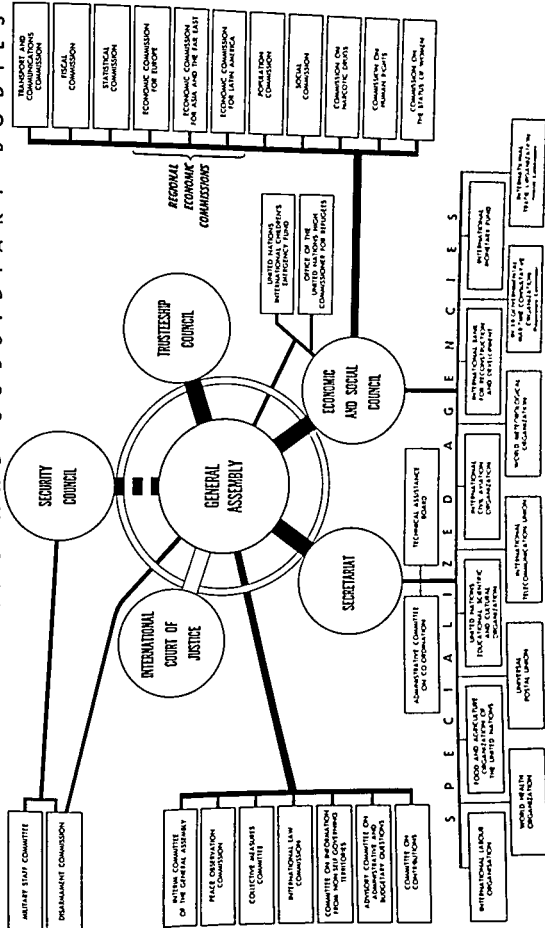
Of the 2,500,000,000 people on earth, the average person dies at the age of thirty-five. Far more than half of the world's people are hungry while they live. They never get any medical care, and can neither read nor write. Every year, in some corner of the globe, armed nations or groups attack or threaten other nations or groups. To correct such evils, the United Nations (U.N.), according to its charter, is determined "to promote social progress and better standards of life," and "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security."

The spirit of the U.N. was expressed in the Four Freedoms and in the Atlantic Charter. At several of the wartime conferences, the Allies agreed to establish the U.N. and made plans for its organization. Delegates of fifty nations drew up the U.N. Charter at San Francisco in 1945. By 1954, there were sixty members meeting at the U.N. headquarters in New York City.

After World War I, the United States Senate had rejected the Covenant of the League of Nations. But after World War II, the United States was the first world power to ratify the Charter of the U.N. — by a Senate vote of 89 to 2. Apparently Americans had come to agree with President Truman that "if we do not wish to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace."

# ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

## PRINCIPAL ORGANS AND SUBSIDIARY BODIES



**The Security Council: Big-Power Responsibility for Keeping the Peace.** In many ways the structure of the U.N. is like that of the League of Nations. It was recognized that the main financial and military responsibility for getting the work of the U.N. done rested with the big powers. That is why they were given great power in the Security Council, which was expected to be the most powerful of the six organs of the U.N. The Big Five (the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France, and China) have permanent membership in the Security Council. There are also six non-permanent members in the Security Council, elected by another organ of the U.N., the General Assembly, for two-year terms. Each of the eleven members has one vote.

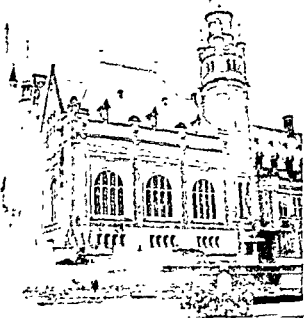
The Security Council, which, according to the U.N. Charter, must be ready to meet at any time, may request disputing nations to settle their dispute peacefully by themselves, using such methods as negotiation and arbitration. Or, the Security Council may investigate the facts which may endanger international peace and security and act as a kind of umpire in settling the dispute. If the Security Council thinks it necessary, it may call upon member nations to use economic, diplomatic, and, as a last resort, military sanctions against aggressors. For this purpose, member nations are supposed to contribute armed forces, under the direction of a Military Staff Committee consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Big Five. To decide the very important question of international control of atomic energy, the U.N. created an Atomic Energy Commission. The commission is made up of the members of the Security Council and a representative from Canada.

It is in the voting process of the Security Council that the power of the Big Five is most apparent. The votes of any seven of the eleven members can decide matters of procedure. But on all other matters, seven votes including a unanimous vote of the Big Five are required. As we shall see, this veto power of any member of the Big Five has proved to

be a stumbling-block to more effective work by the Security Council. Yet both the United States and the U.S.S.R. had insisted on including the veto in the U.N. Charter. They realized that peace depended upon Big Five unity. The United States Senate might not have ratified the Charter if we had not had the veto to protect our sovereign power.

**The Assembly: Increasingly Powerful.** In the Assembly, each nation has one vote. A two-thirds vote is required for important questions and a majority vote for others. The Charter gives the Assembly the power to recommend action to the Security Council and to elect non-permanent members of the Council and members of other U.N. organs. The Assembly does not pass laws, but it handles money matters. And the Assembly votes on new members, provided that the Security Council approves of their applications.

It was originally thought that the Assembly would be an important organ of the U.N., but less important than the Security Council. However, because the Security Council's work has been hampered by the veto, the Assembly has been doing more and more of the U.N.'s work. Whereas in 1948 the Security Council met 168 times, in 1953 it met 42 times. Under the League of Nations, the Assembly had been a kind of town meeting for the world, or a sounding-board for world opinion. The Assembly of the U.N. today is that and more. Under the Charter, the Assembly is supposed to meet only for a few months each year. But in 1947, the Assembly agreed to keep one delegate from each member nation meeting in session with other delegates throughout the year. This *Little Assembly*, as it has been called, has been boycotted by the U.S.S.R. The Russians charge that the Little Assembly was created to strengthen the power of the Assembly, where there is no veto. And in 1950, the Assembly interpreted the Charter as giving it the power to use armed forces when the Security Council fails to act in emergencies. Even without using armed forces, the Assembly has indicated its power. For example, it has settled border



The International Court of Justice  
at the Hague

Much of the money to build this peace palace was contributed by the self-made American millionaire, Andrew Carnegie, who said, "Surplus wealth is a sacred trust to be administered for the highest good of the people." He contributed millions to other phases of the peace movement as well as to many other worthwhile causes.

disputes in the Balkans and between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

The big powers recognize the great influence of the Assembly. By presenting their views in it, they have often tried to win over world public opinion. For example, Russia tried to convince a doubtful world of its peaceful intentions by suggesting that the first nation to use the atomic bomb in the future should be indicted as a war criminal.

**World Court: Where Nations Can Take Their Disputes.** A third important organ of the U.N. is the International Court of Justice (*World Court*, page 550), to which all U.N. members belong. Non-U.N. members may also join. Its fifteen judges, elected by the Assembly and Council, come from fifteen different countries. The court renders judgments and opinions on boundary disputes, treaties, and other matters involving international law. Disputing countries need not take a case to the court unless they wish to. But once they

do, they must accept the court's decision. Some nations, including the United States, have agreed to submit all their international legal disputes to the court and to accept its decisions. The Security Council may, if necessary, enforce such decisions. Here is an example of the type of question upon which the World Court is asked to decide. In 1947, a Peruvian politician fled for safety to the Colombian Embassy at Peru. He claimed sanctuary (immunity from arrest). Was he entitled to it as a political refugee?

**ECOSOC's Targets: Basic Causes of War.** Get rid of social and economic evils, and you may rid the world of many wars and build a happier world. This seems to be one of the guiding principles of the U.N. Another of its organs, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), made up of eighteen members elected by the Assembly, co-ordinates the work of certain specialized agencies.<sup>2</sup> It has power to recommend action but not to act. Its objectives for the peoples of the world are a higher standard of living, better health, expanded education, and respect for human rights and freedoms without discrimination as to race, sex, language, or religion. In a sense, ECOSOC may be called the trouble-shooter for the U.N. in non-political fields.

Here are some specialized agencies whose work is co-ordinated by ECOSOC, with examples of their activities, as reported on in United Nations pamphlets:

**World Health Organization (W.H.O.):** has "fought typhus in Afghanistan, infantile paralysis in India, yellow fever in South America, malaria in Greece," and stopped a cholera epidemic in Egypt in six weeks.

.....  
war-torn Greece, cod-liver oil for Poland's anti rickets campaign," and vaccination against tuberculosis for many millions of children.

<sup>2</sup> U.N. members are not required to belong to the specialized agencies of ECOSOC. Furthermore, non-U.N. members are eligible to join such agencies.



world to read and write, educate peoples to live in harmony and peace" . . . "obtain a free flow of information." . . . "stimulate scientific developments for the benefit of all mankind"; has trained teachers in backward areas, rebuilt schools in war-torn areas, sponsored the co-operative writing of a history of mankind by one thousand professors from many countries.

**Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.):** has found a cure for rinderpest (a disease which "kills millions of cattle in the Far East"), fought a locust plague which was menacing the crops of the Middle East, taught farmers to use scientific methods

**International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.):** maintains many weather ships in the North Atlantic to guide pilots through fog and darkness.



Trygve Lie, first Secretary-General of the United Nations, who said: "The strength necessary for peace will never be found in arms alone." What is your reaction to this statement?

**Trusteeship Council: an Attempt to Combat Imperialism.** Representatives sent by the U.N. have traveled "thousands of miles by air, railroad, river launch, and horseback and, sometimes, trudged on foot through hill and jungle" to inspect colonial areas. They are "the eyes and ears of the Trusteeship Council," another organ of the U.N. The Trusteeship Council resembles somewhat the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The duty of this council is to see to it that nations administering certain colonial areas called trust territories treat them as "sacred trusts" and prepare them for eventual self-government. The administering nation is required to submit annual reports to, and to submit its trust territories to annual inspection by, the Trusteeship Council. Half the membership of the Trusteeship Council is composed of the administering nations themselves. An important democratic feature of the trusteeship system is the right of the inhabitants of the trust territories to present their grievances in a petition to the Trusteeship Council.

**The Secretariat: the U.N.'s "Day-to-Day" Work.** The chief administrative officer of the entire U.N. is the Secretary-Gen-

eral. He and his staff of two thousand researchers, librarians, secretaries, translators, and clerks make up the Secretariat (page 549). For the first eight years of the U.N.'s life, Trygve Lie of Norway capably held this responsible position. His successor, elected in 1953, was Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden.

**Some Problems Handled by the U.N.** In 1946, the Security Council succeeded in getting the U.S.S.R. to withdraw Russian troops from Iran, and Britain and France to withdraw theirs from Syria and Lebanon. A U.N. agency resettled over one million war refugees. As we shall see, the U.N. helped to establish such new nations as Israel in 1948 and Indonesia in 1949. In 1951, Libya, the former Italian colony, became "the first nation to achieve complete freedom under U.N. auspices."

And in 1952, the U.N. succeeded in suppressing the newscensorship in Cuba. The International Labor Organization has specialized agencies for the same year. The same year, the U.N. succeeded in suppressing the newscensorship in Cuba. The International Labor Organization has specialized agencies for the same year.

The U.N. succeeded in suppressing the newscensorship in Cuba. The International Labor Organization has specialized agencies for the same year.

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a kind of international bill of rights. The document states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." It recognizes the rights of all persons everywhere to life, education, liberty, and freedom of religion and expression. The economic rights which it stresses are the right to work, to protection against unemployment, to membership in a trade union, to social security, and to a decent standard of living. Slavery, torture, cruel punishments, discrimination, and arbitrary arrests are all condemned. However, it is recognized that while the individual has rights, he also has duties to society.

Millions of Jews, because of their religion, and millions of Poles, because of their nationality, had been exterminated by the Nazis. This fact prompted the Assembly to adopt a resolution in 1948 condemning as an international crime the mass murder of persons on account of their race, religion, or nationality. Such a crime is called *genocide*.

One of the major problems of the U.N. is the fact that many persons have become impatient with it. It has been said that instead

of being *united*, the United Nations is *divided* among many blocs: the American bloc, the Russian bloc, and the Arab-Asian bloc, among others. Some Americans protest that the United States contributes considerably more than any other country to the U.N. budget and is expected to do more than its share of the U.N.'s work. They say that the U.S.S.R.'s excessive use of the veto makes the U.N. a farce. They became especially indignant when, as we shall see, more American troops than those of any other U.N. member were used to stop Communist aggression in Korea. They protest that the U.S.S.R. uses the U.N. as a sounding-board for Communist propaganda. Some small nations charge that the big powers run the U.N. Some point to the fact that, in spite of the U.N., the period since 1945 has been one of increasing tension.

Yet, as we have seen from the few examples given, and as we shall see, the U.N. has done much constructive work. Admitting some of its failures, former United States delegate Warren Austin commented: "The conflicts that have been prevented never made the headlines."

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Terms to Define and Persons to Identify

the Four Freedoms • Atlantic Charter • U.N.R.R.A. • World Bank • International Monetary Fund • Moscow Conference 1943 • Cairo Conference • Teheran Conference • Yalta and Potsdam conferences • Council of Foreign Ministers • Nuremberg trials • San Francisco Conference 1945 • U.N. Se-

curity Council • Military Staff Committee • Atomic Energy Commission • U.N. Assembly • the Little Assembly • ECOSOC • W.H.O. • U.N.I.C.E.F. • U.N.E.S.C.O. • F.A.O. • I.C.A.O. • Trusteeship Council • trust territories • I.L.O. • Universal Declaration of Human Rights • genocide • U.N. blocs

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Point out (a) similarities and (b) differences between the Atlantic Charter and the Fourteen Points.
2. Show how (a) U.N.R.R.A., (b) the World Bank, and (c) the International Monetary Fund tried to relieve economic distress.
3. Discuss the plans agreed upon at the (a) Moscow, (b) Cairo, (c) Teheran, and (d) Yalta conferences.
4. Give the major provisions of the peace treaties drawn up in 1947.
5. Describe (a) the aims and (b) the major organs of the United Nations.
6. Discuss (a) the peace-making machinery of and (b) the major difficulty of the Security Council.
7. Show specifically how the Assembly has gradually been growing more powerful.

8. Describe the peace-making machinery of the World Court.
9. Describe the specific problems that the Economic and Social Council and its specialized agencies seek to solve.
10. How does the Trusteeship Council try to

- safeguard the rights of all colonial peoples?
11. Show how the Secretariat helps to keep the machinery of the U.N. functioning
12. Discuss three successes of the U.N.
13. Mention some obstacles to the success of the U.N.

### Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What obstacles stand in the way of fulfilling the aims expressed in the Atlantic Charter?
2. In a sense, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are two sides of the same coin. Discuss.
3. What was the value of holding such wartime conferences as those at Moscow and Cairo?
4. For what reasons do you think the agreements at Yalta and Potsdam led to disagreements after the war was over?
5. What was new about the Nuremberg trials?
6. Discuss reasons why the United States joined the U.N. but not the League of Nations. Refer to events between the two wars.
7. Do you agree with those who criticize the U.N. for giving so much power to the big powers? Give reasons.
8. Should the United Nations Assembly have

- more power than the Security Council? Discuss.
9. Show how the International Court of Justice is designed to curb international anarchy.
10. What have the Economic and Social Council and its specialized agencies got to do with building a peaceful world?
11. Why are some cynical about the possible achievements of the Trusteeship Council? What is your opinion?
12. What makes the job of the Secretary-General of the U.N. a most responsible one?
13. The U.N. has been accused of handling problems which are outside of its stated aims. From the information given in this chapter on the problems handled by the U.N., state whether you agree or disagree with this accusation. Tell why.
14. Of the criticisms made of the U.N., which do you think are valid? Which are not? Discuss.

### Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. As a participant in a group research project, find out either (a) to what extent the criticisms of the agreements made at Yalta are justified, or (b) why Trieste has been a trouble spot since World War II, or (c) what has been accomplished by any one of the specialized agencies in the Economic and Social Council.
2. Draw a cartoon on either (a) the spirit of the U.N., or (b) any problem of the U.N., or (c) any accomplishment of the U.N.
3. Imagine yourself a delegate to the U.N. Assembly. Write a speech expressing your viewpoint on the veto power in the Security Council.
4. Look up either the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Genocide Convention adopted by the U.N. Write an essay explaining

- how you would have voted on it if you had been a delegate.
5. Draw up a petition such as some trust territory might present to the U.N. Trusteeship Council.
6. Make a list of Do's and Don'ts such as Trygve Lie might have compiled as advice to Dag Hammarskjöld upon his becoming Secretary-General of the U.N.
7. For a panel discussion, prepare your own list of conditions needed for a happier and more peaceful world.
8. In committee, work out a plan for the dramatization of the Nuremberg trials.
9. Debate: Resolved that the representation of every nation in the U.N. should be based upon population.

### Summing Up

1. Write three headlines which you think highlight the work of the U.N. since its birth.

2. Outline the information you would include in a U.N. primer. Suggest its illustrations.



# CHAPTER 27 . . . . A COLD WAR DEVELOPS IN TIME OF PEACE

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**A World Divided by a Cold War • The Cold War Divides the United Nations • The Cold War Keeps Germany Divided • A Warmer Feeling for Germany Results from the Cold War • The Cold War Keeps Austria Divided • The Truman Doctrine Bolsters Turkey and Greece • Capitalistic United States Aids Communist Tito, Russia's Foe • The Marshall Plan: \$12,000,000,000 for European Recovery and Checking Communism • The Point Four Program: Technical Aid to Underdeveloped Areas • Greater Stress on Military Aid • Western Union Expands into the North Atlantic Treaty • The Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan to Promote European Unity • Britain, France, and Italy, Cold War Allies, Face Critical Problems • The Labor Party Introduces Moderate Socialism in Britain • The Conservatives Modify Moderate Socialism Somewhat • Some Differing Viewpoints between the United States and Britain • Postwar France and Italy: Some Striking Similarities • Chinese Communists Conquer China • The Cold War Becomes a Hot War in Korea • The Frustrating Character of the Korean Conflict • Defeated Japan Occupied and Remodeled • Japan's Status Altered by the Cold War**

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## A World Divided by a Cold War

"Cannibals, . . . atomic bomb madmen, . . . war-mongers, . . . capitalistic imperialists" — these are just a few of the more polite names which Russian delegates have called American delegates at various international conferences since World War II. Provoked by such name-calling, an American Congressman exclaimed: "You often wonder how to compete with the venomous old goat (former Russian Foreign Minister Vishinsky)!"

In the light of such bitter statements it is hard to believe that the U.S.S.R. and the United States were allies in World War II.

Shortly after the war, however, the world seemed to split into two hostile camps, that of the United States and that of the U.S.S.R. Between these camps what is called a *cold war* has been waged, creating a period of world-wide tension. The cold war has been waged not on the battlefield, but with such weapons as name-calling, propaganda, and military and financial aid to allies. An example of the extent to which propaganda has been used in the cold war is the accusation that Americans have infested German potato fields with beetles so as to have a market for surplus American potatoes!

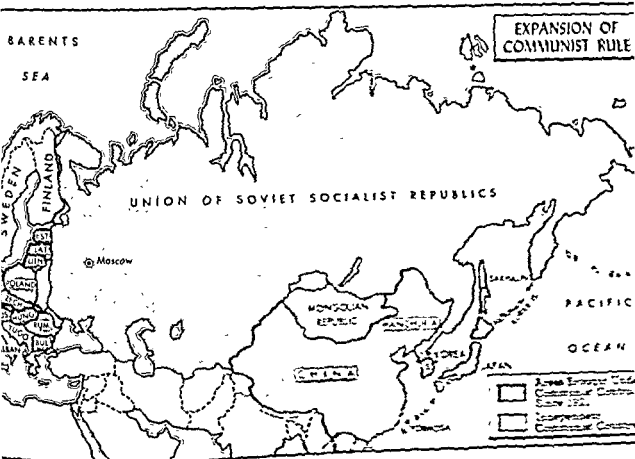
In a sense, the cold war dates back to the

Communist Revolution of 1917 and the suspicion between the communist and capitalist countries thereafter (page 562). As we have seen, even while they were allies during World War II, there was some mistrust between Communist Russia and its capitalist Allies. Russians announced to their people and the world that the great sacrifices of the Russians in the war were not appreciated by the Allies. They declared that the United States and Great Britain were enemies of democracy and that they were preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. Yet while the United States was demobilizing its army, the U.S.S.R. was building a bigger one.

The United States denounced the Russians for intensifying their spread of Communist propaganda and for using threats and violence to try to dominate their neighbors. Americans were especially disturbed when, in 1947, a Communist Information Bureau, called the Cominform, was founded by Com-

munist leaders from several countries. It seemed as though Russia and the Communists under its domination were reviving the Comintern. (The Comintern was the organization for spreading world Communism which Stalin had declared ended in 1943)

As we have seen, in 1939 and 1940, the Russians had regained much of the territory lost as a result of World War I, including Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and parts of Poland, Finland, and Rumania. Shortly after World War II, the Russians helped to put native Communist governments into control in Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Albania, and Czechoslovakia. Tito had introduced Communism in Yugoslavia during the war. These countries became known as Soviet satellites. The Americans and British were bitter because Russia had not lived up to its Yalta agreement to permit free elections in Poland and the other countries of liberated Europe. In the satellite states, Ameri-



cans and religious leaders have been jailed and much foreign property seized.

In the Far East, Russia had created a Communist government in North Korea, had dominated Outer Mongolia, had aided the Chinese Communists against the Nationalists, and had encouraged the spread of Communism in India, Iran, and southeast Asia. In Manchuria, Russians had stripped industrial plants and sent the equipment to the U.S.S.R. All this alarmed the western democracies, and the charge of "Red imperialism" became common. Winston Churchill accused the Russians of cutting off Russia and its satellite nations from contacts with the democracies. It became difficult for publications or visitors from the democratic world to reach the peoples of the Communist world. Russia, Churchill said, was dropping "an iron curtain" from the Baltic to the Adriatic sea.

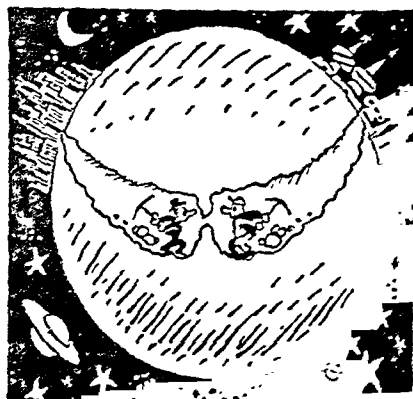
## The Cold War Divides the United Nations

One of the battlegrounds of the cold war has been the chambers of the U.N. After weeks of heated debate, a proposal would get nowhere because of a Russian veto. The United States recommended that the veto power be limited. Russia refused, maintaining that the veto was its only way of asserting itself in a U.N. which was predominantly pro-United States. Impatient with this situation, some Americans have called for a U.N. without Russia. Others feared that this would turn the cold war into a hot war.

One of the most heated debates took place over the issue of international control of atomic energy. The horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were fresh in the minds of the delegates to the U.N. They realized that the U.N. would be nearing its major goal of peace if it could prevent the use of atomic energy for war. An American plan was accepted by a vote of 10 to 0 by the U.N.'s Atomic Energy Commission, with the U.S.S.R. and Poland not voting. This plan suggested that there be international ownership and unlimited inter-

national inspection of atomic energy materials and production. After this should be done, the United States agreed to destroy its stockpile of atomic bombs and turn over its atomic knowledge to an international authority in control of atomic energy. Russia, which had not as yet manufactured any atomic bombs, wanted all atomic bombs destroyed first, before the system of international inspection was set up. The Russians insisted on limiting the powers of inspection by an international agency. They wanted to keep the right of veto over punishing any nation which violates atomic energy rulings of the international authority. As a result of this deadlock, both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have been increasing their stockpiles of atomic bombs. It was in 1949 that we first learned of an atomic explosion in Russia. By 1953, both the United States and the U.S.S.R. had developed the even more deadly hydrogen bomb.

In December 1953, President Eisenhower made an electrifying speech before the United Nations. He said that the United States' stockpile of atomic bombs "exceeds by many times the explosive equivalent of the total of all bombs and all shells that came from every plane and every gun in every theater of war through all the years of World War II." He urged the world to pool, in a



"Atom shelters."

Marc Auerbach, New York

Identify the cities represented on the surface of the above globe. This cartoon might be funny if it were not so tragic. Why?

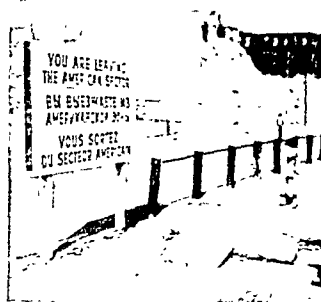
pecially created U.N. agency, some of its nuclear materials to be used for peaceful purposes. He hoped that by shifting discussion from the long-standing deadlock over the international control of atomic energy to the creation of such an international pool, an atomic war might be prevented.

## The Cold War Keeps Germany Divided

Shortly after Germany had been the battleground of a hot war between the United Nations and the Nazis, it became a major battleground of the cold war. This prevented the signing of a peace treaty with a united Germany. In fulfillment of the Potsdam agreement, Germany (and Berlin, too) was divided into four zones under the supervision of an Allied Control Council, composed of one general from each of the occupying powers.

Many disagreements developed between Russia and the other occupying powers. For this reason and for economy and efficiency, the United States, Britain, and France merged their zones into one. As a result, Germany was split into their combined Western zone and the Russian-dominated Eastern zone. In the highly industrialized Western zone, which includes the Ruhr and the seaports on the North Sea, live nearly fifty million Germans. In the Eastern zone, which is mainly agricultural, but which includes industrial Silesia, live fewer than twenty million Germans. The East-West split prevented the free flow of trade, so essential to Germany's and even Europe's prosperity. To sustain Western Germany, therefore, the United States poured billions of dollars into that area.

**Conflicting Viewpoints** Between the West and the U.S.S.R. in Germany. The East-West split has also made it difficult to carry out all the provisions of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements (page 635). In line with these agreements, many German factories had been dismantled and their machines taken as reparations by some of the Allies,



Post-World War II Berlin. What problems has divided Germany raised for (a) the Germans, (b) the western powers, and (c) the Russians?

mainly Russia. The United States within a few years demanded that the dismantling program be stopped because it was hindering German recovery and thus meant higher occupation costs for us. Britain, not wishing the competition of German industry, and France, fearing the revival of German military might, supported the United States in this matter but not enthusiastically. Other disagreements between Russia and the West developed over Russia's demand for ten billion dollars in reparations out of the income of German factories and for a share in the Ruhr's production and management. The West refused. The Russians also wanted a strong centralized government in Germany. The West felt that if Germany were made up of several strong states loosely united, it would be harder for Russia to Communize and dominate all of it.

**The Berlin Airlift Breaks the Berlin Blockade.** As friction increased, the Russians took a desperate gamble and lost. They closed all land and water lanes to Berlin, which, although occupied by all four powers, is in the Russian zone. The Russians hoped thus to keep the West from feeding and fueling their zones of Berlin. They thought that



Who hit the game-winning homer? Does this mean that the series is won? Discuss.

all Berliners would then have to turn to Russia. This might help the Russians to win over all Berlin, Germany's capital, and thus make it easier for Russia to take over all Germany. But from the summer of 1948 to the spring of 1949, the western powers flew millions of tons of food, fuel, and other supplies into Berlin. The success of this *airlift* finally caused the Russians to call off their Berlin blockade.

**Two Governments for a Divided Germany.** Meanwhile, the West permitted the Germans in their zone to draw up a constitution for a West German Republic, with its capital at Bonn. The occupation powers retained control over such matters as foreign affairs, foreign trade, disarmament, and the Ruhr. (The Ruhr was placed under the control of the three Western occupying powers and Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (known as the *Benelux* countries).) The constitution of the West German Republic provided for a federal government of two houses. The members of an upper house (the *Bundesrat*) are appointed by the state legislatures. The lower house (the *Bundestag*), to which the cabinet and Chancellor are responsible, is elected by the people. Included in the constitution, which is much like that of the Weimar Republic (page 568), are guarantees of freedom and social security. As a re-

sult of the first elections, held in 1949, the Christian Democrats, a conservative, nationalistic party, and the Social Democrats, a socialist party, polled most votes. Nazi and Communist groups also won seats. Konrad Adenauer, a Christian Democrat, became Chancellor and retained this position as a result of the elections of 1953.

For their part, in 1949, the U.S.S.R. set up what they called the *German Democratic Republic* in the Eastern zone. It became a typical Communist satellite state, with elections, education, and the police system run on totalitarian lines.

**A Warmer Feeling for Germany Results from the Cold War.** The cold war has caused a slowdown and, in some cases, even an end to the original program for German disarmament, demilitarization, de-nazification, democratization, and decartelization (page 635). Both the Russians and the West have wanted German support in the cold war. The Russians have even gone so far as to turn back some of the dismantled factories to the Germans. Many American occupation officials have felt that we should let bygones be bygones, and that the Germans should be permitted to solve their problems.

**'YA, BUT THE ESCALATOR IS EASIER!'**



Do you agree that the escalator is easier? Why would the stairs be better for Germany and the world in the long run?

themselves. Both zones are now encouraging the building up of German armies.

In 1952, the United States, Britain, and France signed an agreement, called a *peace contract*, with the West German Republic. This contract officially ended World War II as far as the West and West Germany were concerned, making Germany practically independent. However, the peace contract required Germany to contribute twelve divisions to a European army-in-the-making (page 653).

The Russians, fearful that this contract would win more Germans for the West in the cold war, tried to better the peace contract. They offered to merge East and West Germany, to permit free elections throughout Germany, and to allow the Germans their own national army. In 1954 the West made big concessions to West Germany (page 653). In 1955 Russia invited Adenauer to Moscow, where it was agreed that Russia and West Germany would establish diplomatic relations and work for "mutual understanding and co-operation . . . in the interests of peace." Russia promised to return German war prisoners

### **The Cold War Keeps Austria Divided for Ten Years**

Like Germany and Berlin, Austria and Vienna were divided into four occupation zones in 1945. Unlike Germany, Austria was considered a liberated nation, rather than a defeated enemy. Thus Austria was immediately allowed its own government along with the occupation forces. Democratization and de-nazification made considerable progress. The government nationalized some industries and curbed inflation. A major source of conflict between the West and the U.S.S.R. in Austria was the reparations problem. At the Potsdam Conference, the U.S.S.R. had been promised German assets in Austria, but there was disagreement as to which assets were German and which were Austrian. During the war, for protection against bombing, the Nazis had moved many factories into Austria.

For ten years the U.S.S.R. refused to give up control over certain Austrian industries and to remove Russian occupation troops. Consequently, the troops of other occupying powers were kept on. Finally, in 1955, the United States, the U.S.S.R., Britain, and France signed a peace treaty with Austria. Austria's independence and its boundaries as of January 1, 1938 were restored. Austria promised to remain neutral and never again to unite with Germany. Occupation troops were withdrawn. The U.S.S.R. retained control of certain Austrian industries, but Austria was given the right to buy them back.

### **The United States Tries to Check Russian Communism and Aid World Economic Recovery**

The Truman Doctrine Bolsters Turkey and Greece. After World War II, Russia renewed its demands on Turkey for joint control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Russia's satellites, Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, were aiding Greek Communist guerrillas who were rebelling against the Greek government. Greece was a fertile field for Communism. The war had brought hun-

Communist success in Turkey and Greece might have meant control of the eastern Mediterranean and a threat to both the Middle East and the route to the Far East. That is why, in 1947, on President Truman's recommendation, the United States Congress voted \$400,000,000 in economic and military aid to Turkey and Greece. This "policy of the United States to support free peoples who were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside powers" is called the *Truman Doctrine*. It helped to keep Turkey and Greece from becoming Russian satellites.

Capitalistic United States Aids Communist Tito, Russia's Foe. In 1945, Tito, Communist dictator of the Soviet satellite,



Why does Tito's tune sound sour to the Russian bear? To what ears outside his own country does it sound sweet? Why?

Yugoslavia, broke with Russia. Here are some guesses made to explain the break: Tito was tired of taking orders from Stalin. — Tito wanted to concentrate on Communizing Yugoslavia along national lines, instead of serving the aims of international Communism. — Tito was not always living up to Marxist principles. — Tito was flirting with the West. — Tito's break was merely a Communist device to deceive the West. Soon Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform. Then Tito obtained from the West, especially the United States, loans, markets, and industrial equipment. Tito also pledged military support to the West. By supporting Communist Yugoslavia, the capitalist world was making clear that it would aid any nation which resisted Russian domination. To the annoyance of the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia was even elected to the Security Council of the U.N. in 1949. The U.S.S.R. was even more annoyed when, in 1953, Yugoslavia joined Turkey and Greece in forming a Balkan Entente to check any possible Russian threat. Nevertheless, in the same year Tito and the U.S.S.R. agreed to exchange ambassadors once more.

**The Marshall Plan: \$12,000,000,000 for European Recovery and Checking Communism.** "Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." This statement was made in 1947 by Secretary of State Marshall. In the same speech, he suggested to European nations that they should get together, list Europe's needs and resources, and arrange to help themselves and one another. Then, he said, the United States

would furnish funds to help them wipe out the ravages of World War II and build themselves up economically. This proposal was called the *Marshall Plan* or European Recovery Program (E.R.P.). E.R.P., it was hoped, would also increase international trade and, by reducing hunger and poverty, check Communism.

Under E.R.P., sixteen European nations from 1948 to 1952 (when it ended) received \$12,000,000,000 from the United States. The money was distributed, not to individual nations, but through a central European planning agency, based on its study of a nation's needs. Much of it was spent in the United States to purchase needed machinery and goods. Russia refused the offer of aid and would not permit its satellites to accept any. The Russians called E.R.P. "dollar imperialism" and a capitalist plot to enslave Europe. The Marshall Plan was a success. European factory output increased to about forty-five per cent above what it was before World War II. E.R.P. helped to promote European unity. And it helped to curb Communism.



Paul Hoffman, first Marshall Plan Administrator, suggests what Europe ought to do to help itself. Which of the partitions is it most important to get rid of? Why?

**The Point Four Program: Technical Aid to Underdeveloped Areas.** In such underdeveloped areas as Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, according to 1951 figures, the average annual income per person was only about eighty dollars. Because of their poverty, many inhabitants of such areas are more easily influenced by Communist propaganda. Such areas supply us with many necessary raw materials. To help raise the standard of living and check Communism in these areas, President Truman in 1949 suggested that we extend our scientific and industrial advice to them. He also recommended that Americans invest their money in developing these areas. His suggestion, for which the Congress appropriated money, came to be known as the *Point Four* program. Through it, persons accustomed to using camel-drawn wooden plows were taught to operate steel plows drawn by caterpillar diesels. Point Four experts have also taught the people of some underdeveloped areas modern industrial, educational, and medical methods. The United States also co-operates with Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and certain countries of south and southeast Asia in a plan (the Colombo Plan) for the economic development of south and southeast Asia.

**Greater Stress on Military Aid.** The success of E.R.P. and the headway made by the Point Four program alarmed the Russians. Cominform propaganda increased. The Russians set up a plan — the *Molotov Plan* — to bind the satellite countries more closely to them economically. As a result of the Marshall and Molotov plans, trade between western and eastern Europe was greatly reduced. As we shall see, Russia's policy in the Far East became much more aggressive.

Thus many Americans felt that, while economic aid to strengthen the anti-Communist world should continue, military support should be speeded up. To do so, the United States in 1951 initiated the Mutual Security Program. Under it, in return for co-operating with the West, nations would receive "anything from thumb tacks to Sherman tanks."

Why is it important in many ways to break through these trade barriers?



In 1953, the Foreign Operations Administration was set up to supervise the expenditure of all money for foreign aid. High government officials urged that private agencies should do more and the government less in providing technical aid to underdeveloped areas.

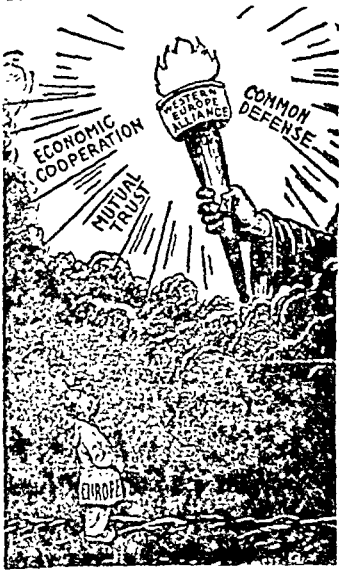
Here are criticisms of the sort which have been leveled at our programs for economic and military aid to foreign countries: They have imposed an unbearable burden on American taxpayers — They may lead to government bankruptcy — The money is not appreciated — Many countries have grown so accustomed to receiving aid that they do



How does Uncle Sam explain his goodness to United States taxpayers?



## "NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM"



Messner In The Rochester Times-Union

Suggest your own title for this cartoon.

little to help themselves. — These programs involve interference in other countries' affairs. — The United States has gone too far away from its traditional policy of isolation. — The United States has assumed functions which belong to the U.N.

The gist of the answers made to these criticisms is: They are exaggerated, or even untrue. Not to have adopted the foreign aid programs would have meant surrendering to Russia in the cold war and suicide for the free world.

## Europe Moves Toward Unity and a Check on Communism

**Western Union Expands into the North Atlantic Treaty.** For centuries men have dreamed of forming a United States of Europe. Such a union, they have said

attacked, the others would come to its defense.

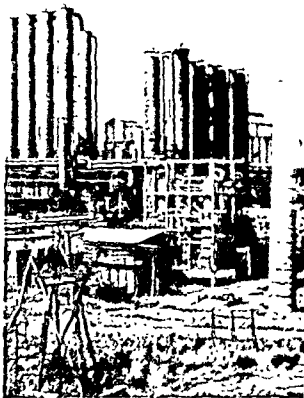
But to make such a treaty effective, huge sums were needed to provide military equipment. The United States expressed a willingness to sign such a treaty and to contribute funds toward it. In 1949, Western Union was therefore expanded into a North Atlantic Treaty including the five Western Union countries, the United States, and six other nations on both sides of the North Atlantic. An attack on one of these was to be considered an attack on all. Sweden, traditionally neutral and too close for comfort to the U.S.S.R., refused to join. By admitting Greece and Turkey later, the treaty nations were declaring that they would protect not only the North Atlantic, but the Mediterranean and the Middle East. (Efforts were also made to form alliances with Middle Eastern countries.)

Soon a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.)<sup>1</sup> was established with popular General Eisenhower as Supreme Head of the Allied Powers in Europe (S.H.A.P.E.). Eisenhower had many problems to solve in setting up an international army to resist any possible threat from the U.S.S.R. The peoples represented in N.A.T.O. were weary of armies and of war. Funds for military purposes would necessarily cut down on funds for consumer goods. This would mean a lower standard of living. Some of these peoples even thought the Communist threat was exaggerated. Many nations maintained that they could not supply as many troops as Eisenhower requested and keep up their national armies as well. France, always fearful of Germany, objected to including independent Germany. France's fear of West Germany is the

bases. They feared that this might lend prestige to the Franco regime in the eyes of the Spanish people. But in 1953, such an agreement was signed. The United States also agreed to give military and economic aid to strengthen Spain in western Europe's defense plans. Russia and Communists in many European countries spread violent propaganda against N.A.T.O. They called it a capitalist scheme for the destruction of Communist Russia. It was charged also that N.A.T.O. violated the U.N. Charter. However, N.A.T.O. maintained that it was a defensive alliance and that the U.N. Charter expressly permits regional agreements for defensive purposes.

Merge the soldiers of six western European countries, including West Germany, into one army wearing identical uniforms. This suggestion, part of a plan called the European Defense Community (E.D.C.), was made in order to increase the military might of western Europe. But many Frenchmen feared that Germany would dominate E.D.C. When France vetoed E.D.C., a series of agreements were substituted for it in 1954. It was agreed that West Germany would be permitted to run its own affairs. Troops of the United States, Britain, and France were to remain in West Germany and West Berlin, not as occupation armies, but for the "defense of the free world . . ." They were to stay until Russia and the West could agree upon a plan for the reunification of Germany. France agreed to German rearmament if Britain would agree to keep troops permanently on the continent to help protect France from another possible German invasion. Britain agreed. West Germany and Italy were then invited to join the Western European Union and N.A.T.O. and permitted limited rearmament under these agencies' control. In a sense, this permitted the rebuilding of a German national army. But N.A.T.O.'s chief was given great power over this army and certain other N.A.T.O. armies.

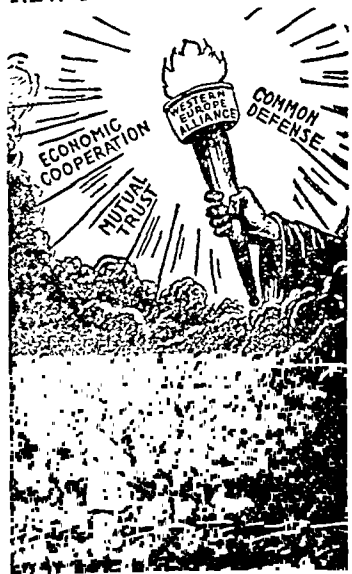
A big obstacle to European unity was the friction between France and Germany over



The Saar, an Especially Dangerous Trouble Spot in the Relations Between France and Germany. Why?

the coal-rich industrialized Saar (map on page 634). The Saar had been German territory before World War II. After the war the Saar was made semi-self-governing and was tied to France in an economic union. The Saar, in the 1954 agreements, was to be placed under European control. A commissioner who was neither French, German, nor a Saarlander, was to be appointed by the Western European Union as head of the Saar. But the Saar's economic ties to France were to be retained. When Saarlanders rejected this plan in 1955, the Saar remained a trouble spot.

The Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan to Promote European Unity. A short step was taken toward a United States of Europe when, in 1949 the Council of Europe was established. One of the branches of this council consists of a com-



Messner in The Rochester Times-Union

Suggest your own title for this cartoon.

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**Western Union Expands into the North Atlantic Treaty.** For centuries men have dreamed of forming a United States of Europe. Such a union, they have felt, would raise standards of living and promote security. A step was taken toward a United States of Europe after Communists under Moscow-trained leaders seized control of the Czechoslovakian government in 1948. Fearful of their own future, Great Britain, France, and the Benelux countries formed a fifty-year military, economic, and cultural treaty, called *Western Union*. They agreed that, if one were,

attacked, the others would come to its defense.

But to make such a treaty effective, huge sums were needed to provide military equipment. The United States expressed a willingness to sign such a treaty and to contribute funds toward it. In 1949, Western Union was therefore expanded into a North Atlantic Treaty including the five Western Union countries, the United States, and six other nations on both sides of the North Atlantic. An attack on one of these was to be considered an attack on all. Sweden, traditionally neutral and too close for comfort to the U.S.S.R., refused to join. By admitting Greece and Turkey later, the treaty nations were declaring that they would protect not only the North Atlantic, but the Mediterranean and the Middle East. (Efforts were also made to form alliances with Middle Eastern countries.)

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<sup>1</sup> The Rio Defense Treaty (page 579) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (S.E.A.T.O.) are much weaker forms of N.A.T.O. The United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand joined S.E.A.T.O., but the Asiatic nations of India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia refused to.

money to pay interest on loans and to buy desperately needed food and vital raw materials. Without these raw materials, British factories would be unable to produce the goods for more exports.

But it seemed almost impossible for the British to increase exports or to earn money in other ways. Many factories had been bombed to bits in the war. Many former British customers on the continent and in Asia were suffering from poverty and inflation. The cold war was cutting British trade with eastern Europe, an area with which Britain had formerly exchanged manufactured goods for agricultural goods. Many ships in the British merchant marine, which used to earn money carrying cargoes for other nations, had been sunk. Many British investments abroad, which had brought income to Britain, had been sold to pay war costs. And Britain's poverty, among other reasons, made it seem wise to give independence or self-government to many parts of the British Empire (page 671).

*The Labor Party Introduces Moderate Socialism.* Their wartime suffering and sacrifice made many Britishers feel that it was time for a change. In the election of 1945, the Churchill government was voted out and the Labor Party voted in. Clement Attlee became Prime Minister. The Laborites had promised that they would introduce a socialist program which, they said, would solve many of Britain's economic troubles and raise the health and living standards of the people. They maintained that government operation of certain industries would make them more efficient and enable Britain to compete better with other nations in the world market.

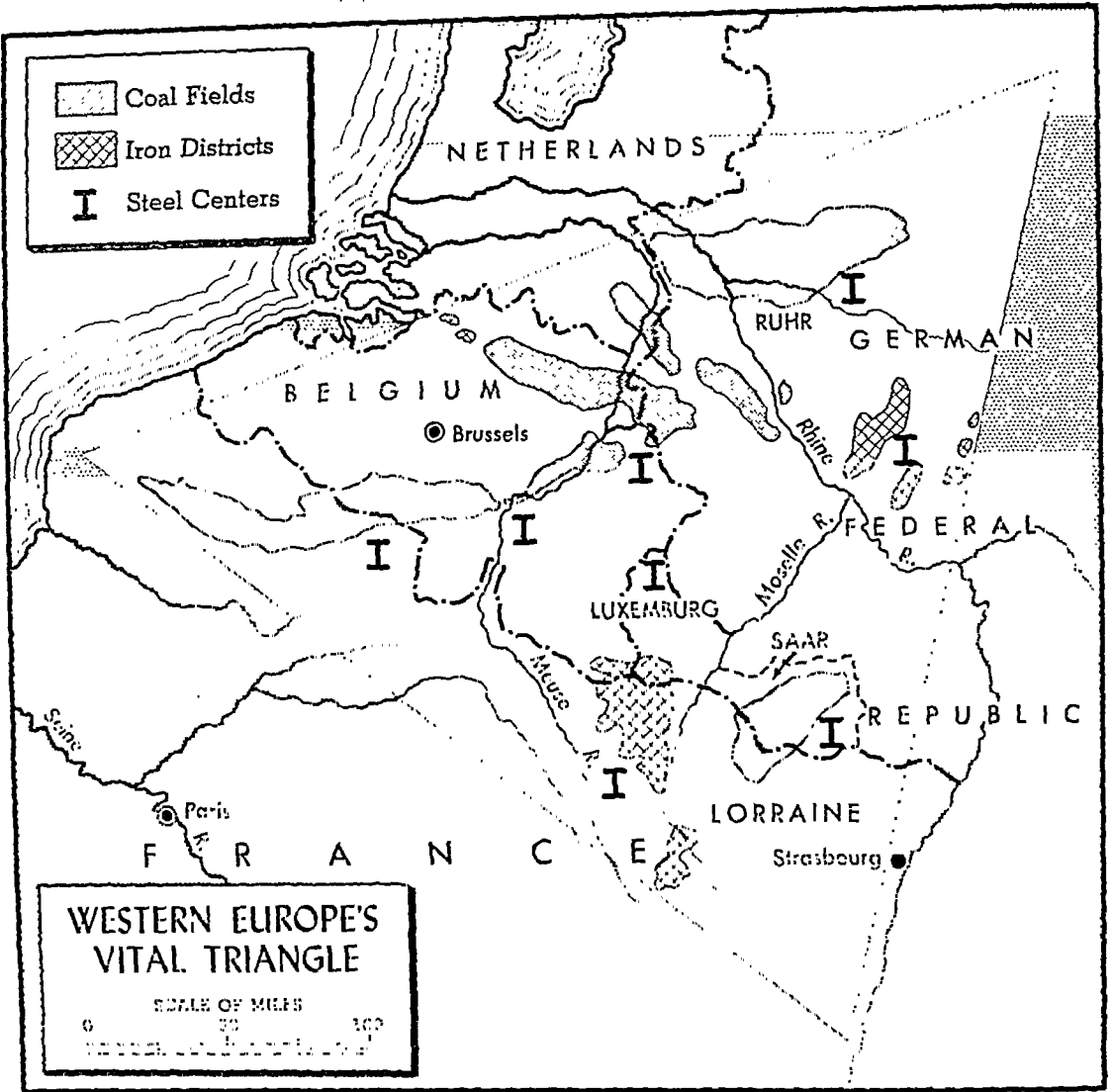
Among the industries which were nationalized, all with compensation to the owners, were coal mines, railways, and iron and steel. The Labor Party initiated strong drives to increase manufacturing for export and to cut down on imports. Britishers were denied the right to buy many British-made goods so that these could be exported. Rationing of food and clothing was so strict that by 1949 de-

feated Germany had a higher standard of living than victorious Britain. Taxes on the rich were raised so high that only forty-five persons had incomes as high as \$24,000 a year after taxes. Taxes on the poor were lowered. But by 1951 Britain had increased its industrial production forty-four per cent above that of 1945. The tremendous sacrifices of the British people, Marshall Plan aid, and improved world economic conditions in general had all helped.

In line with pre-election promises, the Labor Party extended Britain's social security system to cover every conceivable threat to security "from the cradle to the grave." There were grants for expectant mothers, for families raising children, for widows and orphans, for injured and unemployed workers, for retirement, and for funerals. The compulsory school age was raised from fourteen to fifteen. And a complete system of socialized medicine was introduced. All Britishers were made eligible for free medical, dental, and hospital care. Free also were eyeglasses, hearing aids, and artificial legs. Most doctors and dentists took part in the program.

Aneurin Bevan, a Laborite, criticized his own party for not being radical enough. He condemned Britain's extensive rearmament program for depriving the people of funds needed for housing and for various welfare projects. He demanded more socialization. Although not a Communist, he recommended better relations with the U.S.S.R.

*The Conservatives Modify Moderate Socialism Somewhat.* Differences between the Bevan group and the Attlee group in the Labor party helped Winston Churchill's Conservative party to regain control of the House of Commons in 1951. In typical British fashion, the Conservatives accepted many of the changes made by the Laborites. They returned the steel and the long-distance trucking industries to their private owners, however. They modified socialized medicine so that prescriptions cost a shilling and certain items, such as wigs, had to be paid for. In June 1953, in typical British fashion also,



mittee of ministers with one delegate from each nation. The other branch is a kind of parliament with membership apportioned according to population. The council merely discusses and suggests action to nations.

A long step toward the economic unity of Europe was taken when, in 1953, a plan for the merging of the coal and steel industries of the six countries in E.D.C. — the Schuman Plan — began to operate. Among the objectives of the Schuman Plan were the elimination of tariffs and of inefficiency in coal and steel production. It was also hoped that such economic co-operation would promote political co-operation between such long-time enemies as France and Germany.

## Britain, France, and Italy, Cold War Allies, Face Critical Problems


**Hard Times Hit Britain Again.** After World War II, as after World War I (page 581), many Britishers must have wondered whether they had really won the war. It looked as though Britain might go bankrupt and as though the British Empire might collapse. Indications that this might happen had appeared even after World War I. Having borrowed so much money to fight these wars, Britain had changed from a creditor nation to a debtor nation. More than ever before, Britain had to increase the volume of its exports. For exports would earn

**ing Similarities.** Anyone who studies postwar French history gets a pretty clear picture of postwar Italian history, too. For the similarities are many. Here are some: shattered factories, devastated fields, smashed railroads and harbor facilities, broken hearts over lost lives. Here are more: great poverty, high prices, extensive corruption, violent strikes, widespread cynicism — and millions of Communists.

In both France and Italy, U.N.R.R.A. and Marshall Plan aid helped to improve conditions and check the spread of Communism. Both countries revised their electoral system to cut down on Communist representation in parliament. In each, the Communist-dominated labor organization so antagonized many members by taking orders from Moscow that these members left and formed separate organizations. Both countries granted women the right to vote for the first time. In both countries, although there were many political parties, three won most of the votes: the Communists, the socialists, and a more moderate group. For a brief time after the war, the three formed coalition governments in both countries. But as the cold war developed, these coalitions broke up and the moderate groups got control of both governments.

**The Fourth French Republic: Its Government and Policies:** In France, the Fourth Republic was established in 1947. It is governed by a two-house legislature: the important National Assembly and the relatively unimportant Council of the Republic. It is to the directly elected National Assembly that the Premier and cabinet are responsible. The President is pretty much a figurehead.

The Constitution of the Fourth Republic proclaims that "every human being, without distinction of race, religion, or creed, possesses inalienable and sacred rights." It promises that the Fourth Republic "will not undertake wars of conquest and will never use its arms against the freedom of any people." Many of the colonies were given direct representation in the French legislature. And

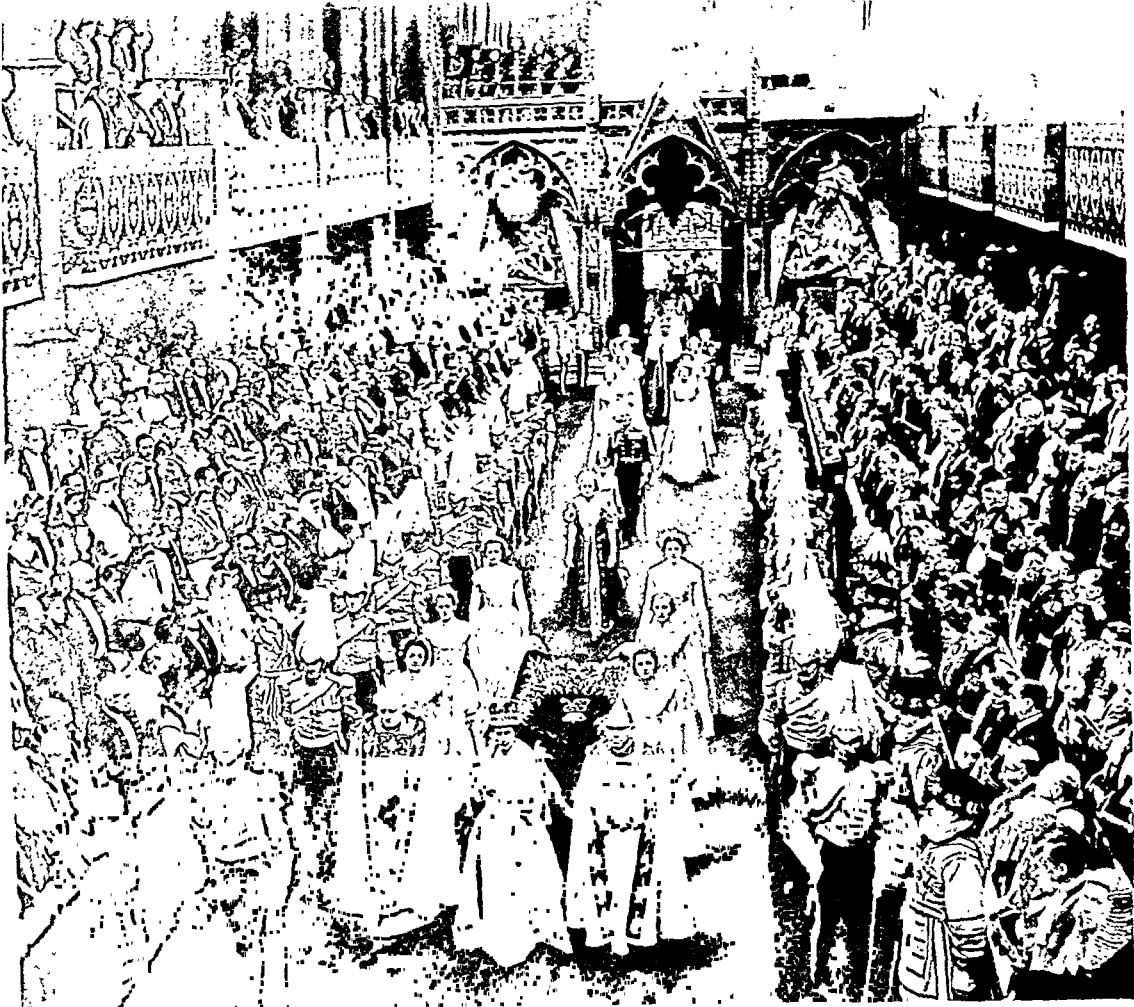


Frenchmen Laval (standing) and Pétain (seated) are shown on trial for collaborating with the Nazis during World War II. These men were traitors not only to their country but, in a sense, to the cause of freedom everywhere. Discuss.

France rejects "any system of colonization based upon arbitrary power." Although the constitution was new, however, the old problem of frequent cabinet changes resulting from the multiple-party system (page 478) still plagued France.

The government nationalized coal mines, banks, some insurance companies, the airplane industry, and a major automobile company. To build up industry, the French leased the Saar coal mines for fifty years, tried—though unsuccessfully—to annex Germany's industrial Ruhr, and initiated the Schuman Plan. Although there was considerable recovery, the standard of living of the people remained quite low. In the summer of 1953, many strikes broke out. Some blamed France's economic difficulties on its outmoded machinery, old-fashioned production and sales methods, failure to initiate new industries, and unfair and inefficient taxation system. Various groups recognized these difficulties, but each seemed to want the others to make the sacrifices.

Trials were held of Frenchmen who had collaborated with the Nazis. Many were condemned to death and some were executed, including Laval. Pétain's sentence of death



The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. Newspapers around the world gave this event headlines. For what reasons?

Laborites and Conservatives alike celebrated the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Another cause for rejoicing on this occasion was Britain's economic recovery. Industrial production had risen one hundred sixty per cent above its pre-war level. Rationing had been cut and so had Britain's traditional trade deficit.

*Some Differing Viewpoints Between the United States and Britain.* As we have seen, Britain has co-operated with the United States in the cold war. However, in general, British policy in resisting Communism in the Far East has been milder than that of the United States. Britain recognized Communist China (page 658). The United States did not. Britain favored the admission of

Communist China to the U.N. The United States did not. The British wanted to increase trade with Communist China. They asserted that peace in the Far East might best be preserved by recognizing that the Communists control China. The United States, on the other hand, feared that recognition might strengthen Communist China's position and reward it for its aggression in Korea (page 660). Britain feared that the United States was encouraging considerable industrialization in Germany and Japan. This meant competition for Britain in the world market. The British also asked the United States to lower its tariffs. In 1953, they said that what they wanted was "trade, not aid."

**Postwar France and Italy: Some Strik-**



writing poetry, studying philosophy, analyzing military strategy, and plotting revolution. Mao, after victory, set up a Communist dictatorship, called the *Chinese Peoples' Republic*, with himself as dictator and Chou En-lai as Prime Minister and foreign minister. Speedily, Mao and the U.S.S.R. signed a thirty-year treaty of "friendship, alliance, and mutual assistance." Communist China applied for admission to the U.N., but the U.N. continued to recognize Nationalist China.

Many explanations have been given for Chiang Kai-shek's defeat. Russia had turned over quantities of captured Japanese equipment to the Chinese Communists. Some American officials were accused of misleading our government by statements that Mao was not a real Communist, but merely a reformer. As a result, it is said, the United States did not give enough help to Chiang. It was also asserted that our government was so busy fighting the cold war in western Europe that it had neglected the Red threat in the Far East. Others blamed Chiang and his officials for wasting the two billion dollars in aid which the United States had sent him since the end of World War II. They maintained that, in spite of many promises, Chiang had failed to wipe out the inefficiency and corruption in his government and army. They said he had done little to check runaway inflation and terrible economic conditions in China or to bring about much-needed land reform. They accused him of denying civil liberties and of running the government like a dictator. Many pointed out that most of the Chinese people had suffered warfare and famine for such a long time that they did not care much which side won. What they wanted was peace.

The loss of China was a serious blow to the anti-Communist world in the cold war. It made our government more determined than ever to check the further spread of the Communist threat in the Far East. Considerable American economic and military assistance was sent to Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. The United States considered Japan, Korea, and the Philippines to be in effect our own westernmost defense line. In the early 1950's, the Reds intensified their propaganda campaign against the United States, labeling us aggressors and enemies of the Chinese people. But the action of the Chinese Communists in Korea, which we shall now study, convinced most of the world that it was the Chinese Communists who were the aggressors.

**The Cold War Becomes a Hot War in Korea.** In 1931, the League of Nations was tested by an aggressor in Manchuria (page 605). The League backed down. In 1930, the U.N. was tested by an aggressor in Korea. The U.N. did not back down. The world had learned that backing down before aggressors does not prevent wars.

Korea is a small, mountainous peninsula which seems on the map to be reaching out toward south Japan from Manchuria. In North Korea are many mines, factories, and hydroelectric plants, as well as farms. South Korea is mainly agricultural. In 1945, Russian and American troops ousted from Korea the Japanese, who had been in control there for forty years. It was agreed that until an independent Korean government could be set up, the Russians would occupy North Korea and the Americans would occupy South Korea. The dividing line was the 38th parallel. In 1945, a U.N. commission, barred by



was changed to life imprisonment on the insistence of De Gaulle (page 612). De Gaulle, who had been temporary president before the constitution was approved, had split with the liberal and radical groups in the coalition government. He had then organized a conservative, nationalistic, and militaristic party, called the *Rally of the French People*. It was strongly anti-Communist. It recommended strong powers for the President. De Gaulle's opponents called his party Fascist, but he said this charge was political propaganda. In the election of 1951, his right-wing party captured more seats than any other party. The left-wing Communists also captured many seats. In 1953, elections resulted in a great decrease in De Gaullist votes. But the Communist voting strength remained about the same. Many Communist leaders were arrested, charged with plotting to overturn the government. As we shall soon see, troubles in their dependencies in North Africa and a war against Communist guerrillas in French Indo-China engaged the French after the establishment of the Fourth Republic.

*Modern Italy's First Republic: Its Govern-*

### 'DANGEROUS DAUWDLERS'



By "Italian land reform" is meant the division of big estates so that each farmer can own some land. Why does the cartoonist consider that the Italian government has been guilty of dangerous dawdling?

*ment and Policies.* In 1946, the people of Italy voted the monarchy out and a republic in. In its legislature, unlike that of France, the two houses—the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate—were given fairly equal power. Furthermore, the President became much more than a figurehead. After the monarchy was abolished, De Gasperi, of the Christian Democratic party, headed a coalition as Prime Minister.

De Gasperi's government, aided by Marshall Plan funds, made headway in getting Italy back on its feet. By 1953, industrial production had risen to one hundred fifty per cent above its pre-war level. Yet much dissatisfaction remained. Unemployment and high prices kept the standard of living of many Italians pitifully low. Peasants in southern Italy, angry because of the delay in promised land reforms, seized land from big estate owners. Many grumbled because of the heavy defense costs. Many became indignant over the loss of the Italian colonies and of Trieste. Fascist groups started once more gaining converts. And, in the 1953 elections, the number of persons voting Communist also increased. De Gasperi, a strong ally of the West in the cold war, was defeated, but a weaker moderate coalition remained in control.

## The Communists Strike Hard in the Far East

### Chinese Communists Conquer China.

By 1949, one-third of the world was controlled by Communists. In that year, the mainland of China with its 460,000,000 population was conquered by the Chinese Communists. The Chinese Nationalists had had to retreat to their last stronghold, the island of Formosa. During World War II, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists and the Chinese Communists had fought not only the Japanese, but each other. After World War II ended, the civil war between the two Chinese groups had become even more violent.

The Chinese Communists were led by Mao Tse-tung, who had spent much of his life



writing poetry, studying philosophy, analyzing military strategy, and plotting revolution. Mao, after victory, set up a Communist dictatorship, called the *Chinese Peoples' Republic*, with himself as dictator and Chou En-lai as Prime Minister and foreign minister. Speedily, Mao and the U.S.S.R. signed a thirty-year treaty of "friendship, alliance, and mutual assistance." Communist China applied for admission to the U.N., but the U.N. continued to recognize Nationalist China.

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patrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch challenges aggression—one backed down."

To what specifically is the cartoonist referring? What would you suggest as an epitaph for the tombstone of the League of Nations?

the Russians from North Korea, conducted an election in South Korea. This resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Korea with Syngman Rhee as President. Soon afterward, the United States withdrew its troops from South Korea. The Russians established a satellite Communist government in North Korea and then declared that Russian troops had been withdrawn.

**The U.N. Resists the Invasion of South Korea.** Then suddenly on June 24, 1950, the Russian-equipped and Russian-trained North Korean army invaded South Korea and kept driving forward to what looked like an easy victory. The capital, Seoul, and all but a small beachhead at Pusan in South Korea fell. On June 25th, the U.N. Security Council ordered North Korea to withdraw to the 38th parallel. When the order was ignored, the U.N. requested its members to aid South Korea. Russia's representative on the Security Council was not present to veto these resolutions. For Russia had been boycotting the U.N. in hopes of coercing it into recognizing Communist China instead of Nationalist China.

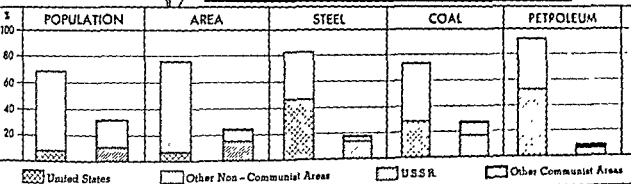
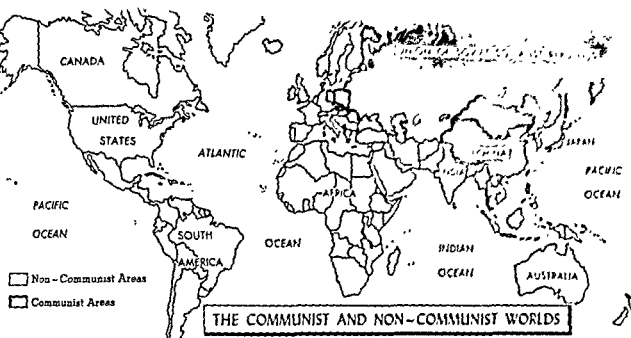
President Truman ordered American forces to aid South Korea. An American fleet was ordered to patrol the waters between For-

mosa and the mainland of China to prevent the Nationalist and Communist Chinese from renewing their conflict.<sup>2</sup> General MacArthur was placed in charge of a U.N. army fighting under a U.N. flag. The army was made up mainly of South Koreans and Americans, but many other countries were also represented by troops. History might have been very different if the first international army to fight by request of an international organization had been sent to Manchuria in 1931, instead of to Korea in 1950!

In a cleverly planned counterattack, the U.N. forces were able to cross the 38th parallel and smash on to the Yalu River on the Manchurian border. It looked as though the Korean "police action," as President Truman had called it, were over. But then from Manchuria and into North Korea poured 200,000 Chinese Communist troops equipped with Russian tanks and planes. Within two months, the surprised U.N. forces were driven south of the 38th parallel. U.N. demands that the Chinese Communists cease fire were met by a counter-demand that Chinese Communists replace Chinese Nationalists on the Security Council and that Formosa be ceded to them. The Chinese Communist invasion was then condemned by the U.N. as an act of aggression.

In the early months of 1951, the U.N. forces rallied. They inflicted terrible losses on the Chinese and pushed them back beyond the 38th parallel. General MacArthur proposed that the only way to end this seesaw fighting was to bomb the Chinese Communist bases in Manchuria and to permit Chiang Kai-shek's troops from Formosa to fight on the mainland. But President Truman and his advisers felt that such actions might bring Russia into the war and lead to World War III. The European members of the U.N. were especially fearful of bringing Russia directly into the war. They feared that Russia would

<sup>2</sup> In 1953, President Eisenhower changed this order somewhat. This meant that Chiang Kai-shek could, if he wished, raid or even invade the mainland of China.



immediately invade western Europe and bomb their cities. MacArthur's supporters maintained that it was by no means certain that Russia wanted an all-out war. They asserted that the longer the war lasted, the more prestige the democratic world would lose in Asia. Accusing General MacArthur of spreading views which conflicted with administration policy, President Truman used his power as Commander-in-Chief to relieve MacArthur of his command and replace him with General Ridgway.

To the amazement of the non-Communist world, the Russians had accused the South Koreans of invading North Korea and the United States of wanting to use Korea as a springboard for a future attack on Communist China. Another example of propaganda used by the Communists was the charge that the United States was using germ warfare. But in the U.N., the Russians

blocked a proposal that the Red Cross be permitted to investigate this charge.

*Truce Talks Prolonged as Fighting Rages.* The non-Communist world was pleasantly surprised, however, in July 1951 when the Russians proposed that truce talks be held. Month after month, truce talks went on, and so did the fighting and dying. Many got the impression that the Communists were deliberately using these talks as a stalling device to permit them to build up their strength for a counteroffensive. By the end of 1952, however, after heartbreaking negotiations, all major issues except one were ironed out. This one was the Communist insistence that all prisoners be repatriated (returned to their homeland). The U.N. rejected this on the ground that many of the prisoners they held did not want to return to Communist territory. In fact, many of them had already been on the promise that they would not be

turned. Shortly after the death of Stalin, the new Russian dictator, Malenkov, seemed to be adopting a more compromising policy toward the non-Communist world. This may explain why, in April 1953, the Communist and U.N. negotiators in Korea agreed to exchange sick and wounded prisoners and to plan a compromise on the return of other prisoners.

*The Frustrating Character of the Korean Conflict.* The non-Communist world now had high hopes, but still some doubts, about a peaceful settlement of this horrible conflict. This was one of the most frustrating of conflicts. Thousands of troops had fought bravely, often in frigid weather, to capture some strategic hill, only to lose it again. Screaming the massed forces of the Communists would be hurled against the U.N. forces and compel their retreat. Then the U.N. forces would regroup and recapture the hill. This process would be repeated many times for many hills, with no end in sight. By the end of the Korean conflict, of the U.N. forces the United States alone had suffered over 140,000 casualties and South Korea nearly 250,000. Communist casualties were estimated at approximately 2,000,000.

The Korean conflict was frustrating in other ways. For example, many asked such questions as: "What assurance is there that, after a peace in Korea, war will not break out again there?" "Will our generation have to suffer from a series of conflicts as costly as the Korean one in other parts of the globe?" "Will such conflicts, some of which are being waged now on a smaller scale, lead to a third world war?" It is hoped instead that the united resistance to aggression in Korea will bring a lasting, satisfactory peace there and serve as a warning to aggressors in other trouble spots.

In the truce terms signed in July 1953 after two years and seventeen days of truce talks, the belligerents agreed: (1) to withdraw from the battle line and establish a neutral area of a few miles between them; (2) to permit all prisoners who wanted to go

home to do so and to place other prisoners in the charge of a five-nation Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission; (3) to permit Communist representatives to try to persuade reluctant prisoners to return home; (4) to permit those prisoners who are not persuaded, eventually to go to a neutral country; and (5) to recommend a peace conference to discuss "the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

For the first time in history, an international organization had succeeded in checking aggression. Yet the truce left Korea still divided by a line roughly a few miles north of the thirty-eighth parallel. The outlook for a united Korea was therefore not promising in 1954. Friction over prisoner exchange intensified bitterness. Many wondered whether the truce would last. Problems also developed in connection with the planned peace conference. The United States desired that only North Korea and Communist China, on the one hand, and the sixteen nations which fought on the side of the United Nations, on the other, should participate. This suggestion conflicted with that of those countries, including Russia, which wanted a round-table conference of representatives from all countries with interests in Asia. The United States stated that it opposed India's participation in the peace conference because India's troops had not fought in the war. At first, the United States also opposed the participation of the U.S.S.R., but later compromised on this. Years rolled on and no further progress was made on a peace settlement for Korea.

**Defeated Japan Occupied and Remodeled.** The Japanese people must have been extremely puzzled by a radio broadcast in 1945. After having been taught for centuries that their emperor was divine, they heard his voice saying that he was not a god and that they should no longer worship him. This broadcast, scheduled by General MacArthur, in charge of American occupation forces in Japan, was an indication of the great



How does this cartoon illustrate a major aim of American occupation forces in Japan after World War II?

changes that were taking place in postwar Japan.

Unlike defeated Germany, defeated Japan was not divided into occupation zones. General MacArthur and his advisers really decided occupation policy. Like the original aims for defeated Germany, the original aims for defeated Japan were democratization, disarmament and demilitarization, decartelization, dismantling of heavy industries, and punishment for war criminals.

In line with democratization, both houses of parliament were elected by the people and the cabinet was made responsible to parliament. Women for the first time were given the vote. The new Constitution of 1947 mentions many freedoms, including a belief in freedom from fear and freedom from want for all peoples. Secret police were banned. Labor unions were encouraged. Education was made more democratic. Many big estates were broken up and poor peasants were granted government loans to buy land. The emperor was to be merely a figurehead. He was kept on as a patriotic symbol who would co-operate with the occupation forces.

He was not to be worshiped as preached by Shinto (page 392).

In line with disarmament and demilitarization, the Japanese promised never again to wage war or maintain armed forces. Military men responsible for Japan's aggressive militarism were removed from high positions. Many of them were imprisoned. And some war criminals, including General Tojo, were hanged. To prevent Japan from becoming a military threat once more, some of its machinery was turned over as reparations to the victors. And in line with decartelization, efforts were made to break the big monopolies, such as those held by the Zaibatsu (page 480).

*Japan's Status Altered by the Cold War.* But just as our original aims in Germany were modified as a result of the cold war, so they were modified in Japan. We wanted to win Japan as an ally in the cold war. We also feared that Communist China might invade a weak Japan. This helps to explain why demilitarization, dismantling of industries, and decartelization were slowed up. In 1952, a Japanese peace treaty, sponsored by the United States and signed by forty-nine nations, went into effect. In it, Japan gave up all its conquered territory. Japan's independence and right to maintain forces to defend itself were recognized. No further reparations were required. American occupation troops were to be withdrawn. But in a separate agreement for the protection of Japan against a possible Communist attack, the United States was permitted to station armed forces there.

Several nations, including Russia, refused to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty. India and Nationalist China signed separate peace treaties with Japan. The Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand were fearful that a rearmed Japan might threaten them once more. To calm their fears and to check possible Communist aggression, the United States signed separate defensive alliances, one with the Philippines and another with Australia and New Zealand. In 1953, the



United States also signed a mutual security pact with South Korea.

*Japan's Problems Persist.* The American occupation of Japan was a success as compared with the four-power occupation of Germany. But many serious problems faced Japan. Because of its huge and rapidly increasing population, small land area, and lack

of fertile soil, much food must be imported. But to buy imported food, Japan must manufacture goods for export. It is difficult for Japan to increase its manufactures, because it lacks sufficient coal and iron. Some Japanese have recommended trade with China, which has coal, iron, agricultural products, and many customers. Before World War II,

China bought about half Japan's exports. However, the United States does not approve of Japan's giving Communist China the advantage of its trade. Besides, Communist China does most of its trading with the U.S.S.R. And countries such as Britain, which, like Japan, must export or die, are not eager to see Japan build up its industries.

There is also evidence that some of the democratic changes in Japan are only on the surface. Some of the old supporters of the New Order (page 603) now hold important positions in government and industry. And many Japanese apparently still feel that the emperor, in spite of his denial, is divine — for age-old institutions die hard.

## PUTTING OUR STUDY TO USE

### Terms to Define and Persons to Identify

cold war • Cominform • Soviet satellites • iron curtain • Berlin airlift • West German Republic • Benelux countries • Adenauer • German Democratic Republic • peace contract • Truman Doctrine • Tito • Balkan Entente 1953 • the Marshall Plan • the Point Four program • the Foreign Operations Administration • the Molotov Plan • West-

ern Union • N.A.T.O. • E.D.C. • Council of Europe • the Schuman Plan • Attlee • Aneurin Bevan • Elizabeth II • the Fourth French Republic • Rally of the French People • De Gasperi • Mao Tse-tung • Chinese Peoples' Republic • Chou En-lai • the 38th parallel • Syngman Rhee • Japanese Constitution of 1947 • Japanese Peace Treaty of 1952

### Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Discuss (a) how the cold war developed and (b) weapons used in it.
2. For what reasons did the western powers become suspicious of the U.S.S.R. after World War II?
3. Prove that the cold war has divided the United Nations.
4. Give examples of clashes between the West and the U.S.S.R. in Germany.
5. Discuss the governments of the two Germanies created since World War II.
6. How has the cold war affected relationships between Germany and (a) the West; (b) the U.S.S.R.?
7. Explain the reasons for the delay in the completion of an Austrian peace treaty.
8. Discuss some important steps taken by the United States since World War II to check the spread of world Communism.
9. Why was the United States especially interested in helping Greece and Turkey after World War II?
10. Discuss the relationship of capitalist United States and communist Yugoslavia.
11. How did the Marshall Plan differ from the Point Four program?

12. Discuss the purposes and problems of (a) N.A.T.O. and (b) E.D.C.
13. In what ways did (a) the Council of Europe and (b) the Schuman Plan try to promote European unity?
14. Discuss two highlights in the history of (a) Britain, (b) France, and (c) Italy since World War II.
15. What changes did the Labor party bring about in postwar Britain?
16. What did France's Fourth Republic and Italy's First Republic have in common?
17. What explanations have been given for the Communist conquest of China?
18. Discuss (a) the highlights in and (b) the significance of the Korean War.
19. Describe the steps taken to remodel Japan after World War II.
20. Compare the treatment of defeated Japan with that of defeated Germany.
21. What are Japan's major economic and political problems today?
22. On World War II Churchill wrote, "How the great democracies triumphed and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life." Explain.



## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Arrange the causes of the cold war in what you consider the order of their importance. Give reasons for your first choice.
2. To what extent is the title, *the cold war*, an appropriate one?
3. Discuss ways in which iron curtains hold back world progress.
4. After studying the American and the Russian plans for control of atomic energy, what conclusions do you draw?
5. Fears explain most of the problems in post-war Germany and Austria. What fears?
6. What steps do you think might be taken to avoid further friction in Germany and Austria?
7. Why was the West determined to break the Berlin blockade?
8. Explain whether you think the original program for defeated Germany should have been followed to the letter.
9. The Truman Doctrine was the opposite of the Monroe Doctrine. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
10. Do you think it is wise for the United States to aid a Communist dictator such as Tito? Discuss.
11. The Marshall Plan was the most important step taken by the United States to check Communism after World War II. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
12. Do you think that more money should have been spent on the Point Four program than on the Marshall Plan? Give reasons.
13. Comment on the comments made by Americans on our foreign aid program.
14. If you were the head of N.A.T.O., what steps would you take at this time to strengthen it?
15. How do centuries of history help to explain the obstacles in the way of E.D.C.?
16. In what ways do the Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan fall short of achieving an effective United States of Europe?
17. Britain's policies since World War II have led to much heated discussion at home and abroad. Give reasons why.
18. What factors help to explain the growth of Communism in France and Italy after World War II?
19. To what extent do you think that the post-war problems of Italy were even greater than those of France or Britain?
20. For what reasons did the loss of China to the Communists shock the anti-Communist world?
21. If you had been President Truman, would you have ordered American forces to aid South Korea? Give reasons.
22. In what respects was the U.N. action in Korea a revolutionary step?
23. For what reasons were the Communists so eager for a victory in Korea?
24. Comment on the Truman-MacArthur disagreement over Korean policy.
25. Even after the Korean truce was signed in July 1953, many feared that friction would continue there. Give reasons.
26. How has the cold war led to a warmer feeling on the part of the United States toward defeated Japan?
27. If you were a Japanese, what would your attitude be toward the American occupation policy? Why?

## Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map show (a) to what extent the world is divided between Communists and non-Communists or (b) the major trouble spots in the cold war.
2. Draw a cartoon called "Weapons in the Cold War."
3. Make an oral report on (a) life in any one of the Soviet satellites (see Gunther's *Behind the Curtain*), (b) the Point Four program, (c) socialized medicine in Britain, or (d) life in postwar Japan.
4. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) a West German and an East German after World War II, (b) a South Korean and a North Korean during the Korean conflict, (c) Tito and Stalin, (d) Bevan and Attlee, or (e) Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek.
5. Write a magazine article entitled either (a)

"I Was a Pilot in the Berlin Airlift," or (b) "I Attended the Coronation of Elizabeth II," or (c) "I Was a Tourist in Postwar France and Italy," or (d) "I Was a War Correspondent in Postwar China or Korea."

6. Make a series of sketches on the tug-of-war in postwar Germany or Austria.

7. Draw up a series of questions which you would like to ask of an official of N.A.T.O.

8. Imagine yourself a citizen of postwar Italy. Write a letter to your local newspaper suggesting steps you think the government should take to improve economic conditions.

9. Write an essay entitled "Lessons Learned from the Korean Conflict."

10. Prepare a talk for a class town meeting discussion on either side of the question: "Should

our policy toward defeated Japan (or Germany) have been very tough?"

11. As a member of a committee, work out the plot for a two-act play in which Act I shows the United States and the U.S.S.R. as allies in World War II and Act II shows them as enemies in the cold war.

12. Debate: Resolved, That a United States of Europe is an impossibility.

13. As a member of a committee, investigate the reasons for the loss of China in the cold war. Compare your findings with those of other committee members.

14. Contribute clippings or illustrations for a bulletin-board exhibit on "Steps Taken by the United States to Combat the Spread of Communism."

### Summing Up

1. If you were producing a motion picture on the cold war, what title would you give it? Give reasons.

2. How might the illustrations in this chapter help in the filming of scenes for your motion picture? Which scenes would you highlight? Why?

# CHAPTER 28 . . . . SOME SIGNIFICANT TRENDS OF OUR TIMES

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**Asians Demand Asia for Asians • New Nations Arise in Asia • After Bloodshed, the Dutch Recognize Indonesia's Independence • Without Bloodshed, the United States Frees the Philippines • Britain Frees Most of Its Vast Asiatic Empire • Independent Burma Faces Serious Problems • Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan Find Independence No Cure-All • Independent Israel: an Age-Old Dream of the Jews Realized • The French Have Trouble in Indo-China • The British Have Trouble in Malaya and Iran • Communist China Adopts Russian Methods • Africa: Land Full of Challenges • The Future: "A Golden Age of Peace and Progress"?**

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Looking backward, we notice that the cradles of civilization were in the Middle East (Egypt and Mesopotamia) and farther east in Asia (India and China). At this time, Europe was uncivilized. In the Middle Ages, India, China, and the Moslem world made far greater scientific and material progress than did Europe. In the past four centuries, however, it has been western Europe which has led the world in trade and in the arts and sciences. Furthermore, Christian missionaries from western Europe have converted millions on other continents. European soldiers have conquered large portions of the globe. European merchants have marketed the products of European factories all over the world. In short, from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the little area of western Europe has been the most influential area in the world.

But times are changing. In our times, the two giants are the United States and the U.S.S.R. As we know, the cold war between

these two giants (and those allied with each) is a major trend of our times. As we have seen, too, certain European countries, such as Britain, France, and Italy, while still influential, are no longer the great powers they used to be. A very significant trend of our times is the rise of Asia, long dominated by Europe, as a powerful force on the world scene. There, old empires are declining and new nations are arising. This is true of Africa as well as Asia.

## Asians Demand Asia for Asians

Imagine yourself an average Asian. You probably would not live beyond the age of thirty. Most Asians are lucky to have a bowl of rice, their main food, a day. If the rice crop fails, millions may starve. Few have ever seen a doctor or a dentist. The average Asian lives in a mud hut without even simple plumbing. Many use water from gutters for drinking, cooking, bathing, and washing

clothes. So few Asians have animals or even the simplest machines that they depend entirely on their muscles to do even the heaviest work. Asians make up more than half the world's 2,500,000,000 population and occupy one-third of the world's land. More than eighty per cent of them are illiterate. Few have ever had a voice in their government.

If you were an average Asian living in the north, you would probably be a shepherd on the cold grassy plains of Siberia or Mongolia. However, if you were like the majority, you would be a peasant living in the semi-tropical south. The plots of land that most Asian peasants have to cultivate are so tiny that they might be called gardens. On these little plots, the use of machinery, even if the peasants could afford it, would be impractical. Their tools are extremely primitive. Often they lease these plots at high rentals from big landowners. To pay the rent, they often have to borrow money at high interest rates. Many are never out of debt.

If you were an average Asian, the Communists would flood you with propaganda. They would promise to rid you of landlords,

moneylenders, crooked politicians, disease, poverty, and western imperialists. The Communists realize that acquisition of Asia, with its huge manpower and rich resources, would be a great victory in the cold war.

And finally, if you were an average Asian, you would be becoming increasingly nationalistic. After World War II, nationalism spread like wildfire throughout Asia. Asians saw that, in the early years of the war, long-time western imperialists, such as the British, Dutch, and French, could be beaten by Asians, such as the Japanese. It was Japanese propagandists who spread the slogan: "Asia for Asians!" And the small number of Asians educated in Europe or the United States felt that the Atlantic Charter and the U.N. Charter endorsed the movements for independence which they led. They wanted not only independence for their countries, but industrialization and scientific agriculture which would raise standards of living. They were weary of seeing the riches of Asia drained off by European imperialists. Thus Asians have many common problems. Yet there are many differences among them in origin, religion, language, customs, and points of view.

## New Nations Arise in Asia

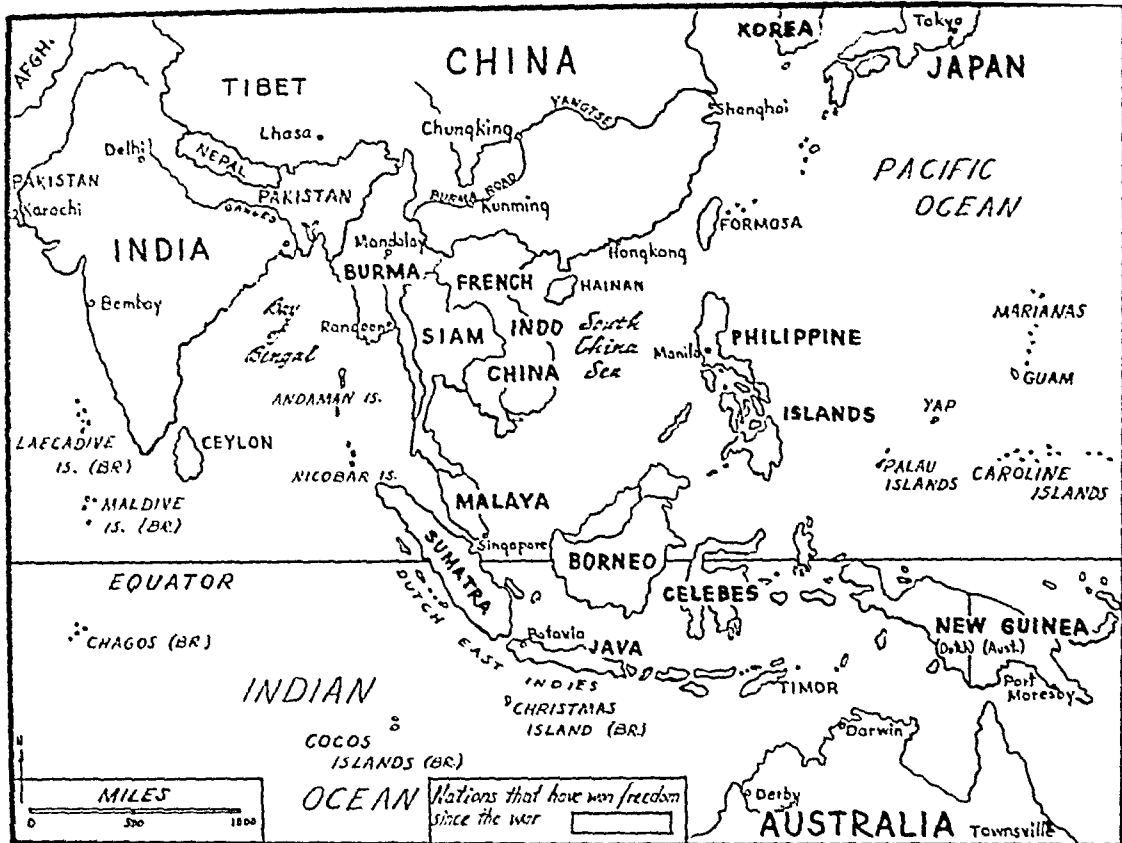
After Bloodshed, the Dutch Recognize Indonesia's Independence. For nearly three hundred and fifty years, the Dutch ruled one of the most desirable colonial prizes in history, the Netherlands East Indies. Tin, oil, rubber, and coal, rice, spices, coffee, tea, and tobacco — these are just a few of the islands' valuable products. The thousands of islands in the East Indies stretch like a necklace along the equator off southeast Asia for over three thousand miles. Holland recognized their independence in 1949, after much bloodshed and the intervention of the U.N. Since 1950, the islands have been known as the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia's first president was a leader of the revolution against the Dutch, named Soekarno. A major source of friction has been Indonesia's

### "CRUMBLING DIKE"



Printed in The Sacramento Bee

What other evidence could you give to prove that this dike is crumbling?



Rise of Freedom in Asia. Shaded areas are former colonial regions that have won independence since the war. What problems do these new nations have in common?

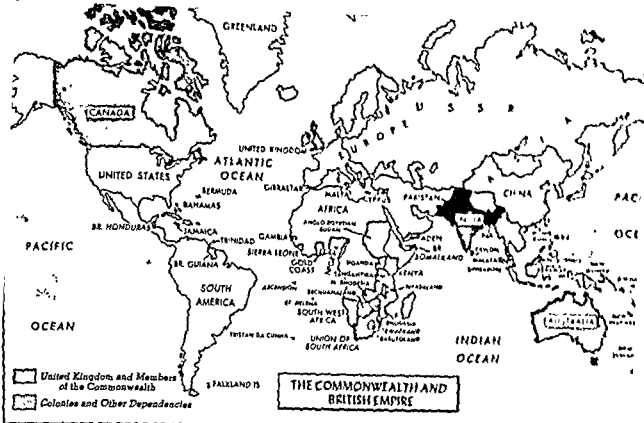
desire to annex Netherlands New Guinea, which the Dutch refuse to give up. In fact, Indonesia would like to break even the slender tie which it still has to the Dutch.

Violent political differences, rioting in certain regions, falling world prices for their rich raw materials, inflation, and workers' demands for higher wages are a few of the problems facing the new republic. In 1954, the Nationalist party, with some Communist support but no Communists in its cabinet, was in control. It faced strong opposition from the strongly anti-Communist, pro-West Moslem party. The Moslem party desired to return the oil fields to their former foreign owners, whereas the Nationalists wanted them nationalized. One extremist Moslem group, the *Darul Islam*—not part of the Moslem party—has had a guerrilla army in control of much of west Java working to establish an independent Moslem state.

Indonesians, so long under Dutch control, identify the West with imperialism. Furthermore, they seemed to want to remain neutral in the cold war. This may explain why they accepted economic aid, but not military aid, from the United States.

**Without Bloodshed, the United States Frees the Philippines.** For nearly three hundred and fifty years, the Spanish ruled the Philippines. As a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States acquired these more than seven thousand islands. We granted them their independence on July 4, 1946 of our own free will. The Filipinos have modeled their political system on ours. However, natural resources<sup>1</sup> such as coal, oil, and water power are owned by the government and they may be developed only by Filipinos or Americans. The Philippine

<sup>1</sup> Filipinos raise large quantities of hemp, sugar, rice, coconut oil, and tobacco.



government has also granted the United States the right to maintain military and naval bases there for ninety-nine years. The United States continued to aid the Philippines with large sums of money and tariff concessions even after they received their independence. One of the major problems facing the new government was a Communist-led group of guerrilla rebels, the *Huks*. During the war, the *Huks* fought the Japanese. After the war, they demanded that the government divide up land among the great numbers of poverty-stricken peasants. They committed murders and sacked towns. But the *Huk* movement lost ground. The army imprisoned or executed many of them. And many, when promised land, quit the *Huks*. The general, Mag-saysay, who was leader of the movement to suppress the *Huks*, was elected President of the Philippines in 1953.

**Britain Frees Most of Its Vast Asiatic Empire.**

**Independent Burma Faces Serious Problems.** After World War II, six new nations were born out of the British Empire in Asia:

Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Jordan,<sup>2</sup> and Israel. Nearly three hundred and fifty years ago, the British had laid the basis for their control of Burma. In 1919, the Burmese were granted complete independence from Britain. They set up a moderately socialist government. Monopolies and the holding of large estates were forbidden. For a few years it looked as though independent Burma might collapse. Political leaders were assassinated. Outlying provinces demanded complete self-government and challenged the central government with guns. Communist guerrillas rioted, demanding "No rent, no taxes!"

But soon Burma showed greater stability. More and more the Burmese government stressed the ideals of Buddha rather than those of Marx. In 1953, the government refused economic aid from the United States. Fear of antagonizing Communist China was

<sup>2</sup> The beautiful island of Ceylon, off the coast of India, a land of tea and rubber, was granted the millionth star in the Commonwealth in 1948. Then Jordan, after World War II, the British mandate became independent in 1946, under the name of Jordan. The only parts of Britain's *Asian Empire* still ruled by Britain are Malaya and Hong Kong.

door is one reason for this. Trends today are Burma's neutrality in the cold war and its determined effort to end the centuries'-old bitterness between Burma and Thailand.

*Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan Find Independence No Cure-All.* "I told you so." This is what some Britishers must have felt like saying when they saw Hindus and Moslems massacring each other in India in 1947. In that year, the British had recognized the independence in the subcontinent of India of a Hindu dominion — *India* — and a Moslem dominion, called *Pakistan*. In 1950, India became the independent Republic of India, retaining slender ties to the Commonwealth of Nations. It was after the British withdrawal from India that the mutual massacres incited by fanatics occurred. Some of the native states which had been British protectorates (page 594) decided to join India and others, to join Pakistan. In one state, Kashmir, the prince was Hindu whereas most of his subjects were Moslem. Both Pakistan and India used troops in an attempt to annex Kashmir. Since 1948, the U.N. has tried to settle this issue. However, although an uneasy peace prevailed, the issue remained unsettled. When Pakistan's Assembly voted in 1953 to make Pakistan an Islamic Republic, many Hindus were alarmed. They feared that the rights of Hindus in Pakistan would be threatened, since the government henceforth must actively spread the Moslem faith.

In both India and Pakistan, the vast majority of the people are poverty-stricken. Yet, mainly because of the friction between them, each spends seventy-five per cent of its budget on armaments. Pakistan is divided into two parts, separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. Western Pakistan occupies most of the fertile Indus River valley and borders on Afghanistan and Iran. The Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers flow through eastern Pakistan, which borders on Burma. Pakistan is almost entirely agricultural. The 80,000,000 people of this country with its fertile fields are better fed than most Asians. In Pakistan, public utilities are government-owned but

most business is privately owned. In order to encourage industrialization, the Pakistan government has invited such foreign enterprises as the Ford Motor Company to build plants there.

India, too, is mainly agricultural, but it has many industries. For its factories, India needs some of the raw materials of Pakistan. For example, Pakistan produces most of the world's jute, but it is India which has the jute factories. Famines strike India frequently, especially when the monsoons (page 49) fail. To combat this situation, the government of Prime Minister Nehru cleared jungles and drained swamps, thereby making new lands for farming. Tremendous irrigation projects and the distribution of land to landless peasants were also expected to help. Nehru's program also included increased industrialization and education. Untouchability was legally banned and special aid was given to former untouchables. In general, Nehru's government is moderately socialist.

Many leaders in both India and Pakistan are working hard to build better relations between their countries. To illustrate, in 1950, Nehru and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali of Pakistan negotiated an agreement in which each country promised to protect its religious minorities. Fourteen per cent of Pakistan's population is Hindu and nine per cent of India's is Moslem.

From time to time, problems arise which cause friction between India and Pakistan. For example, India in 1953 charged that the United States and Pakistan were planning a military pact. Nehru protested that this would antagonize the U.S.S.R. and bring the cold war to the borders of India. He also feared that a more modern Pakistan army would be a threat to India in case the Kashmir problem remained unsolved. Pakistan answered that no such pact was planned, that the United States would merely furnish Pakistan with arms and military advice.

Although Nehru has tried to keep India neutral in the cold war, he has fought Communism in India and condemned the Korean



Why do many feel that India will not be able to do the rope trick indefinitely?

**Invasion** He has often tried to get the Communist world and the anti-Communist world to iron out their differences. Some westerners feel that he is not sufficiently anti-Communist. For example, he has urged the admission of Communist China to the U.N. Many Asians look to Nehru as the man who can best promote co-operation among the nations of south and southeast Asia. Such co-operation would help solve their common problems of poverty and disease and make them more respected on the world scene. Said Nehru, "Asia, too long submissive and dependent and a plaything of other countries, will no longer brook any interference with her freedom."

**Independent Israel. An Age-Old Dream of the Jews Realized.** For two thousand years many Jews in many lands had dreamed of establishing a national state in their ancient homeland, Palestine. In 1913, the dream was realized. Here is how. A Hungarian Jew, Theodor Herzl, had been greatly troubled by the violent persecution of Jews in such coun-

tries as Russia and Rumania. In the 1890's. To help his people he had organized a movement to create a Jewish nation in Palestine. This movement was called Zionism. In 1917, the British government stated that it would do its best to aid "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" (the Balfour Declaration). Some Britishers had given the Arabs some what similar promises.

After World War I, Palestine became neither a Jewish nation nor an Arab nation but a British mandate (page 547). Especially when Hitler began exterminating Jews in Germany, large numbers of European Jews migrated to Palestine. Riots and attacks occurred as the Arabs tried to prevent Jewish immigration. The Arab world, through its Arab League of seven states (page 500), took steps to try to crush Zionism.

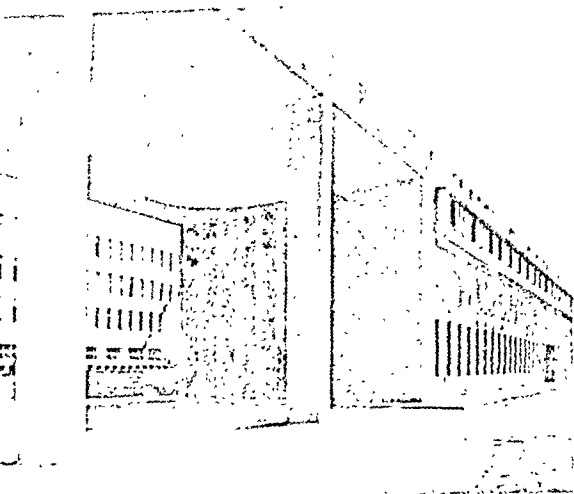
The situation was now explosive. The U.N. intervened and recommended the division of Palestine into separate Arab<sup>2</sup> and Jewish states. The British promised to give up their mandate in May 1948.<sup>3</sup> When they did, the Jews proclaimed the Republic of Israel in the section apportioned to them by the U.N. As a result, the Arab League invaded Israel from three directions. The invaders were driven back. Some of their territory was occupied. Finally, the U.N. arranged an armistice. But years rolled on and no peace treaty was signed. For arranging the armistice, American Dr. Ralph Bunche received the Nobel peace prize.

Independence did not solve Israel's problems. Tension in its relations with the Arabs remained great. The Arabs boycotted Jewish goods. When the West agreed to public promises to pay Israel \$500,000,000 to compensate for Nazi persecution of Jews, the Arabs threatened to boycott Jewish goods. Arab leaders demanded that the U.S. send out poverty-stricken Arab refugees with

<sup>2</sup> King Abdullah of Jordan, concerned about the Jews, signed to the Arabs.

<sup>3</sup> As we know, the British gave up their mandate over Syria and Lebanon in 1944.





Hadassah Medical Centre, Jerusalem.

Why are such institutions especially needed in the Middle East?

had fled from Israel-held lands be restored to their homes. And the Arabs have rejected the terms under which the Jews have offered to settle their differences. Arab-Israeli border raids have increased tension. And increased tension has led to more border raids.

Tension in their relations with the Communist world also disturbed the Israeli. The Russians had called Zionism "Jewish bourgeois nationalism." Israel had charged the U.S.S.R. with many anti-Semitic acts, and the Russian legation in Israel had been bombed. As a result, the U.S.S.R. temporarily broke off diplomatic relations with Israel.

Israel had promised to keep its doors open to any Jews, even paupers, wishing to go there. In recent years, many Jews from Arab areas such as Yemen have immigrated. Many of these had never before seen a bed or an automobile. Thus, a tiny country with a population of 1,500,000, with few natural resources and little fertile land, had assumed an overwhelming obligation. Through irrigation and hard work the Israeli have converted many former desert areas into blooming citrus groves, wheat fields, and orchards of fig and olive trees. Some farms are voluntary collectives. Some are co-operatives. And others are independently owned and operated. Considerable industrialization has developed, with Israel rapidly becoming "the

West of the East."<sup>5</sup> Nearly ninety per cent of the industries are privately owned. Such American firms as the Hudson Pulp and Paper Company and the Bulova Watch Company have built factories there. Much was done to improve the educational and health standards of both Jews and Arabs in Israel under the guidance of Israel's first President, Chaim Weizmann, and its first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion.

## The French Have Trouble in Indo-China

French Indo-China looks like a hook attached to Communist China reaching out to grasp Thailand, Malaya, and Burma. If this hook were held by Communists instead of by France, all of southeast Asia might easily go Communist. And after World War II, it seemed as though French Indo-China might go Communist. Here is the story: In 1946, as a result of a strong nationalist movement, a federation of three partly self-governing states was created by the French in Indo-China. One of the states in this federation, Viet Nam, was led by a Russian-trained Communist, Ho Chi Minh. Ho had led guerrillas against the Japanese in World War II. Beginning in 1946, he fought the French and tried to turn Viet Nam into a Communist state. The French therefore transferred their recognition from his government to an anti-Communist government in Viet Nam, headed by Bao Dai, a former emperor of the Indo-Chinese province of Annam.

Between 1946 and 1954 there was bloody fighting between Ho's guerrilla forces and those of Bao, which were supported by the French Expeditionary Force. Fearing that the Indo-China conflict might become another Korean conflict, the United States sent much military equipment to the French there. Laos and Cambodia, which, with Viet Nam, made

<sup>5</sup> Israel's example in industry, agriculture, medicine, and sanitation and the work of American and British oil companies in Arab lands are slowly helping to westernize the Middle East.

up the federation of Indo-China, were also threatened by Ho's troops. Indo-China's strategic location and rich resources especially tin and rubber would be a great help to the Communists.

The Geneva Conference of 1954 ordered a cease fire in Indo-China. The Communists were given control of the north of Viet Nam and the French-sponsored group of the south. It was agreed that national elections would be held in 1956 to determine whether the north or the south should control the entire Viet Nam.

## The British Have Trouble in Malaya and Iran

The British in Malaya pointed out that like a stream, the tide was flowing from Burma and Thailand. Malaya has long been the world's principal source of tin and rubber. In 1948 the British established a federal government of several Malay states. The rulers of these states were advised by a British official. As in China, so in Malaya, Communist forces violently attacked the government with less success. Friction among the Chinese and Indians hindered political and economic development.

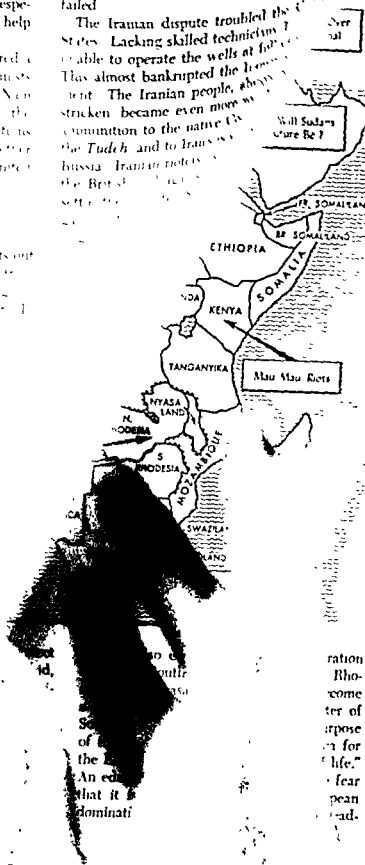
In early 1951 fanatical Muslims assassinated the Prime Minister. The opposition to nationalizing the oil industry had been Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 51 per cent British owned.

The new Prime Minister, Mossadegh, nationalized Iran's oil. The British threatened to cut off their oil supply. The British government refused to recognize the new government. The British government refused to recognize the new government. The British government refused to recognize the new government.

— The Times  
One of the  
Thailand

such questions. Efforts by the United Nations and the United States to settle the question failed.

The Iranian dispute troubled the United States. Lacking skilled technicians, it was unable to operate the wells at full capacity. This almost bankrupted the Iranian government. The Iranian people, who were stricken, became even more hostile to the Tudeh and to Iranian rulers. The British, Iranian rulers, and the Soviet Union were all involved in the dispute.

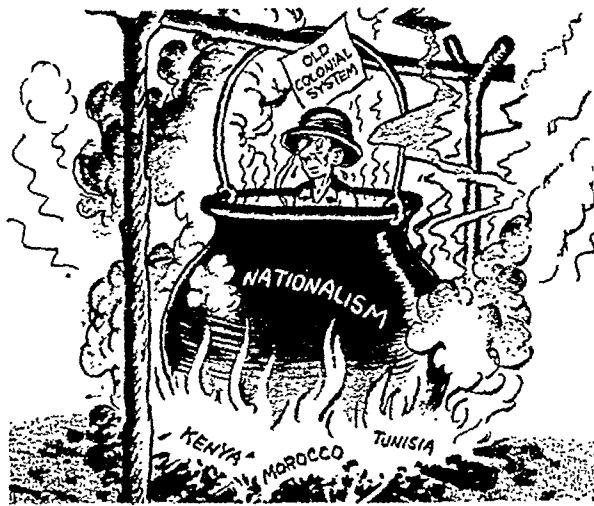


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Mao Tse-tung divided up many estates and distributed the land to the peasants. Rents formerly paid to landlords were lowered or abolished. Since Communists usually favor collectivization of farms, it remains to be seen whether they will continue their policy of land distribution. In fact, some collective farms have already been established. Mao has permitted some private ownership of business, as did Lenin under the N.E.P. program (page 559). It remains to be seen whether, like the N.E.P. in the U.S.S.R., this is just a temporary device.

Like the U.S.S.R., Mao's Communist China makes entrance into the Communist party difficult and exit easy. As in other totalitarian states, many opponents have been imprisoned or executed. Great emphasis is placed upon planning. On one flood control project, five million workers were employed. The Chinese Communists claim to have improved hygiene and education and to have wiped out such barbarous customs as the drowning of girl babies. Yet reports leaking out of Red China say that corruption, a long-standing curse in China, is still common, and that the Chinese people are compelled to make great sacrifices in order to increase agricultural and industrial production. Resistance to collectivization of farms was reported to be strong.

Here are some questions being asked about China today: Will the non-Communist world continue its policy of not selling war goods to Communist China? Will Mao Tse-tung become fearful of Russian domination and ultimately follow the path of Tito by breaking with the U.S.S.R.? Will the United Nations, in spite of strong opposition in the United States, admit Red China to membership? Will the Red rulers of China, in keeping with their many promises, be able to solve the problems which have baffled China's rulers for thousands of years? Will the Chinese Communists try to take over other neighboring countries as they have already taken over Tibet? Or, in the light of their heavy losses in Korea and of the evidence that the U.N. will resist aggression, will they



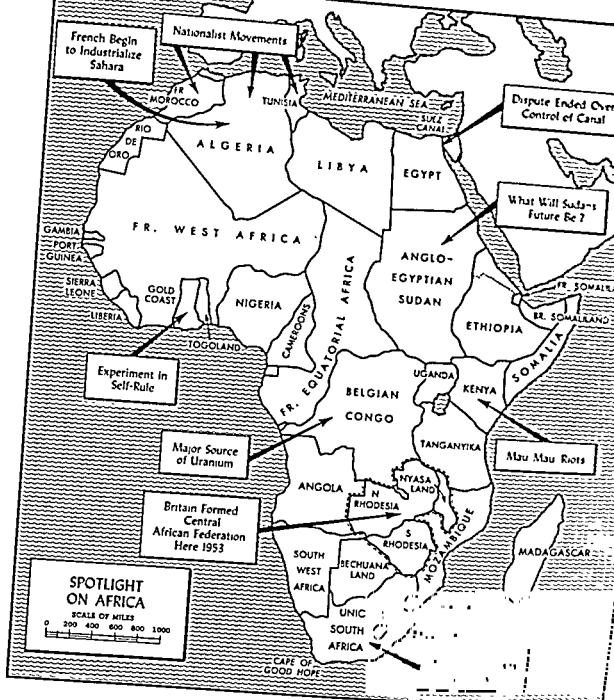
What other fuel should be included under this seething cauldron?

pursue a more peaceful policy? Will Chiang Kai-shek be able to invade the mainland and get enough support there to regain control?

## Africa: Land Full of Challenges

"Quit Nigeria now!" Nigerians have shouted at their British rulers. Tunisians and Moroccans have rioted against their French rulers. In Kenya, a secret society, the *Mau Mau*, has massacred whites and Negroes who have co-operated with whites. Serious race riots have occurred in South Africa. These are just a few evidences of the intense nationalism which is sweeping many parts of Africa today. In general, African nationalists are demanding self-government or independence, an end to political, social, and economic discrimination, and African ownership of Africa's fertile lands and resources.

This challenge to European control of Africa, with its 200,000,000 population, is being met in different ways. In Morocco, the French ousted an unfriendly Sultan and replaced him with one friendly to them. The Arab nations demanded that the United Nations take up the matter as a threat to world peace. The United Nations refused to do so on the ground that it was a domestic matter. In the Gold Coast, the British have undertaken a significant experiment. The in-



habitants were permitted in 1951 to elect their own government and, with British aid, to build schools, hospitals, irrigation projects, and factories and to modernize their agriculture. Should this experiment work well, it may serve as a model for many other African colonies. In 1954, Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, demanded that his country be made an independent state within the British Commonwealth. Brit-

ain has also established a huge federation combining Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, eventually to become a dominion. The British Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has said that the purpose of this federation is "to preserve Africa for the Empire and for the British way of life." An educated African has expressed the fear that it is "merely a scheme for European domination." However, certain British lead-

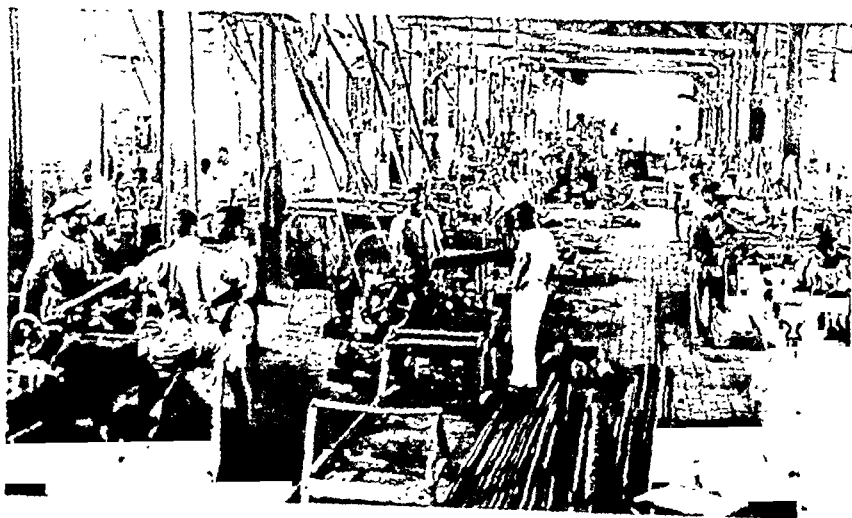
ers in the federation have stated that their goal is the development of its resources for all the people, Negro and white, and ultimately complete self-government for Negro states within the federation.

In the Belgian Congo, Belgium refuses Africans a voice in the government, but has tried to raise health and living standards. In 1953, Egypt and Britain agreed to give the Sudan a three-year period of self-government. By 1956, the Sudanese are to decide whether they want to join Britain or Egypt or to have complete independence. By 1956, too, by agreement between Egyptian Premier Nasser and the British, British troops would be withdrawn from the Suez Canal area (page 592). But until 1961 British troops could return to this area if Egypt, any Arab country, or Turkey should be attacked. The U.N. Trusteeship Council has promised that it will look out for the welfare of such trust areas in Africa as Tanganyika and Togoland. The U.N. made Libya, a former Italian colony, an independent state in 1951. Eritrea, with U.N. help, was united in a federation with Ethiopia in the same year. And Italian Somaliland was placed under a U.N. trusteeship assigned to Italy for ten years.

In 1953, the Nationalist party, headed by Prime Minister Malan, was re-elected in South Africa. The Nationalists practice a policy of complete segregation (called *apartheid*) of whites from Negroes and others considered non-whites. Committees of the United Nations criticized this policy as a threat to peace, but Malan maintained that it is a domestic issue in which the United Nations has no right to interfere. In South Africa, ninety per cent of the land is owned by whites. The Nationalists are fearful that if non-whites are permitted to vote in elections for the South African legislature, these 10,000,000 non-whites will take power and property from the 2,500,000 whites. Malan and his successor Strijdom condemned Britain for giving self-government to such Negro areas as the Gold Coast. A strong movement exists among the Boers of South Africa to withdraw from the Commonwealth and set up an independent South African republic.

Even nations without colonial possessions in Africa, such as the United States, are deeply troubled by the nationalistic and racial tensions there. Moreover, how secure can the defense bases of the non-Communist world in Africa be if Africans are so discontented?

Africa offers a great challenge to those with scientific and industrial knowledge and with capital to invest. It has more undeveloped natural resources than any other area. As late as 1941, the most valuable diamond mine in the world was discovered in Tanganyika. Recent discoveries of rich veins of coal and iron in French West Africa, even in the



Industrialization in a City in the Belgian Congo. How do you think such industrialization has affected the lives of Africans living in this community?

The Supreme Court of Liberia listens to a case. Liberia is one of the few independent countries of Africa. Find out how Liberia's history is linked to United States history.



Sahara, indicate promising possibilities for industrialization. Some Frenchmen regard this area as their new economic frontier. In Uganda, the British are utilizing Nile River water power to build huge hydroelectric projects. These will make possible the industrialization of much of Central Africa. The Belgians have stepped up production of copper and uranium in the fabulously mineral-rich Congo to meet increased American demand.

The area south of the Sahara could be utilized for large-scale cattle-raising and large-scale farming. For this goal to be realized, the following challenges would have to be met: insufficient water supply, primitive farming methods which exhaust the soil, the disease-spreading tsetse fly, and poor transportation. Challenges of this sort have been accepted by such medical missionaries as Dr. Albert Schweitzer, by U.N. technical experts, by Americans under the Point Four program, and by countries owning African colonies.

All this helps to explain why Africa has been called the *sleeping giant*, the *last frontier*, and the *land of the future*. Will this future belong to the Africans, to the Europeans, or to both? Will Communism spread in Africa as it has in other areas where hunger, disease, illiteracy, and imperialism have made people discontented?

## The Future: "A Golden Age of Peace and Progress"?

And what of the future of the entire world? Gloomy prophets are all around us. Many predict that the atomic and hydrogen bombs

will destroy civilization. Some warn that wholesale starvation faces the world. As we know, there have been many great civilizations which flourished for thousands of years only to decay and die. Will ours die, too? Ours is not the only era in which there have been gloomy prophets. As we have seen, world civilization has had its ups and downs. Nevertheless, the general direction has been upward. Let's look again at the record: from cold barren caves to the comforts of the modern home; from smoke signals to the telephone, from crude nature worship to the high spiritual and moral values of our great religions; from barter to banking; from the mumbo-jumbo of a witch-doctor to modern medical science; from the primitive tribe to the United Nations! One could go on and on with examples. Of course, not all areas of the world, nor all individuals in any area, enjoy the benefits of world civilization.

Perhaps the best way to prevent our civilization from dying is to make more people feel that they benefit from it. Never has it been easier to spread civilization than today. Why? Because at no other time has it been possible to produce and distribute such a wide variety of goods in such large quantities. No other period has had the radio, motion pictures, television, and so many schools, libraries, and newspapers. Are we going to use our superior means of production, transportation, and communication for suicide or progress?

In 1953, Premier Malenkov of the U.S.S.R. said: "At the present time there is no dispute or unresolved question that cannot be settled peacefully by mutual agreement of the inter-

need." And Prime Minister Churchill put it this way: "He (man) has conquered the wild beasts, he has even conquered the insects and the microbes. There lies before him, if he wishes, a golden age of peace and progress. All is in his hand. He has only to conquer his last and worst enemy — himself."

## 1924



## Terms to Define and Persons to Identify

"Asia for Asians" • Republic of Indonesia • Soekarno • Darul Islam • Huks • Kashmir • Israel • Herzl • Zionism • Balfour Declaration • Dr. Bunche • Weizmann • Viet Nam • Ho Chi Minh • Bao Dai •

Tudeh • Mossadegh • Mau Mau • the Gold Coast experiment • Dr. Nkrumah • Libya • Malan • apartheid • Dr. Schweitzer • Central African Federation

## THE WORLD SINCE 1914

1934

1944

• WORLD WAR II BREAKS OUT (1939)

• ATLANTIC CHARTER

JUNE 6th, D DAY

• RUSSIAN-GERMAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT



• JAPAN ATTACKS PEARL HARBOR

• ATOMIC BOMB DROPPED

• YALTA CONFERENCE

• U.N. CHARTER DRAWN UP

• JAPAN OCCUPIED

• FOURTH FRENCH REPUBLIC ESTABLISHED

• ARAB LEAGUE FORMED

• FIRST ITALIAN REPUBLIC ESTABLISHED

• WORLD WAR II ENDS

• WAR IN INDO-CHINA AND MALAYA BEGINS

• MARSHALL PLAN STARTED

• N.A.T.O.

• CHINA CONQUERED BY COMMUNISTS

• TRUMAN DOCTRINE

• INDEPENDENCE OF PHILIPPINES

• INDIA PAKISTAN

• BURMA

• ISRAEL

• IRELAND

• INDONESIA



• RIO DEFENSE TREATY

• PERON BECOMES ARGENTINA'S DICTATOR

MIRACLE DRUGS (CHAP. 20)

• MUSSOLINI INVADES ETHIOPIA

• SPANISH CIVIL WAR

• HITLER TAKES OVER AUSTRIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND



• HITLER INVADES RUSSIA

• NUREMBURG TRIALS

• GERMANY OCCUPIED

• MAU MAU RIOTS IN AFRICA

• CARDENAS INTRODUCES SOME SOCIALISM IN MEXICO

• POPULAR FRONT IN CHILE AND FRANCE

• VARGAS BECOMES BRAZIL'S DICTATOR

• BOLIVIA TAKES OVER TIN



## Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What problems do most Asians have in common?
2. What factors explain the intense nationalism of Asians today?
3. Compare Indonesia with the Philippines as to (a) resources, (b) methods of achieving independence, and (c) problems which remain.
4. Discuss independent Burma's most important problems.
5. How have independent India and independent Pakistan tried to solve (a) their problems at home and (b) their problems in relationship to each other?
6. Trace the steps in the creation of an independent Israel.
7. Prove that independent Israel is faced with some critical problems.
8. What makes the fighting in Indo-China a problem not only for France, but for the entire western world?
9. How do Britain's difficulties in Malaya differ from its difficulties in Iran?
10. What policies have the Chinese Communists introduced in China?
11. Indicate some of the different methods used to deal with the seething unrest in Africa.
12. For what reasons has Africa been called "the land of the future"?
13. Give some examples to show that the general direction of civilization has been upward.

## Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What evidence can you give that certain other areas are surpassing Europe in world influence today?
2. Why do many feel that the West should show a greater interest in the health and living standards of Asia?
3. What do you consider the most important reason for the intense nationalism of Asia today? Why?
4. What do you think Indonesia, with its rich resources, could do to raise the standard of living of its people?
5. What difficulties might the Filipinos have faced if, on granting the Philippines independence, the United States had cut its ties with them completely?
6. Independence for Burma, India, and Pakistan was bound to lead to many serious problems. For what reasons, then, did their peoples want independence?
7. In what ways can India and Pakistan help each other, politically, economically, and socially?
8. *Perseverance Pays* might be a good title for the story leading to Israel's independence. Discuss.
9. In what ways might Israel's example bring about great economic changes in the Middle East?
10. The long war in Indo-China has led to many sharp disagreements in France. For what reasons?
11. Why was the United States much concerned about Britain's relations with Iran?
12. With your knowledge of Chinese history, do you think it will be easy for the Chinese Communists to completely communize China? Discuss.
13. Which of the questions being asked about China today do you think is most significant? Why?
14. What do you think could be done to handle the problem of the seething unrest in Africa today? Discuss.
15. For what reasons are many Africans suspicious of even the best-intentioned Europeans?
16. Why do some say that South Africa is virtually sitting on a volcano?
17. Why might an adventurous person desire to settle in Africa today? What problems might he face? What do you think he might do to solve them?
18. There are those who say that America would be better off if Americans did not concern themselves with the problems of the areas discussed in this chapter. What reasons do you think they give? What do you think? Discuss fully.
19. What area in Asia or Africa would you most like to visit? Why?
20. Why do you think the section "The Future: 'A Golden Age of Peace and Progress'?" was used as a conclusion to this textbook?

# Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Reasoning

1. On an outline map of Asia, indicate each of the new nations created since World War II, their capitals, and their leading products.
2. After reading such a book as Mchereu's *The Voice of Asia*, point out ways in which the life of the average Asian differs from your own.
3. Write a poem such as an extreme nationalist in any Asiatic country might compose.
4. Imagine yourself a tourist in either Asia or Africa. Make a list of questions which you would like to ask of people in different walks of life there.
5. Outline a series of programs which you think the Voice of America should broadcast to (a) Asia or (b) Africa.
6. Prepare an oral report on any one of the new nations created since World War II. Check the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for up-to-date information.
7. Write an essay on efforts to raise standards of living in any one Asiatic country.
8. Imagine yourself a war correspondent in Indo-China. Write a dispatch to your newspaper describing (a) the type of fighting and (b) the significance of the conflict.
9. Draw two cartoons, one representing the British point of view and the other representing Mos-

10. ...ologist's point of view on the process of ...
11. Make a poster of significant ... headlines or developments in ...
12. Imagine yourself a ...
13. Write a column on ...
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## Summing Up

- What do you consider the most significant of our times? Give reasons.
- Which topic studied in world history do you think (a) the most interesting; (b) most ...? Give reasons.

## Recommended Reading for Your Time

(Books preceded by an asterisk \* are suggested)

...ne, United Nations Primer. Discuss points ... in the Atlantic Charter as well as war ... time conferences such as those at Yalta and ... Potsdam. Excellent foundation for the study ... of the United Nations.

...er, Next Year In Jerusalem. The life story ... of a man who dedicated his life to building ... Jewish nation in Palestine.

...ts, Europe Since 1914. (Latest edition.) For ... ference.

...Grove-White, History to Freedom & Peace ... on the New India or Words and Pictures ...

...Freedom with problems of India's race, ... industrialization and education. Broadly ... illustrated.

...Crawshaw, Cracks in the Kremlin Wall. Points ... to weaknesses in the Soviet system.

...Gray, Evans, and others, The Challenge of ... Atomic Energy.

...Dewey, Journey to the Far East.

- conditions found in Asia after World War II.
- \*Douglas, *This Is War*. This picture book drives home the heroism and heartache of soldiers in the Korean War.
- Espy, *Bold New Program*. A discussion of the role of the United States in developing underdeveloped areas.
- Farson, *Last Chance in Africa*. Points to the desperate need for greater co-operation between Africans and the British in Kenya.
- Flavin, *Black and White: From the Cape to the Congo*.
- \*Galt, *How the United Nations Works*.
- Gatti and Gatti, *Here Is Africa*. An excellent history of Africa in its many aspects, with excellent photographs.
- Gollomb, *Albert Schweitzer*. A biography of a man whose noble life has many lessons for the world.
- \*Groth, *Studio: Asia*. An exciting illustrated account of an artist's recent visit to the Far East.
- \*Gruber, *Israel Without Tears*. Entertaining book on life in a new nation.
- Gunther, *Behind the Curtain*. A report in popular style on personalities and problems on both sides of the "curtain."
- Hailey, *Half the World*. Such Asian personalities as Mao Tse-tung, Soekarno, and Ho Chih Minh are discussed.
- \*Higgins, *War in Korea*. The Korean conflict through the eyes of a woman reporter on the scene.
- Hutheesing, *The Great Peace: An Asian's Candid Report on Red China*.
- Information Please Almanac*. (Also, the *World Almanac*.) See the latest issues to keep abreast of recent events.
- Kirk, *Postmarked Moscow*. The wife of a former American ambassador to the U.S.S.R. comments on her observations, sometimes seriously, sometimes humorously.
- \*Knight, *It Might Be You*. The author tries to develop understanding by showing the unhappy effects of discrimination upon youth.
- Lie, and others, *Peace on Earth*.
- Life's Picture History of Western Man*, by the editors of *Life*. A good summary of much of what we have studied in this course.
- Michener, *The Voice of Asia: Interviews with Asians in many walks of life and conclusions drawn*. Author stresses need for all to acquaint themselves with Asia's problems.
- Nagai, *We of Nagasaki*. Some survivors of the atomic bomb blast tell their stories.
- Nehru, *Toward Freedom; the Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru*.
- Nourse, *Ferment in the Far East*.
- Paton, *Cry, the Beloved Country*. An almost poetic story about racial tensions in South Africa. It pulls at your heartstrings.
- The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. For recent and current magazine articles.
- \*Roosevelt and Ferris, *United Nations and Youth*. How the United Nations' specialized agencies help the youth of many countries.
- Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*. (Latest edition.)
- Sedillot, *The History of the World*. An interpretation useful as a short summary of world history.
- Shirer, *Midcentury Journey*. Describes conditions in Europe in 1950.
- Spencer, *Nehru of India*.
- Stinetorf, *White Witch Doctor*. An American woman's experiences as a nurse and missionary in Africa.

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- Abdul Hamid II, 392
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